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AT different periods, during its progress, the British and Foreign Bible Society has been called upon to encounter assailants from without: against the Bishop of Peterborough, the Master of Trinity, and Mr. Norris, it has had to appear in the field of controversy; but from all such conflicts it retired, we apprehend, scatheless. Not that, in our opinion, there was any deficiency of talent or zeal in its antagonists; but their representations, simply because these came from professed antagonists, could not be expected to make much impression on an association most of whose members were bound to it by the blindest feelings of partisanship.

Within the last three years, however, a different and far more formidable enemy has assailed the tranquillity of this great institution. Some of those who had access to the arcana of the Earl-street managing committee began to suspect that the Reports, monthly or annually sent forth to enlighten the subscribers, did not contain the most faithful representation of the affairs of the Society. It was whispered that, in the concoction of these documents,

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ments, the directors had recourse to a great deal of artful management—in short, that the public were informed, not of the whole truth, which they had a right to know, but of those facts only, which were conceived to be best adapted for augmenting the funds placed at the committee's disposal. These rumours gaining strength, a strict inquiry was set on foot; and some gentlemen, who had for years exerted themselves very cordially in extending the influence, and promoting the objects of the Society, applying their zeal to this novel investigation, soon brought to light many matters that might well prefer the shade. The committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society took the most prominent part in this scrutiny; having completed it, they remonstrated over and over again with the directors in Earl-street; and in vain. Nothing remained but to appeal to the impartial judgment of the subscribers and the public at large; and hence a pile of polemical pamphlets, the names of which, had we placed them all in array before our readers, would have filled several of these pages.

The directors have endeavoured to enlist the feelings of the subscribers in their behalf by representing the statements of the Edinburgh committee as an attack upon the Society itself; but this artifice is transparent. All impartial observers must perceive that the point raised in the present controversy is not the utility of the institution, but the degree of integrity, good faith, and discretion, with which its affairs have been administered.

The first charge urged against these managers is the circulation, on the continent, of Bibles, wherein the apocryphal writings are intermingled with the canonical books of scripture, without any marks of discrimination. When St. Jerome, towards the close of the fourth century, accomplished that version of the Bible which, under the denomination of the Latin Vulgate, has since acquired so much authority in the west of Europe, he affixed to the apocryphal writings, prefaces, or notices of interpolation, for the express purpose of distinguishing them from the canonical books; and from the fourth century down to the time of the Reformation, the Latin Vulgate continued to appear under this form. In the course of the sixteenth century, the Reformers, after much struggling, succeeded in altogether excluding the apocryphal books. In the year 1534, Luther gave the world the first copy of the inspired canon, unincumbered by the Apocrypha, in a modern language. In the English version of 1535, his example was followed by Coverdale; and the great Bible of Cranmer, in 1539, stamped at once the royal and archiepiscopal authority upon this expulsion. To this proceeding of the Reformers, the Catholic church offered a staunch opposition. She gradually withdrew the prefaces and notices which St. Jerome had prefixed to the apocryphal

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cryphal writings; and in the fourth session of the Council of Trent, these were expressly declared to be sacred and canonical, and ranked with the books of Holy Scripture in one undistinguished catalogue. From the date of this council, therefore, the apocryphal books have been considered by all Roman Catholics as constituting a part of the inspired code.—Now that this practice of incorporating the apocryphal writings with the inspired must delude the ignorant multitude, there can be no doubt; and *we* have just as little doubt, that not one out of a hundred contributors to the funds of the British and Foreign Bible Society ever entertained the slightest suspicion that his money was to be expended in the circulation of bibles so interpolated. Here, therefore, the directors have manifestly been guilty of a serious breach of the trust reposed in them, and most justly incurred the reprobation of the subscribers. That they should have thus deliberately lent themselves to one of the most dangerous as well as insidious corruptions of the Church of Rome,—this one plain fact, even if there were none behind, evinces undoubtedly either an intellectual or a moral incapacity for the discharge of the solemn duties which these gentlemen have undertaken to perform.

The large sums thus spent by the directors in circulating on the continent, where their proceedings are in a great degree veiled from the eye of the subscribers, an interpolated canon of the scriptures, naturally awakened attention to their management, generally, of the pecuniary concerns of the Society. Their Edinburgh brethren roundly tax them with waste and extravagance. They assert, that, while the contributions of the year 1825-6 did not exceed 40,333*l.*, the expenses incurred by the directors, in managing this sum, amount to the inordinate sum of 8,450*l.* The directors, on the other hand, contend that their expenses are grossly exaggerated, and do not exceed 5,600*l.* per annum. But this discrepancy, respecting a plain question of arithmetic, will be best disposed of by a reference to the items included in the expenses of management, as stated by the two parties.

Expenses of Management for the Year ending 31st March, 1826, as stated by the Earl-street Committee.

	£.	s.	d.
To the Rev. Dr. Pinkerton, Foreign Agent	400	0	0
Rev. H. D. Lewes, Agent in Turkey	300	0	0
Mr. Benjamin Baker, Agent in Syria	300	0	0
Mr. James Thomson, for services in South America	66	13	4
Rev. John Armstrong, Agent in ditto	233	6	8
Expenses of Depository	667	11	8
Three Clerks in Secretaries' and Accountant's Departments	330	2	6
Taxes, Coals, &c., Stationery, and Expenses of the Annual Meeting	399	1	9
Carried forward	2,696	15	11

Brought

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	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward	2696	15	11
Collector's Poundage	119	9	0
Travelling Expenses	1209	1	3
Secretaries' Salaries	900	0	0
Mr. C. S. Dudley, Agent	300	0	0
Rev. P. Treschon, for various Services	25	0	0
The Accountant and Assistant Secretary (Salary)	300	0	0
The Assistant Foreign Secretary	250	0	0
The Depositary	250	0	0
General Disbursements, including postage, messenger, and various other incidental expenses	488	16	9
	£5,603	16	3

Items added to this Account by the Edinburgh Committee.

House Rent and Repairs, estimated at	750	0	0
Warehouse (Rent)	150	0	0
Additional Warehouse Rent	105	0	0
Insurance from Fire	100	0	0
Expense of Annual Reports, Monthly Extracts, and other occasional Publications	1200	0	0
Professor Kieffer, Agent at Paris	210	0	0
Professor Van Ess, Agent at Darmstadt	360	0	0
	£8,480	16	3

The account put forth by these directors, to meet the statements of their Northern brethren, appears under the sanction of four auditors; and on what principles these gentlemen took upon themselves to exclude the additional items of the Edinburgh statement, we cannot comprehend. Every subscriber must feel that the allowances made to the agents at Paris and Darmstadt—the charge for annual and monthly reports—the house rent, warehouse rent, and insurance, are as much entitled to be considered as expenses of management, as any items in the published statement of the Earl-street committee.

If the recent discussions had only dissipated the mystery in which the connexion of the directors with one of their foreign agents had been, for whatever purpose, involved, we conceive the Edinburgh committee would have established a just claim to the thanks of the subscribers. We allude to Dr. Leander Van Ess, who, for the last fifteen years, has been employed by the society to distribute the Scriptures among the Roman Catholics in Germany. Year after year the Reports put forth by the committee contained the warmest eulogiums upon the disinterestedness of this doctor. 'Of the zeal manifested by this learned, pious, and indefatigable professor,' say the grateful directors, 'in circulating the Scriptures in the Catholic provinces of Germany, it is impossible to speak but in terms of the highest admiration.'—*Twelfth Report*, p. 12. In another place we are assured, that 'Leander Van Ess *seeks no earthly emoluments;* nor is the applause of a vain world his aim; he desires not the treasures which rust and moth consume.

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sume. No; the glory of God, and the salvation of souls—these are the pure and heavenly principles which influence his mind and stimulate his actions.'—*Seventeenth Report, App.*, p. 18. After reading these splendid panegyrics upon the character of the Catholic doctor, the subscribers will learn, we doubt not, with considerable surprise, that from the year 1813 down to the date of their last Report, the directors of the British and Foreign Bible Society forced upon the reluctant sage an annual stipend of 360*l.*, as a compensation for his services. This fact has been studiously concealed from the knowledge of the subscribers;—not the slightest allusion has been made to it in any of their published proceedings, and it would have still remained among the secrets of the directors, had it not been dragged to light by the rough and prying curiosity of the Edinburgh committee. But this is not all. It is to be noticed that Dr. Van Ess is himself the principal author and proprietor of the version which he has for so many years circulated at the expense of the Society: and that the number of copies disposed of by him during his connexion with that Institution amounts already to more than *six hundred thousand.* Coupling the profits derived from this source with the annual salary of 360*l.*, and taking into consideration, at the same time, that a pound sterling in Catholic Germany is, in exchange for commodities, equal to double that amount in this country, we arrive at the conclusion, that the Doctor's feelings, in regard to 'earthly emoluments,' have been cruelly outraged by the Directors.

This is one case out of many: but let us look to the general result. No candid advocate will dispute that, in the management of an income arising *from contributions* not exceeding 50,000*l.* per annum, the directors of this Society expend annually 8,480*l.* —that is to say, something more than *sixteen per cent.* In short, the Edinburgh party appear to have proved their charge. It seems to be no longer deniable that the directors have studiously—from whatever motives—concealed from the great body of subscribers many of their pecuniary transactions—that they have been guilty of unjustifiable extravagance—that they have expended upon a host of secretaries, accountants, agents both stationary and itinerant, &c.&c. an unreasonable proportion of the funds intrusted to their discretion: but, to speak fairly, we are not sure that bystanders have much right to meddle with all this. It is the affair of the directors and the subscribers, and it is for them to settle it between them. If the management of contributions not exceeding 50,000*l.* per annum should cost even 17,000*l.* instead of 8,500*l.* which it does at present, even that would not alter the case as to *us.* This is fortunately a voluntary association; and if the subscribers see reason to disapprove of the conduct of the directors, they have the remedy in their own

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own hands. Let the carcase be withdrawn, and the eagles will speedily disappear.—It is as to very different matters that we think it our duty to impeach the management of the Earl-street committee.

The British and Foreign Bible Society has now existed for upwards of twenty years—indeed its twenty-second Report is now before us; our attention having been recently attracted in an especial manner to its proceedings, both foreign and domestic, we have carefully and scrupulously examined the whole series of these Reports; and we are now compelled to declare that, without referring in any shape to domestic proceedings, the foreign transactions of this institution, and, above all, the character of the versions of the Holy Scriptures circulated abroad at its expense, cannot be accurately understood without being most grievously lamented.

We are well aware that we are now attacking the Society on the very ground where its eulogists, whether peers or peasants, have most triumphantly expatiated. In glowing terms, indeed, have its panegyrists dwelt upon the extent to which the Scriptures have been diffused—above all, upon the number of languages into which they have been for the first time translated—through the instrumentality of this institution:—so far, on a certain occasion, was one of its noble patrons carried away by the devout ardour of his feelings, that he did not scruple to ascribe to the Society the possession of a talent almost as miraculous as the gift of tongues! And who can deny that the statements which the directors annually send forth wear a most imposing appearance? Who has not been dazzled by the brilliant display of new editions and new versions periodically exhibited in the Reports of the Society? But *how* is this imposing effect produced? It is with sorrow, indeed, that we are compelled to say what result we have come to. For anything that we can see, the case stands thus: from whatever quarter new translations may be offered, they are immediately accepted, and printed, without any satisfactory evidence of the competency of the individuals by whom they have been executed. It would hence appear that, in the eyes of this committee, a new version of the Bible is considered principally as the means of quickening the liberality of the public, and swelling the funds of the Society; that it should give the nation, for which it is ostensibly made, a correct representation of the word of God—seems to be with them a point of minor consideration. After the most careful and patient investigation, we are obliged to state that, without one single exception, the new versions which have appeared, either at the direct expense or under the immediate sanction of the Earl-street committee, have

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have been either executed by incompetent translators, or printed without having been subjected to a proper revision.

Our readers are entitled to expect that, when a charge of so serious a nature is advanced against a public body of high tone and pretensions, we should be prepared to establish its truth by the most unexceptionable testimony; and we are so prepared. We have no occasion to have recourse to works published by the antagonists of this institution; we shall be quite content to rest our charge upon evidence furnished by the directors themselves. Their own Reports will make our case strong enough: what would it not be if we had access to their private Records?

Their first undertaking was, we believe, the printing of the Welsh Bible, which issued from the stores of the Society about the year 1806. When they took this task in hand, there was no ground whatever for anticipating that its proper execution could involve them in any difficulty: an established and approved version had been long in circulation in the Principality, and it was easy to find out natives of Wales possessing sufficient erudition to superintend the press, as well as to correct any errors which the critical scrutiny of half a century might have discovered in the text. To whom, then, it will be asked, did the committee apply for advice and assistance in selecting a text, as well as competent individuals to superintend the work in its progress through the press? If the directors of this institution acted upon the principles which regulate the conduct of other men, the answer to this question would be,—to the ecclesiastical authorities of the principality—to the Welsh bishops. These functionaries, however, disdained to follow so straight-forward and common-place a course. They aspired to strike out a splendid and novel path for themselves; and, in the exercise of their own discretion, devolved the selection of a proper text, and the revision of their new edition, upon a Mr. Thomas Charles, an apostatised clergyman from the Established Church, and at that time an itinerant preacher among the Calvinistic Methodists. Who or what recommended him to the Managers of the Society, we do not happen to know. The result, however, proved exactly what might have been anticipated; he introduced so many unauthorised innovations, by way of *improving* the version, that one of the Welsh bishops found himself called upon to remonstrate with the committee. Finding that the heads of our church were not to be taken by surprise, the directors were constrained to suppress the edition; and, up to this day, the inhabitants of Wales are deprived of the benefit which the managers of the Bible Society intended to confer upon them by Mr. Thomas Charles's new readings of the word of God.

The committee, having thus blundered through their Welsh task, began

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began to bethink themselves of the inhabitants of Ireland. But they were either too weak or too headstrong to take warning from their recent experience: again, the same evil genius which introduced Mr. Charles to their favour, led them to fix upon one Mr. M'Quig, who had formerly been a preacher among the Wesleyan Methodists, and who had been expelled from this connexion for repeated misconduct; and again, the results were such as might have been expected. The principal object of *The Irish Society* is, as every one knows, to promote the cultivation of the Irish language. Most of the members composing this association are also subscribers to the Bible Society; none of their proceedings can, therefore, be represented as flowing from dislike or jealousy of that institution. At a meeting of the Irish Society, held in Dublin on the 22d November, 1822, a resolution was proposed by John Leslie Foster, Esq., seconded by the Right Honourable George Daly, and carried, we believe, without one dissentient voice, stating, 'That, after a full inquiry, the members of this Society feel satisfied that *material and very numerous errors* exist in the Irish version of the New Testament, edited by the British and Foreign Bible Society.'

An examination of their foreign reprints of the Bible would be attended with a similar result: in nearly every instance they seem to stumble almost instinctively upon the most faulty text, and the most incompetent editor, that could have been discovered. But this is an investigation which we have not space to prosecute any further, as we must especially direct the attention of our readers to a subject still more important:—viz., the correctness and fidelity of the new translations of the Scriptures which have been published either at the expense, or at least under the sanction, of the Society.

It is not to be denied that, in the execution of all the versions which have been printed for the first time under the auspices of this committee, principles have been allowed to prevail for which we can discover no precedent in the annals of any previous translations. And assuredly, in the soundness of the principles which govern the proceedings of such an institution, commanding such a revenue, serious men of all persuasions must take an equal interest. The adherents of the Church of England, and those who dissent from the establishment, may disagree on minor points of doctrine or discipline; but the conscientious members of all religious communities must necessarily unite in desiring that, whenever the contents of the sacred writings are made to pass into a new language, every attainable means should be adopted to insure the most scrupulously faithful execution of so important a task. The denunciation which has been expressly uttered against

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against the individual who adds to, or detracts from, the contents of the sacred volume, must, we imagine, attach to him who corrupts or misrepresents them by an unfaithful translation. Here, therefore, the public have a moral as well as a critical question of the very greatest importance to settle with the managers of the Bible Society.

We have not permitted ourselves to say rashly that these gentlemen act systematically upon one, and that a new, set of principles; but, of course, we can only illustrate the broad position *here* by particular examples—and we shall take the first that happens to come in our way. Their first experiment in this department was made in 1805, when they printed the Gospel of St. John in the Mohawk language—wherein the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark had already appeared. The version of the Gospel of St. John, which came forth at the expense of the Society, was executed by Teyoninhokarawen, a chief of the Six-Nation Indians, who, under the more civilised name of John Norton, had served among the auxiliaries of the British army in Upper Canada; and in detailing the qualifications of the translator, as well as the nature of the scrutiny to which, in order to ascertain its correctness, his work was subjected by the committee, the safest plan will be to use the words of the historian of the Society's transactions.

'Captain Norton appeared to be in every respect qualified to execute the projected translation. He was a man of great natural acuteness, and much reflection. His knowledge of the English language, which was familiar to him from childhood, had been improved by two years of education in Scotland; and that of Mohawk, in which dialect he had served as an interpreter to the British army, had been *matured and perfected by long residence in the Grand River Settlement.*—As it was the desire of the committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, to ascertain with as much accuracy as possible the correctness and fidelity of the translation, and *it was not probable that another person could be found in Great Britain* who understood the language into which it was made, recourse was had to the following expedient.———'

Here we came to a dead pause. What can be the expedient that enables men who know not a word of the Mohawk tongue to judge of the fidelity of a Mohawk translation? We were obliged to give up the problem; and read on as follows:—

'On an occasion which gave the author an opportunity of introducing the translator to a respectable company, he took advantage of the presence of some gentlemen whose testimony he considered of eminent value, to bring the subject of the Mohawk translation, then nearly completed, into discussion. A proposal was made, and universally acceded to, that, as *the only test* by which the accuracy of his version could be tried, Captain Norton should be requested to translate

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late a portion of his MS. into literal English. With this Captain Norton complied, and immediately read, in the manner proposed, the 17th Chapter of St. John. The suffrages of the company were then collected, and they were found to be unanimous in pronouncing, as far as the evidence appeared, that the translation was made with fidelity and judgment. The translation having been thus accredited, the committee felt no hesitation in adopting it: an impression, consisting of 2000 copies, in Mohawk and English, was accordingly printed. The favourable opinion entertained of the translation was shortly after confirmed by the judgment—*of the interpreters of the Indian villages, who pronounced it to be very correct.*'—Owen, vol. i. p. 131.

Coming, as this statement does, from the secretary of the institution,—from one of its most faithful servants—from one of its most amiable, as well as able advocates—we are bound to conclude that it tells the truth; and the unwelcome conviction is, in consequence, forced upon us, that a public institution, established expressly to promote the knowledge of the Scriptures, managed by a numerous committee, and possessing the controul over unlimited funds, has circulated, among the Mohawk tribe, a version of the sacred writings, executed under circumstances which must have been utterly indefensible even in the case of an individual totally destitute of the resources which lay within its reach. It appears, upon the very face of Mr. Owen's narrative, that of one, at least, if not two qualifications, which every man, whose judgment is worth consulting upon such a subject, will acknowledge to be absolutely indispensable in a translator, Teyoninhokarawen was entirely destitute. It is not, we suppose, necessary for us to enter into an argument, to show that no individual can be properly qualified to undertake a translation of the Scriptures, without possessing a complete and critical acquaintance with the languages in which they were originally composed. This is a proposition so evident, that it need only be stated, in order to command the assent of the reader. Now, it was at the instigation of the managers of the Bible Society that this Teyoninhokarawen undertook to translate the Gospel of St. John, written originally in Greek, into the vernacular language of one of the tribes of which he was chief; *and*, in the summary of his qualifications set forth by the secretary, we are carefully informed, that 'his knowledge of *the English language*, which was familiar to him from his youth, had been improved by two years of education in Scotland;' but no allusion whatever is made to his knowledge of Greek; and the silence of the secretary in his history, as well as that of the committee in their Reports, touching this point, leaves upon our minds the most perfect conviction, that he was destitute even of the slightest acquaintance

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quaintance with the original language of St. John's Gospel. His ignorance of the Greek language compelled him to make the English version, and not the original, the basis of his Mohawk translation. But we must go a step further: this Teyoninhokarawen was not a Mohawk by birth; his father was a Cherokee.* In addition, therefore, to his ignorance of the original Greek of St. John's Gospel, there is, to speak gently, a deficiency of satisfactory evidence to show that he even possessed an acquaintance idiomatically correct with the dialect into which he had engaged to translate it.

Such being the qualifications of this translator, what judgment can the public pronounce upon the notable expedient, adopted by the committee, to ascertain and rectify the errors into which his admitted deficiencies *might* have led him? Supposing their confidence in the fidelity of the version should be somewhat shaken by the facts thus disclosed, will it not be fully re-established, when they are reminded that a 'court of criticism' was appointed; and that this 'court of criticism,' not pretending to the slightest knowledge of the dialect spoken by the Mohawks, upon having heard *one* chapter of the *yet unfinished* version read back into English, forthwith pronounced it to be their unanimous opinion, 'that the translation was made with equal fidelity and judgment'? Should there be found, however, among our readers, any unreasonable sceptic, unwilling to yield up his faith even to the decisive judgment pronounced by this 'court of criticism,' we have evidence behind which must absolutely overwhelm his scruples. The sentence pronounced by the Society's 'court of criticism,' was shortly after 'confirmed *by the judgment of the interpreters of the Indian villages!*'

It may, perhaps, be urged in behalf of the managers, that the Mohawk version was executed during the infancy of the institution, and that subsequent and more mature experience has enabled them to keep quite clear of errors unavoidable in their earlier career. We are perfectly willing to give them the benefit of another trial; and that they may have every advantage, let us look to the version in the Calmuck language—one which, to use the words of the Secretary himself, has acquired 'a very interesting character, and promises *eventually*† to rank with the most credi-

* Our readers are aware that there are six distinct tribes, who form, for their better government, a confederacy, under the denomination of the Six-nation Indians. The Mohawks constitute the most numerous of these tribes. In the year 1791, Captain Norton was *adopted* by this confederacy, and, under the title of Teyoninhokarawen, he was, in 1800, appointed their chief.

† What, after all, means '*eventually* to rank, &c.'? Is it that *this* version must be then extolled when the world at large is acquainted with it? or, that it forms the first step towards a future Calmuck version really 'creditable and important'?

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table and important of the Society's productions.' (*Owen*, vol. i. p. 297.) In order that they might not proceed in the dark in a matter of such importance, the committee directed a set of queries to be sent to the Moravian missionaries, settled among the Calmucks. We shall extract two or three of these questions, with the answers :—

'*Query* 2. Who is the translator or translators (of portions of the New Testament stated to have been translated into the Calmuck language)?—*Answer*. Several persons have employed themselves in this work, *and those chiefly such as have not had the benefit of a literary education*, but who had a good understanding of the sense of the Scriptures, who felt an impulse of the heart to the task, and who had already acquired a *pretty complete* knowledge of the Calmuck language. The most eminent among these is Conrad Neitz, who, more than forty years ago, being commissioned by this congregation to qualify himself for performing this service in the gospel, for the Calmucks, lived among them at different times, travelled also with them, and, *considering his education*, acquired a very accurate knowledge of the idiom of their language, facility in speaking it, and acquaintance with the mode of thinking and manners of this people. *He has also even studied their writings.* Most of these translations were executed by him.

'*Query* 3. Can the accuracy and correctness of these translations be relied upon?—*Answer*. Confidently. The translations have been made with much diligence and fidelity, and have been repeatedly corrected and revised by brethren acquainted with the subject and the language. Nevertheless, this work is still imperfect, particularly as *the Calmuck has as yet received no literary cultivation, and the common aids for acquiring a language, such as dictionaries and grammars, are entirely wanting.*'

Upon the receipt of this information, the committee instantly voted a sum for the purchase of a set of Calmuck types; and, without any further inquiry whatever, recommended the Moravian missionaries 'to proceed in translating such entire books of the New Testament as their circumstances might enable them to execute, with the promise of further assistance from the Society, from time to time, in proportion to their progress in the undertaking.'

So much, then, for this pattern specimen. The translators employed are uneducated men, or, to borrow the euphemism of the good Moravians, 'persons not possessing the advantages of a literary education;' totally unacquainted with the original languages of the scriptures, and having a knowledge of the Calmuck language which their eulogists can only venture to call 'pretty complete'!—Upon the actual merits of the version which now circulates, under the sanction of the Society, among the Nomadic tribes that rove over the steppe lying between Sarepta and the Caucasus, we are not prepared

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prepared to give an opinion, for we have the misfortune to be as ignorant of Calmuck, as the authors of this version were of Greek and Hebrew when they penned it. We will, however, take upon ourselves the responsibility of asserting, that if these men have succeeded in transferring correctly and faithfully the sense of documents, written originally in a language of which they are acknowledged to be altogether ignorant, into another tongue, which possesses neither grammar, nor lexicon, nor any literary cultivation whatever, and with which their own acquaintance is described as '*pretty* complete'—this fact must be looked upon as more miraculous than any event which has happened since the days of the apostles; and we shall be constrained to concur with one of the noble vice-presidents in the opinion that the apostolic gift of tongues is *de facto* revived in the agents of this Society.

Our limits will not enable us to follow the operations of the Society throughout Europe, Africa, and America, as we must reserve some room for that quarter of the globe which is represented as the scene of its most important and splendid triumphs.

It is well known that the Baptist missionaries of Serampore rank as the most zealous and industrious translators under the authority of this association. They have prosecuted a vast undertaking with the most unwearied perseverance. Under their superintendence the New Testament has been, or is in the course of being, translated into thirty-six dialects of India; and in some of these dialects versions of the Old Testament also have appeared. Who can fail to honour such zeal? But it is one thing to be a good man, and another to be a good translator of the scriptures; and it is no wonder that many have asked whether it were possible that a small handful of men, who really understood what translations ought to be, could have dared to undertake so many?—In reply to which not unnatural suggestions, the directors of the British and Foreign Bible Society state, that these worthy Baptists possessed, when they began their labours—'a *critical knowledge* of the Hebrew and Greek originals; that they had one of the best libraries of critical works on the Holy Scriptures, and of the ancient and modern versions of them, that were to be found in *the Eastern world;* that they had been employed for a considerable time in the work of translating, and had in some degree acquired that experience, and formed those habits, which are requisite for that kind of labour; that they were in a situation where they could obtain the assistance of learned natives from most of the different countries whom the college of Fort William had collected into that grand emporium of Oriental literature; and that, besides, the work was rendered comparatively easy by the close relation which subsists between the Oriental languages.'

Admiring

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Admiring, as we do, the zeal, the industry, and the perseverance, with which these meritorious missionaries have pursued their object, it is by much the most painful incident which has attended our critical career, that we are obliged to express most serious doubts of their competency for the faithful performance of the important task which they have undertaken. The nature of the question which we have been compelled to discuss, requires, however, that we should suppress every private feeling, and express our opinions without either fear or favour.—After the most careful, and, we believe, unbiassed, examination of the evidence adduced in their behalf, we are compelled to state, that there is reasonable ground to entertain the suspicion that these good men did not possess the knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek originals thus distinctly claimed for them. That they possessed *no* acquaintance with the Hebrew and Greek originals from which they undertook to translate, is more than we can venture to assert: it appears, however, extremely doubtful, to say the least, whether they possessed a critical knowledge of these languages. Taking fairly into consideration the circumstances, that not one amongst them had received the benefit of regular instruction in the dead languages during the course of his early life, and that all of them belonged to a religious sect, which is supposed to hold out no peculiar encouragement to the cultivation of literary attainments; we must, in the absence of all evidence to the contrary, unavoidably infer, that if they attained anything at all approaching to a scholar-like knowledge of these tongues, it must have been acquired *after* they left England. And when, farther, it is remembered how much of their time, subsequently to their arrival in India, was taken up by the various spiritual, nay secular,* occupations in which they were necessarily engaged,—above all, how much of their time must have been consumed in learning the languages of India—it is certainly very difficult to believe, without evidence much more decisive than any which has been hitherto adduced, that they could have bestowed such attention upon the Hebrew and Greek languages, as could have enabled them, by *self-instruction*, to acquire that degree of acquaintance with the original scriptures, which the due performance of their undertaking rendered indispensable. Admitting, however, that it should be proved,—and it is a point respecting which we are justified in calling for clear and unequivocal proof,—that they had acquired by self-tuition a competent knowledge of the languages *from* which they ought to have made their translations, we are in a situation to establish,

* Many of them were obliged to support themselves for a long time by managing indigo plantations, &c.

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by the most irrefragable testimony, the testimony of their own reports, memoirs, and letters, that their knowledge of the Indian dialects was infinitely too imperfect to render the versions which they executed, correct and faithful representations of the sense of the original.

Of the total incompetence of the missionaries themselves, unaided by the natives, to execute even an intelligible version of the Scriptures into that dialect of India with which they possessed the longest and most perfect acquaintance, we have before us the most convincing evidence. Their translation of the New Testament into the Bengalee dialect had been executed, and constantly used many years before it was printed. Dr. Carey, the principal author of this version, states it to have been 'the product of seven years' severe labour and study.'—Now ere long it was considered necessary to publish a second edition of this version; and in revising, for this purpose, the first edition, Dr. Carey himself informs us, that he found himself compelled to alter almost every verse, in order to render it conformable to the Indian idiom: 'in the first edition (says he) the words were Bengalee, but the idiom (how nobly must the Bengalese readers have been edified!) was *English.*' This last admission tends very materially to strengthen our original suspicion, that even Dr. Carey, who is acknowledged to be by far the most learned and skilful of the Serampore translators, does not (or at least did not then) possess that critical and intimate acquaintance with the Greek and Hebrew originals which is claimed for him in common with his coadjutors. The English idiom of his Bengalee New Testament proves, we think pretty clearly, that it was translated from the English one; and it does not seem at all probable that he would have made this the basis of his translation, had he possessed an intimate and critical acquaintance with the Greek original.

It is asserted, that all deficiencies of the missionaries were abundantly supplied in the aid of learned natives. Most of the versions were, indeed, made in the first instance by pundits employed by the missionaries. The sole qualifications, however, which the most accomplished of these persons brought to their task, were their Sanscrit scholarship, and their acquaintance with one, two, three, or four of the cognate languages of India besides their own vernacular dialect. It is admitted in the most unequivocal terms, that, without a single exception, they were all destitute of the slightest knowledge of the original languages of holy writ; and, in a word, that every version of the Scriptures now circulating in India has been executed from the Sanscrit of Dr. Carey, or from some other version executed upon that pure and

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and classical Sanscrit—the composition of an European missionary in a most exquisitely intricate and polished oriental tongue that has been dead for none can say how many centuries!

As the mode in which these various translations have been performed, is a question of considerable curiosity, as well as of extreme importance, it is necessary that it should be described somewhat in detail; and we shall do so in, we presume, the most unexceptionable manner, by quoting a passage from a 'Memoir of Translations executed at Serampore,' sent home by these missionaries themselves.

'On engaging a pundit (or translator) in one of these cognate languages, after having examined and ascertained his qualifications, we give him an *approved version* of the Scriptures in a language with which he is well acquainted; for most of the pundits we employ, while good Sungskrit scholars, are also acquainted with at least one or two of the cognate languages of India, beside their own vernacular tongue, and some of them with three or four. Then placing him among two or three other pundits who have been for years employed with us, we direct him to express the ideas he finds there, in his own vernacular idiom, with the utmost care and exactness, and to ask questions wherever he finds it necessary. Meantime the *grammatical terminations* AND *the peculiarities of the language* (do these two classes of difficulties, then, lie so very near each other?) are acquired (by whom?) possibly by the time he has finished the first gospel. The work of revision is then begun with the pundit. This at first proceeds exceedingly slow, as nothing is suffered to go to press *till fully* understood and approved; and in *some instances the alterations made are so numerous* as to leave little of the first copy standing. This revision is, however, of the highest value, as the discussions which it originates *both lay open the language to us, and the sense of the original to the pundits.* As we advance, we proceed with increased ease and pleasure, and seldom go through *the fourth gospel without feeling ourselves on firm ground relative to the faithfulness and accuracy of the version.* Thus a first version of the New Testament is produced, not inferior in accuracy, and far superior in point of style and idiom, to *the first version of the Bengalee New Testament, the product of seven years' severe labour and study.* The Old Testament becomes still more easy, and the knowledge and experience *acquired in bringing the first edition of the Scriptures through the press* form *no contemptible preparation* for the revision of a second edition of the New Testament.'

Those who advocate the faithfulness of these versions, contend that the superintendence of the critically-learned Baptist missionaries supplied every deficiency under which their pundits could have laboured. But, even admitting that Messrs. Carey, Marshman and Ward actually possessed that critical knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek tongues which is claimed for them, it appears

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appears difficult to understand how their utmost erudition could have cured the ignorance of the native translators. In this extract it is stated that the revision to which the missionaries subject the versions executed in the first instance by the pundits alone, 'is of the highest value, as the discussions which it originates both lay open the language to the Missionaries, and the sense of the original to the pundits.' The *original* here spoken of must have been Dr. Carey's Sanscrit version; as it is acknowledged that the pundits had not the slightest acquaintance with the Greek original. So imperfect, it appears, however, was the acquaintance of the working pundits even with the sense of the Sanscrit *original*, that during the course of the revision to which their translations from it were subjected, the alterations made are stated to have been, in some instances, so numerous as to have left *little of the first copy standing;* and the equally important admission follows, that when this revision commenced, the revising and superintending missionaries were entirely ignorant of the living Indian dialect into which the pundits had been *doing* the Sanscrit *original* of Dr. Carey. As the result of a revision thus conducted by individuals who acquired their first acquaintance with the language during its progress, we are gravely told that 'a first version of the New Testament was produced, not inferior in point of accuracy, and far superior in point of style and idiom, to the first version of the Bengalee New Testament, the product of seven years of severe labour and study'!—that same Bengalee version, of which its author confesses 'that he found it necessary to alter almost every verse of it, in preparing a second edition.' What follows? 'The knowledge and experience acquired in bringing the first edition through the press form *no contemptible preparation* for the revision of the second edition of the New Testament'! No language can, we conceive, speak more plainly than this. The very moment these missionaries have completed a translation of the Scriptures in this school-boy fashion, by way of an exercise while learning an Indian dialect, they hurry it to the press and circulate it; trusting that the experience acquired in carrying it through the press will enable them to correct its faults in a second edition. It must, we think, excite no little surprise, to hear that a work of this sacred importance should be sent forth without having its correctness subjected to a more satisfactory scrutiny. Any delay required for such a purpose would, in our opinion, be amply compensated by the consideration of avoiding the hazard of circulating among such a population as that of India an incorrect version of the Scriptures. It is, we greatly fear, but too true, that much serious and most grievous evil has been done already,

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by placing before Indian eyes versions of holy writ alike unfaithful to the original, and disgusting from absurd phraseology.

The character of the Society's management will be placed in a still stronger light by a reference to the translation of the Scriptures executed and circulated under their auspices in the Chinese language. The first complete version of the New Testament in that tongue was printed, at their expense, at Canton, in 1814. The gospels, the closing epistles, and the Book of Revelation were translated by the editor, Dr. Morrison; the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of St. Paul, being taken from an old MS. which he had carried out with him, and which he is stated to have corrected in such places as he thought necessary. Some time afterwards, the Old Testament was translated by the same person, who is, we understand, a *self-instructed* missionary, in conjunction with Mr. William Mylne, and printed at Malacca.

The estimate formed by Dr. Morrison himself of the character and value of his performances is so humble, that, in any other case than a translation of the Bible, his language would disarm criticism. In a letter dated Canton, 11th January, 1814, he thus writes:—

'I beg to inform the Society, that the translation of the New Testament carrying on at this place into the Chinese language, has been completed, and I hourly expect the last sheet from the press. Allow me to notice that I give this translation to the world not as a perfect translation. That some sentences are obscure, that some might be better rendered, I suppose to be matter of course in any new translation made by a foreigner, and in particular in a translation of the Sacred Scriptures where paraphrase is not to be admitted. All who know me will believe the honesty of my intentions, and I have done my best.'—*Eleventh Report, App.* p. 26.

In a letter dated the 8th June, 1815, that is to say about a year and a half after this translation was printed, the same translator writes to the same Bible Society:—

'The Chinese dictionary in which I am now engaged, will gradually mature my knowledge of Chinese.'—*Thirteenth Report, App.* p. 16.

It would, indeed, be difficult to believe, except upon the evidence of Dr. Morrison himself, that the managers of any Bible Society could have given their sanction to a version of the Bible published under such circumstances. This was not a Chinese version executed by Chinese penmen; this was not even the production of a foreigner of eminent learning, who had devoted sufficient time and labour to the acquisition of the Chinese tongue; but that of a self-instructed missionary, little, if at all, acquainted with Biblical criticism, and whose knowledge even of the language into which he undertook to translate was, on his own evidence

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evidence, *immature*. We shall be curious to learn on what principle the committee will endeavour to justify such manifest tampering with the sense of the sacred records. Why, we beg leave to ask them, was not the publication of this version delayed until its author had acquired what he considered a mature knowledge of the Chinese language? It is obvious, that Dr. Morrison executed his version as an exercise while learning Chinese. One might have imagined, that the maturity of knowledge at which *he* fondly hoped to arrive by most laborious subsequent study, would have been deemed by others, if not by himself, an indispensable pre-requisite for the commencement of a work of this nature *intended for the press!* Is it in the announcement of new versions such as these that the directors of the Bible Society condescend to find means of amusing the imaginations, and promoting the liberality of its subscribers?*

We may venture to lay it down as a general principle, admitting of very rare, if of any, exceptions, that the translator of the sacred writings ought to possess a critical acquaintance with the originals, together with an intimate and vernacular knowledge of the language into which he engages to translate them. It is too evident to require demonstration, that, without a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek languages, no man can possess that degree of acquaintance with the true meaning of the originals, which is indispensable for the due execution of such a task; nor is it a whit less indispensable that he should possess a vernacular knowledge of the language into which he engages to translate. Without this, his attempt to convey the sense of the original in a style sufficiently pure and idiomatic to be intelligible and popular among the mass of the community will inevitably prove unsuccessful. For the absence of either of these qualifications no

* Some most miserable details of their style of management occur in the history of their Turkish New Testament. The text was that of a Polish renegado, which had lain in MS. for more than a hundred years, and no sooner was it published in 1819 than Dr. Henderson, and other friends and agents of the Society, began to complain that, in addition to prevailing errors of mere style, florid affectation and so forth, *important additions, and still more important omissions*, deprived this version of all just title to respect and support. The Society got some of the Parisian literati to bolster up their Turkish Testament with their certificates; but the issue was, that some hundreds of gross errors were acknowledged. And here comes the curious part of the story,—how were these errors to be corrected? The directors of the British and Foreign Bible Society made *cancels* in their book; that is, they printed anew the leaves containing the most horrible blunders,—in number fifty-one,—and sent out bundles of these corrected leaves to Turkey, to be distributed among those who had previously acquired the books. These persons were, of course, easy to be found; when found, it was easy to persuade them to have their Testaments taken out of the binding and rebound with the new leaves; and the whole affair when completed could not fail to inspire the proprietors of the Turkish Testament with sentiments of redoubled confidence in the purity of its text.

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expedient or contrivance, with which we are acquainted, can form an adequate substitute: but what are we to say to the want of them both? These, however, are points on which we find ourselves directly at issue with the managers of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Arrogating to themselves the credit of all that is done by the Baptist missionaries in India, as well as by the Russian Bible Society, they claim the merit of having produced about ninety-eight new versions of the Scriptures. But of all these versions of the sacred writings, we challenge them to point out five, executed by individuals possessing at once a critical knowledge of the originals, and a vernacular familiarity with the languages into which they have been made.

We admit, that the adoption of another system would, in each particular case, have pressed more heavily upon the funds of the institution; that acting upon it would have rendered it impossible for these directors to dazzle their subscribers by an annual display of so many new translations. But we are sure that the inconvenience thus created would have been more than counterbalanced by the confidence which the public would have reposed in the new versions; and can scarcely doubt that this would have acquired for the committee more than an adequate supply of means to meet any extra-expenditure rendered necessary. The public now feel, that, while pursuing their present plan, the proceedings of the committee must be worse than useless. While they circulate versions of the Scriptures, made by individuals not possessed of the qualifications indispensable for the due execution of such a task, every man who fears to make himself a participator in measures having a direct and unavoidable tendency to impair the integrity of the sacred text, is bound to withhold from them his support and contributions.

That the managers of the Bible Society should never have formed this opinion of the qualifications requisite in translators of the Scriptures is the more extraordinary, as we find, from their own Reports, that it has been openly expressed, and, indeed, manfully acted upon, by one of the Society's affiliated branches.

We find in the Sixteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, that the committee of the St. Petersburgh Bible Society proposed to publish a version of the New Testament in the Georgian dialect. To meet their views, a translation into this dialect, executed or revised by the archbishop of Astrachan, was offered to them. This dignified ecclesiastic was well acquainted with the Hebrew and Greek originals, and had as much knowledge of the Georgian tongue as could be acquired by an individual not born and educated in the district in which it is spoken. His version

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version, however, was at once rejected, on the ground that no confidence could be reposed in its fidelity, because *the translator was destitute of a vernacular knowledge of the Georgian dialect.* Nor did this Muscovite committee adopt the example which had been so frequently set them by Earl-street, and with the view of procuring a correct version into the Georgian dialect, think it enough that a translation made from some other modern tongue by natives of Georgia acquainted only with that other modern tongue and their own vernacular language, should be revised by foreigners possessing 'a competent knowledge' of the Hebrew and Greek originals. They, on the contrary, began with selecting some of the natives of Georgia thoroughly acquainted with their own vernacular tongue, and causing these to be instructed in the Hebrew and Greek languages; and then they set about the translation of the Scriptures into Georgian.

Nay, the principles upon which alone a correct version of the Holy Scriptures could be expected, were distinctly pointed out to the managers of the Bible Society long before the above example was set them by the Russian committee. About the year 1809 they formed the resolution of publishing a version of the Old Testament in modern Greek. Several persons were consulted by them as to the best mode of giving effect to their intention; and one of their correspondents thus replied;—

'The question is, in what sense your Bible Society would be understood when it speaks of a *translation?* Does it wish that such translation should be made from the Greek versions of the Septuagint? I should think not: at least, if such were its wish, I should beg leave to be of a different opinion. The actual state of knowledge (which is also beginning to penetrate into Greece) would not justify the measure of adopting the version of the Septuagint as a standard text, though, in other respects, it may and ought to be made use of as a mean of facilitating a new version. Since, then, there remains only the Hebrew from which a version should be made in modern Greek, it follows that the future translator ought to possess the Hebrew language besides that of the ancient and modern Greek. But among us, who are only beginning our new career, there are very few Hebrew scholars. To begin with myself (for I have paid some attention to the Hebrew), they are too slightly acquainted with this language to undertake such a translation. I see but one way of getting the design of the Society executed; and that would be to send over to you two young Greeks, who, in addition to their natural tongue, possess also that of their ancestors. These students are to employ themselves principally in the Hebrew, and other oriental languages which facilitate the understanding of the Hebrew, without, however, neglecting other sciences, particularly so much natural history as is necessary (or, at least, useful) for understanding

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standing the biblical animals and plants.'—*Fifth Report*, *App.* pp. 57, 58.

So superfluous do such niceties as these appear to the directors, that one of the advocates who have been employed to repel the charges recently brought against them, asks, with a sneer, whether it could be expected that they should abdicate their light functions in Earl-street, and 'convert themselves into a board of translators?'

Although the Serampore missionaries were driven, by untoward circumstances, to act upon different principles, it is evident that their eyes are now fully open to the error of the system which continues to find favour in Earl-street: witness a passage, which we shall extract from the 'Third Memoir of Translations carrying on at Serampore.'

'It has long occurred to some of us, that the training up of a number of youths to the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages, and of the languages of India, almost from their infancy, would be an auxiliary in the work, the value of which time alone can fully demonstrate. The advantages which youths trained from their infancy to grammatical studies, and at the same time habituated to *speak* the various languages of India, must necessarily possess beyond those who, perhaps, commencing grammatical studies late in life, have, still later, to acquire a foreign idiom, must be obvious to all. A seminary for training up youths, so as to fit them for the work of translations in the various languages of Asia, has therefore been for some time in our contemplation. . . . . We have, therefore, laid the foundation of such a seminary at Serampore, where youths are instructed in the Greek, Hebrew, and Latin languages, while they are acquiring, and perhaps conversing, in the languages in which they may probably have to examine the translation of the word of God.'—*Period. Acc. No.* 23, p. 378-381.

It is impossible to calculate either the extent or the duration of the injury effected by the circulation of incorrect and unauthorised versions of the sacred records. The attempts which may hereafter be made to revise and correct them, however discreet and successful, will be attended with great inconvenience, if not with serious danger. An alteration of the sacred text even for the better is calculated to shake the confidence of the ignorant and unlearned reader. Distracted between two rival or dissimilar versions, the relative merits of which he is incapable of estimating correctly, he incurs no little risk of attempting to escape from his dilemma, by rejecting them both.

From the hasty and most indiscreet proceedings of the Earl-street directors, we turn with much satisfaction to the institution founded at Calcutta by the late excellent Bishop Middleton, with

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with the view of counteracting their injurious effects. We are encouraged to hope that this establishment will ultimately provide an adequate remedy for the serious injury which the circulation of unauthorised and incorrect versions of the Scriptures cannot have failed to inflict upon the Indian community. Having the proceedings of the Earl-street committee's translators daily before his eyes, the bishop meditated upon the best means of neutralizing the ill consequences which he anticipated from their ill-digested measures; and it occurred to him, that the most efficient means of accomplishing the purpose which he contemplated, would be the foundation of a college at Calcutta, in which natives of different districts of India might be instructed in the original languages of the scriptures, and in such other sciences as might be deemed requisite to render them competent to translate the sacred writings into their own vernacular tongues. We cannot believe that the operations of an establishment so wisely planned, and directed to the attainment of an object so important, will be allowed to languish through the want of funds. We cannot help thinking that the Indian government has laid itself open to the charge of a culpable supineness, in having hitherto permitted within its territories the circulation of versions of the scriptures, without having ascertained, by competent authority, that they had been faithfully executed. We need not dwell upon the importance of accuracy in translations of the sacred writings: it is felt by the governing powers of all Christian nations; and in no country is it more highly estimated than in our own. The monopoly of printing Bibles, secured to the universities and the king's printers, was introduced, and is still continued, solely on the ground that it constitutes a safeguard to preserve the integrity of the authorised version. Whether we argue, therefore, from principles of general expediency, or from European, and, above all, English precedents, we are fully warranted in coming to the conclusion, that when the rulers of India gave their consent to the circulation of the scriptures in the vernacular languages of their empire, it became their imperative duty to provide that the task of making these versions should be intrusted only to hands in all respects properly qualified for its faithful execution.

The public, whatever they may think of it, ought to know the fact that, with three or four exceptions, none of the individuals who have been employed under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society, either in translating or in editing the scriptures, have received the benefit of a regular and learned education. We state this not as a ground of reproach against these persons themselves, but as a plain fact which seems to point out a peculiar

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liar feature in the management of this Society. That its directors deem human learning unnecessary in the editors and translators of holy writ is more than we can venture positively to assert; but it is quite evident that they act as if they really entertained such an opinion.

By departing from the principles upon which all approved versions of the Scriptures have been made—by employing translators destitute of education, ignorant of the Hebrew and Greek originals, and imperfectly acquainted with the languages in which their translations have been printed, the managers of the British and Foreign Bible Society have contrived to throw away the fairest chance ever offered to any public institution for establishing a lasting claim to the gratitude and admiration of posterity. Had they proceeded upon a sound system—had they been cautious in rejecting all translations except such as had been executed by individuals known to possess the skill and acquirements indispensable for their task, the translations of this Society would have descended to after-ages as the imperishable monuments of Christian benevolence and rational enterprise. But, for reasons best known to their own consciences, they have let this golden opportunity slip; and without arrogating to ourselves the possession of any extraordinary degree of sagacity, we venture to predict, that, with scarcely a single exception, the existing versions of the British and Foreign Bible Society will be remembered hereafter only for the errors and blunders which disfigure them.

In defence of the proceedings of the Earl-street committee, it has been urged that it is unreasonable to require that their Bibles should, at their first appearance, exhibit that degree of accuracy and purity of which subsequent labour may render them susceptible; and we are advised to reflect, that, although the first English Bible appeared in 1535, the English version did not acquire its present authoritative character until the publication of King James's Bible in 1611. We are, however, inclined to think, that the arguments of these advocates must, when properly weighed, tell against their cause. It will not, we imagine, be disputed, that the authors of the first printed English version stood in the very foremost rank as scholars for the times in which they lived. They came, therefore, to the execution of their task prepared with all the resources which the state of knowledge could then have supplied; and their devotion to the undertaking in which they engaged was at least equal to their qualifications for its proper fulfilment. But surely it is very extraordinary logic to argue that, because, some centuries ago, it took seventy years to perfect a version of the Scriptures executed by men vernacularly

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nacularly acquainted with the structure and idiom of the language in which it was made, and fully competent to avail themselves of all the resources of learning and criticism then within reach, it is justifiable *now* to intrust the translation of the Scriptures to men who are destitute of all these qualifications. If the most eminent scholars, distinguished for their skill as translators even in the present advanced state of biblical criticism, could not be expected to produce a faultless version of the sacred volume, what is to be thought of the managers of a public institution, established expressly for the circulation of the Scriptures, who think it both safe and proper to commit this important charge to unprepared, and consequently unskilful, hands?

It may, perhaps, be said, that the versions printed under the sanction of the Earl-street committee, however incorrect and faulty in themselves, will at least serve the purpose of opening the way to future improvements, which will finally lead to correctness. But until a thorough revolution has taken place in the system on which the Society's translations are now executed, not the slightest progress can be made towards perfection: were this Society to exist for a thousand years, and were its managers to print a hundred editions of any given version, prepared and revised by incompetent persons, the last of these editions would be about as bad as the first. The efforts of ignorance, however repeated and multiplied, can never produce correctness.

Among the numerous evils manifestly to be apprehended from the multiplication of incorrect versions of the sacred records, we may observe, in particular, that it tends to give additional force to the objection urged by the Roman Catholic church against the circulation of the Bible. The members of that church contend, that when the acknowledged difficulty of executing correct and faithful translations is taken into consideration, the perusal of vernacular versions exposes the unlearned reader to the danger of misunderstanding the Scriptures to his own destruction. The force of this objection can alone be obviated by showing that every reasonable precaution has been adopted to secure the fidelity of the circulated version. The Bible authorised by the Catholic church—the Latin Vulgate—is itself a translation: it is, therefore, evident, that a modern vernacular version, derived directly from the original tongues, and carefully executed by individuals of acknowledged competency, must be entitled to claim equal authority. We are quite sure that the care and pains bestowed upon our authorised version, and the high attainments of those engaged in making and revising it, confer upon it a claim to fidelity equal to the very highest pretension that can be advanced

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in favour of the Latin Vulgate. To the circulation of our English version, therefore, the Catholics cannot object on the ground that it conveys incorrectly, or imperfectly, the sense of the original. But with respect to the versions put forth by the Earl-street committee, the case, we are bound to confess, is widely different.

The lax and erroneous system pursued by this committee with respect to the versions printed under their auspices will explain a circumstance for which it has been considered somewhat difficult to account. It has been openly and repeatedly asserted, that among the foremost of the Society's continental supporters appear many individuals notorious for entertaining heretical or infidel opinions. The managing committee have been recently arraigned, with considerable severity, for employing the services of such men; and they have met the charge, not by a direct denial, but by an inference that men who render themselves active in the circulation of the Bible *cannot* hold the opinions ascribed to their foreign agents. We must, however, be allowed to observe that this ingenious inference is by no means enough to invalidate the imputation which they wish to remove. We can conceive the utmost activity in promoting the circulation of versions executed upon the Earl-street system to be perfectly compatible with the views of men who hold the most dangerous opinions. It is almost too obvious to require a remark, that the circulation of incorrect versions of the Bible must open the door to the introduction of the most efficient means of undermining the authority of the Bible itself. Acting under the protection of the Bible Society, the persons in question *have* already succeeded in making serious innovations in the received versions; under the sanction, and at the expense of this Society, editions of the Bible *have* appeared in different parts of the continent *purified* of the passages which gave offence to the philosophers. Mr. Haldane and Dr. Andrew Thomson of Edinburgh have proved these things beyond the possibility of dispute. When the managers, therefore, exult in having enlisted under the banners of the Society the self-styled philosophers and neologists of the continent, we must request them to moderate their triumph. The directors fondly imagine that they use their philosophical agents as tools to promote their own views: in this design they have, however, been completely outwitted; the tables have been turned upon them; they have been the dupes of a set of *Encyclopedists*, who have quietly availed themselves of the influence and resources of the Society in the promotion of their own purposes.

The manner in which this Society's modern versions have been executed

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executed appears to us to call for the immediate and earnest consideration of those who contribute to its funds, to whatever class or denomination of Christians they may belong. We are quite sure that few, if any, will be found among them willing, in sober seriousness, to sanction the circulation of unfaithful versions of the Bible. We are persuaded that the majority of the subscribers have hitherto proceeded in ignorance of the system upon which the directors have been acting: we assure them, with truth and sincerity, that so far from entertaining any hostility to the circulation of the Scriptures in all the languages of the world, there is no object which we more ardently desire to promote; but, reverencing as we do the sacred oracles, we dare not countenance any tampering with their contents—we dare not stand quietly by while we witness measures carried on under the direction of ignorant or perverse men, which have no tendency that we can perceive, except to diffuse among the inhabitants of the world mean and meagre shadows, or distorted caricatures of the word of God.

We are sorry to say we think it *possible* that the actual directors of the Society, whose management we have been compelled to arraign, together with their more immediate retainers, will exclaim against our interference; and, with the hope of enlisting the subscribers in the defence of a cause which they feel to be untenable in fair argument, raise a howl that our strictures have been dictated by principles of covert hostility to the institution itself. If such an attempt should be made to misrepresent our motives, we are satisfied that the good sense of the subscribers will render it unsuccessful. By pointing out to them and to the public at large the errors and incompetency of its present directors we perform the most essential service to the Bible Society; and we are much deceived if we shall not secure to ourselves, by this means, the cordial acknowledgments of all the real friends of the institution. The objections which we have raised do not in any degree affect the principle or the object of this Society; but merely the manner in which one most important branch of its proceedings is now conducted. The diffusion of scriptural knowledge among all the nations of the world is an object which must at all times command the most strenuous support of all Christian men; but to the circulation of versions of the Bible incorrectly and unfaithfully executed we feel ourselves bound to offer every resistance that lies in our power.

There is one circumstance connected with the transactions of this Society to which we cannot advert without the most painful sensations. Among the vice-presidents of this institution there appear the names of men who, from their station and acquirements, ought not

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not to be ignorant of the dangerous tendency of the proceedings upon which we have animadverted. That the members of *the managing committee*, who, under a standing rule of the institution, must be laymen,—that men whose lives have been passed, or who are even now engaged, in the toils and turmoils of secular avocations,—that such men, being but little conversant with literary pursuits, should not prove particular in the selection of translators, of whose qualifications they cannot even form a judgment, is a circumstance that can excite no surprise. But that learned clerks, and venerable prelates, whose education and pursuits must have made them thoroughly acquainted with the principles on which all previous versions, of any authority, have been executed, should have lent the sanction of their names to translations such as these—this, indeed, is an anomaly for which it is difficult to account. Nor can we acquit them of blame, although we are thoroughly convinced they cannot be aware of the extent of the evil at which they have permitted themselves to wink. These men, thinking no evil themselves, have reposed their confidence in persons by whom it has been betrayed, and thus, and only thus, rendered themselves responsible to the public for translations in which they have taken no real or efficient part. Nor, unfortunately, is this a solitary, or even an unusual instance, of the want of foresight and circumspection in the ostensible guardians of public institutions. The high and exalted personages who lend their names for the purpose of patronising such establishments, seldom enjoy the leisure required for the due superintendence of their affairs. The management of these falls, therefore, into the hands of the busy, incompetent, and interested retainers who commonly swarm about the purlieus of such associations. The noble and venerable individuals who fill the stations of president and vice-presidents of the Earl-street Society are all of them entitled to the highest respect, on account of their private worth: they are, all of them, infinitely too conscientious to give, knowingly, the slightest countenance to the circulation of scriptural versions of doubtful authority; but they have allowed themselves to be deceived by artful and designing men, who have used their names as a cloak to conceal their own views and purposes. On this most important subject we venture, therefore, to appeal to the good sense and good feeling of the president and vice-presidents of this institution. It is upon them that we call to consider seriously, ere it be too late, a system of procedure which, we are sure, minds such as theirs cannot understand without condemning.

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ART. II.—*The Poetical Works of John Milton; with Notes of various Authors.* The Third Edition. With other Illustrations, and with *Some Account of the Life and Writings of Milton;* derived principally from Documents in his Majesty's State-Paper Office, now first published. By the Rev. H. J. Todd, &c. 6 vols. 8vo.

WE are sorry to be opposed on any occasion to the authority of the learned and venerable Bishop of Salisbury; but that the recently discovered Treatise of Christian Doctrine is the long lost work of Milton, appears to be now established beyond all controversy. By evidence from the state-paper office, brought to light since Dr. Sumner's translation appeared, and incorporated in the present edition of Mr. Todd's Life of the great poet, it seems that Daniel Skinner, a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and probably nephew of Cyriack, consigned such a treatise, together with Milton's state-letters, to the hands of Elzevir, to be printed at Amsterdam—that Elzevir declined publishing them, as containing things which, in his opinion, had better be suppressed, and wrote to that effect to Sir Joseph Williamson, then one of the secretaries of state—that meanwhile Dr. Barrow, the master of Trinity, sent a peremptory order to Skinner, who was at Paris, to repair immediately to college, and to desist from making public 'any writing mischievous to church or state,' on pain of forfeiting his fellowship; and, by a conjecture, almost amounting to certainty, it is supposed, that the said Daniel Skinner did, in obedience to this summons, return to England, and deliver up the suspected papers to the secretary.

It was natural enough that the exhumation of such a work should again direct the attention of the world more particularly to the writings of its illustrious author; and that, after the lapse of a century and a half, we should look on the relic with the feelings of the Roman peasant whose ploughshare happened to turn up the bones of his forefathers, and, with him, wonder at the gigantic stature of the men who lived in the civil wars.

Still we must not suffer a great name to lead us astray—'Unusquisque valeat in arte suâ.'—Cicero was an admirable orator, yet a very ordinary writer of verse; and Sir Isaac Newton is pronounced, by no mean authority, to have been, out of his own province, but a common man. Whilst we bow, therefore, to Milton as the poet,—in Milton as a divine or a statesman we can only see a visionary; and cannot but think that, to assert his merits in these latter departments, is to come forward (if we may use the words of a great master of eloquence) 'with hymns and cymbals to adore the mighty luminary when he is suffering an eclipse.'

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The character of Milton, long as it has been before the world, has, until lately, been but partially understood. It is not to be gathered from his poetry alone, and his prose (vigorous as some of it is) has been little studied; nor indeed are his views on many points so fully developed in any of his former works as in this most curious Treatise of Christian Doctrine. In him we now possess, filled up with all the accuracy of detail, a magnificent specimen of the Puritan in his least offensive form; the fervour, the devotion, the honest indignation, the moral fearlessness, the uncompromising impetuosity, the fantastic imagination of the party, all conspicuous; unalloyed, however, by the hypocrisy, the vulgarity, the cant, the cunning, and bad taste, which have so generally made the name to stink in the nostrils of men.

It is only by the study of individuals that we can make a tolerable estimate of the merits and defects of a body of men, which is one of the most remarkable in our annals, and which has not left itself without witness in the civil, religious, and even domestic relations of our country, to this very day. Happily materials for forming such a judgment are abundantly supplied in the fruitful biography of those times: for ill indeed should we fare were we compelled to put our trust in the professed historian of Non-Conformity. With Neal, we must even walk like Agag, when suspicious of danger, '*delicately*.' He may not always directly assert what is false, but he perpetually suppresses what is true—where he has not the boldness to make a charge, he can imply a suspicion—where a plain tale would set him or his party down, he can be ambiguous as an oracle, prepared with one sense to mislead his reader, with another to save himself. It would be at least as fair to go to Hudibras or Drunken Barnaby for a picture of a Non-Conformist, as to trust to Neal for that of a Churchman. With him, every refractory freak of a Puritan is a struggle of conscience, and every act of resistance in a bishop an argument of bigotry. The one the most reasonable, the other the most narrow-minded of men; the scruples of the Roundhead are to be treated with tenderness, as respectable and innocent, those of the ecclesiastic to be over-ruled as mere cloaks to ambition and avarice; the crazy projects of the one are so many instances of lofty and seraphical virtue, the prudential considerations of the other are low, timeserving, and earthly.

That many amongst the Puritans acted in the most perfect sincerity of heart, there can be no dispute. They no doubt believed that the doctrines they taught, and the schemes they proposed, were for the best—and the same may be said of most of the inmates of Bedlam. Certain, however, it is, that had it fallen to their lot to conduct the Reformation under Elizabeth, the great cause

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cause would have run infinite risk of miscarriage. That arbitrary monarch had a leaning towards Rome in almost everything but the doctrine of papal supremacy. To the real presence she was understood to have no objection; the celibacy of the clergy she decidedly approved; the gorgeous rites of the ancient form of worship she admired, and in her own chapel, retained. There wanted little but a Sampson or a Cartwright at the head of affairs at this critical period, instead of a Parker or a Whitgift, to put out the candle that old Latimer had lighted, and to sacrifice the substantial interests of religion to a cope and surplice.

Those, truly, were days when gnats were strained at and camels swallowed; else it should seem strange indeed, that persons who could not tolerate a piece of innocent Irish linen because it had decorated the shoulders of a priest, should find no qualms at abandoning their congregations (which was often the alternative) to that very priest in disguise; or that men, who in all things professed to take the scriptures for their guide, should have forgotten that those very scriptures do not require us to consult the conscience of every capricious humorist—that St. Paul would not circumcise Titus to please the captious brethren; nor our Lord himself forbid his disciples to eat with unwashen hands, or to pluck ears of corn on the Sabbath, for fear of giving offence to those who had no right to be offended.

It is most true that we owe much of the present beauty of our constitution to this rigid scrupulosity; and so is it true, that we owe much of the present beauty of our metropolis to the great fire; yet small praise is due to the element itself, in either case, for the good of which it was the accidental cause. Out of the fury of the flames arose spacious and regular streets; out of the commotions of the zealots the Bill of Rights and Act of Toleration. But we should feel more grateful for the benefit, did we perceive less selfishness in the benefactor. The Puritans, like many others, were just patriots enough to struggle manfully for the possession of power, and to keep it carefully in their own hands when they had got possession. Tithes, pluralities, the disabilities of dissenters, and the restrictions of the press, were the *anathema maranatha* of the conscientious Presbyterian in distress. No sooner is it his turn to be king, than he seizes for himself benefices with both hands, preaches extirpation of schism, and the necessity of a censorship; in short, (as Swift says,) 'gets on a horse and eats custard,' with as few compunctious visitings as the worst of those whom he had supplanted. The scene again changes, and enter the Independents—men who had been, of all others, the most clamorous for liberty, and most abusive of the parliament for their cruelty to the king—and how do they act? Scarcely are they firm

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firm in their seats, before they publish their repentance of their former clemency; cry God mercy for their kindness to a forlorn and fallen monarch; confess that they were under a temptation, deprive him of his chaplains, and cut off his head.

If Cromwell himself was more magnanimous than his party, it was probably from policy rather than principle—more from expansion of head than of heart, though that heart was not always dead to kinder impulses. It is certain that he sanctioned some measures of gross oppression and intolerance, (that of the Tryers for instance,) where he could so act without dread of consequences. Like Frederick of Prussia, however, he in general felt himself above the fear of 'paper pellets,' or divisions of the people: he kept aloof, with the lion in the fable, till the contending bulls had exhausted one another, and then he well knew the spoil would be his own.—It was his strength to sit still.

After the defeat of Worcester, (the period when the lord-general began to know his own purposes, and to discover that the vision which flitted before him, 'the semblance of a kingly crown had on,') the Royalists lay grovelling and prostrate; they, therefore, might be safely neglected. The Presbyterians, who had been made drunk by success, only needed to be left to themselves, that they might uncover yet more of their own nakedness, and sink themselves into a contempt that should render them harmless, by the gross inconsistency of their practice with their professions—'the latter end of their commonwealth most grievously forgetting the beginning.' The Independents, the friends of the usurper whilst he allowed every man to vent what nonsense and run into what extravagances he pleased, would have soon discovered that he no longer wielded 'the sword of the Lord and of Gideon,' had he used it to suppress those fantastic movements amongst them, which, as many believed, and many more affected to believe, were the suggestions of the Spirit. To constrain them was, therefore, no policy for him. They were fulminating balls, which would be quiet till they were crushed. Indeed, of the explosive materials of which this latter body consisted, it is difficult to form a notion in these less tumultuous times. Every man amongst them thought for himself, and probably no ten men of them all thought alike. If the world could have been emptied of all but John Lilburne, (it was said by Judge Jenkins,) John would have quarrelled with Lilburne, and Lilburne with John. Each individual had his peculiar political or religious nostrum at the service of his friends, who wondered in their turn that he could be so absurd as not to see the superiority of their own. It would be as rational, therefore, to produce the single brick for the sample of a house, as the single Independent, for that of the party to which he belonged.

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longed. In every sense of the word, both as politicians and divines, their name was 'Legion.' Nevertheless, as it is only by an induction of particulars that we can come to a general conclusion, we shall venture to attempt one portrait, out of many belonging to this heterogeneous body; and at the same time, by collecting our facts from his several writings, and bringing them together, endeavour to show at a single view the British constitution in church and state, as it would have come fresh from the hands of the Arch-Puritan, John Milton. We commend it to those who look to this great poet for maxims of practical wisdom in the affairs of men; declaring for ourselves, that we know not where a parallel case can be found to its extravagance, unless it be in the projects of some of the male and female reformers in Aristophanes, the notable commonwealth of Gonzalo, or, perhaps, in those still more insane burlesques, the prize-constitutions of the Harrington Club.

Detesting, as we do from our hearts, much of the conduct of the Parliament, we should equally scorn to justify every act of King Charles: yet this we cannot help remarking, that whatever disposition he might have had to conciliate and satisfy his people, his people were not in a condition to be satisfied or conciliated. He would have had as much chance of success as the Sicilians, when in terms the most insinuating they coax Mount Ætna to abstain from an eruption: a crisis was at hand which had been in preparation through several reigns, and which no wisdom on the part of this unfortunate man could have warded off. Charles committed errors, no doubt; no doubt he struggled hard to retain that which he honestly believed he had inherited—the possession of absolute power: it was natural that he should; but, to make him and his obstinacy responsible for the great rebellion, is to argue without any reference to the temper of the people he had to rule. The elements of society were as ungovernable as the winds. The picture of the mental commotion in England, which Milton draws in his 'Areopagitica,' is truly appalling.

'Behold,' says he, 'this vast city, a city of refuge, the mansion-house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with its protection; the shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice in defence of beleaguered truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present as with their homage and their fealty the approaching Reformation:—others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement; what could a man require more from a nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge? What

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wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil, but wise and faithful labourers to make a knowing people a nation of prophets, of sages, and of worthies?'

It is an easy matter for modern patriots sitting over their claret and filling a bumper to the 'Constitution,' to bring heavy charges of delinquency against Charles; but we must remind them that the Constitution, as it now is, even in theory, would have been far from satisfying the cravings of that unhappy monarch's subjects, who partook, in a very remarkable degree, of the taste of the horse-leech's daughters. That the king should have a negative voice on the decisions of his parliament, Milton treats as a mere chimæra,—or that a law should not be binding without the consent of the Lords,—or that taxes cannot be legally levied by the Commons alone.* But we need not stay to examine how Milton read the constitution, as it had been: it is better to proceed, as we promised, and set forth what he wished it to be for the time to come.

The Miltonian government of England, then, is to consist of a grand council, elected by the people, and supplied from time to time with new members, as vacancies may occur, but in itself perpetual. It is curious, however, and it is a fact which it would be unfair to suppress, that the poet's plan of election is that recently adopted, with some modifications, in France,—

'which does not commit all to the noise and shouting of a rude multitude, but permits only those of them who are rightly qualified to nominate as many as they will, and out of that number others of a better breeding to choose a less number more judiciously, till, after a third or fourth sifting, or refining of exactest choice, they only be left chosen who are the due number, and seem by most voices the worthiest?'

Nor is it less singular that he suggests, in case objection be made to a *permanent* council, the annual retirement of a third part of the Senators, according to the precedence of their election, a provision which, like the former, has been admitted by the French, though not exactly in the proportion here assigned, and of which David Hume is commonly supposed to have originated the idea. Meanwhile, every county is to be erected into a separate and subordinate republic, the chief town being the seat of the local government, whither the gentry who compose it may resort, to appoint their own judges, model their own courts, and execute their own laws in their own way, without revision and without appeal—a plan in some sort resembling what has been adopted in the United States of North America.

* Vol. i. p. 405, Iconoclast; vol. ii. p. 212, Defence, &c.; vol. ii. p. 222, Burnett's abridged edition.

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Should the grand council propose enactments affecting the country at large, it shall be left to these lesser commonwealths to express, within a limited time, their assent or dissent, so as to be bound, however, by the opinion of the majority of the shires. The specific nature of the changes which Milton contemplated in the laws of the land does not fully appear: it seems probable, however, from a passage in the 'Sampson Agonistes,' that in this he would have gone hand-in-hand with Ludlow, making a clear stage in the constitution, sweeping away all existing statutes, and so giving room for others more conformable to the new order of things—the sin of *omission* being that which he has the modesty to think brought upon the saints their political reverses and the indignation of heaven.*

The question of the Church is to be disposed of next, a subject upon which he explains himself in yet more ample detail. Now, the bishops having been found to infect religion with the 'dead-palsy,' the clergy in general being 'hirelings and grievous wolves,' and their proctors a 'hell-pestering rabble,' it is high time that these should be all done away. It being possible, however, that ministers may not be found ready to teach for nothing,—(which is much to be desired, and the primitive practice,)—tithes, moreover, being 'unjust and scandalous,' and all fees 'accursed and simoniacal,'—it remains for the clergy to depend for support on the voluntary alms of their hearers; but, it being hard, and altogether contrary to the freedom of the gospel, that people should go to their own parish church, where they might possibly sit with as much profit as 'the sheep in their pews at Smithfield,' they are to follow whom they will, and bestow their charity on him they like best. Here, however, it occurs that, under such a dispensation, some luckless mar-texts might be left without sheep or shearing: to them, therefore, it is humanely suggested that they may go preaching through the villages, where their audience will be less critical, or add to their pastoral charge the more lucrative functions of tradesmen, surgeons, bricklayers, and carpenters.—(*C. D.* 489. v. i. 169. Burnett's edition.) Thus would they resemble St. Paul, at least by working with their own hands, and (in the characteristic language of the great anti-puritan divine) have the advantage of 'being able to *drive the nail home*, in the literal sense, and to *make* a pulpit before they preached in it.'

It may be true that, under such a system, the learning of the

* 'Nor dost thou only degrade them, or remit
To life obscured, which were a fair dismission,
But throw'st them lower than thou didst exalt them high;
Unseemly falls in human eye,
Too grievous for the trespass of omission.'—v. 690.

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church would be but scanty: ecclesiastical literature, however, is worthless, or worse, for 'whatsoever time, or the heedless hand of blind chance hath drawn down from of old in her huge drag-net, whether fish or sea-weed, shells or shrubs, unpicked, unchosen—these are the Fathers.' The study of the Fathers, therefore, may be safely dismissed;—it is enough that the Bible be read without comment, without prejudice, and without fear. Then will it be perceived that the great doctrine of *Christian liberty* is the master-key of the whole: use this, and it will be found that the minister needs no call besides the consciousness of gifts within him—no interpreter besides his own assurance of the truth. Let him be fully persuaded of any proposition in his own mind, and it is enough: even the Scripture may deceive him, for its text may be corrupt—the Spirit cannot, for its characters are pourtrayed fresh from the finger of God. The evidence, therefore, of his own heart is the paramount evidence of all.

'He who receives
Light from above, from the fountain of light,
No other doctrine needs, however true.'—*P. R.* iv. 290. *C. D.* 476.

The Scriptures being yet further opened by the same key of Christian liberty, it will be manifest that prayers are not to be circumscribed by place or time, by church or Sabbath, all situations and all seasons being equally suitable—that set forms of devotion are to make way for extempore effusions, the Lord's Prayer itself being intended rather to be copied in its spirit than used in its letter—that acts of self-denial and bodily mortification profit not, and therefore are to be discarded as onerous—that the whole law of Moses, moral as well as ceremonial, the Decalogue no less than the ritual, is abolished, and that the love of God, and of our neighbour, enjoined in general terms, and admitting of an enlarged and liberal interpretation, has superseded all specific injunctions—that marriage is to be disencumbered of its inconvenient restrictions, and a greater latitude allowed it, the unmeetness of the parties being a satisfactory ground of divorce, and the niggardly allowance of one wife at a time being a frivolous and vexatious regulation.*

Measures, however, so novel, and so much in advance of the times, require a corresponding change in the system of education. Our universities and public schools, therefore, are to give place to 'spacious houses fit for academies,' one of which is to be established in every city, offering a wholesome and happy nurture to our youth, instead of that 'asinine feast of sow-thistles and brambles which is commonly set before them, as all the

* We wish we could afford room for quoting at length the defence of polygamy. It is perhaps the most curious thing in the whole Treatise of Christian Doctrine.

food

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food and entertainment of their tenderest and most docible age.' Here will every stripling, by the time he is one-and-twenty, have read more Latin and Greek authors than, perhaps, the most veteran scholar in these degenerate days: he will, besides, have mastered the Italian, the Hebrew, the Chaldee, and Syrian at 'odd hours.' He will have made himself, in his school-room and playground, a complete farmer, architect, engineer, sportsman, apothecary, anatomist, lawgiver, philosopher, general officer of cavalry, skilled in 'embattling, marching, encamping, fortifying, besieging, and battering,' equal to the command of an army the moment he has escaped from the rod; and thus will he prove himself, 'in a dangerous fit of the commonwealth, no poor, shaken, uncertain reed, of such a tottering conscience as many great counsellors show themselves, but a stedfast pillar of the state.'*

Inconsistency in its notions was the natural infirmity of a spirit thus visionary, acting, as such a spirit is wont to do, on momentary impulse rather than mature principle; and surely no man's conclusions are more discordant with one another than those of Milton—'Nil fuit unquam sic impar sibi.' He reviles Charles I. for interfering in the return of members to parliament by 'intimations and court-letters,' and commends Cromwell for his discretion in nominating them by *his own writ*, and thus 'allowing the privilege of voting to those only to whom it was expedient to allow it;'—the privileged,—it is needless to say,—being Cromwell and his council—the happy result of their choice, the Bare-bones parliament. He abhors every restraint upon the freedom of the subject, yet would put into the hands of the magistrate 'the managing of our public sports and festival pastimes,' that mirth might not become licentiousness. He reproaches, in the bitterest terms, the weakness of those who (in the language of his day) 'did the work of the Lord negligently;' yet denies not but 'it is the part of prudence to comply with the necessity of the times, for the sake of public peace and private safety.'—(*C. D.* 704.) He ascribes every 'sociable perfection in this life, civil or *sacred*,' to discipline, (v. i. 54.) yet discovers, from the church claiming to herself 'worldly authority,' (without which, in some degree, there can be no discipline) that the 'apostolical virtue is departed from her.'—(p. 80.) He despises the idea of making the senses auxiliary to devotion, yet he loves, poetically at least, 'the cloyster,' the 'pealing organ,' and the cathedral's 'dim religious light.' He allows of individual inspiration, and yet pronounces a general council of bishops and elders altogether incompetent to making decrees.—(*C. D.* 493.) He considers the Mosaical law, moral as well as

* See Treatise 'of Education,' pp. 266-268, 269, 270-274, vol. i.

ceremonial,

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ceremonial, abolished; yet, throughout his book on Christian Doctrine, proves moral obligations to be binding, by texts from that law. He advocates the interpretation of Scripture exclusively according to its spirit, yet argues the questions of polygamy, divorce, and falsehood, on grounds of the most servile adherence to its letter. He reproaches Tertullian (when it answers his purpose to shake his authority on the subject of episcopacy) as an unfaithful expounder of Scripture, 'because he goes about to form an imparity between God the Father and God the Son' (v. i. p. 40.); yet himself, in his Paradise Lost, makes the Son only the first of created things, (iii. 383,) and again shifting his ground, maintains, in the same poem, the pre-existence of angels (v. 600.); and in his Treatise of Christian Doctrine, expressly and distinctly avows his Arianism.

'Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?'

Need we then wonder that Milton should have had so little influence on the age in which he lived, and even with the party to which he had attached himself? Removed from him by many generations, and regarding him (who can help so regarding him?) as one of the most gifted men that our country has produced; thrown, too, upon times eminently calculated (as might have been supposed) to bring his talents into play;—it is not without surprise that we find him considered by the rulers of his day, chiefly, if not altogether, as a person possessing an unusual flow of Latin and vehemence of invective, and in so far fit to be made the minister of their purposes, but not the partner of their counsels. The master-spirits of that age might talk, and pray, and sing psalms with those who had the innocence of the dove, but they preferred consulting with such as had the subtlety of the serpent. Milton was too visionary to be followed; too sincere to be controuled; too ambitious of what he thought perfect, to acquiesce in what others might think practicable. He would admit of no compromise; he would hear of no obstacles: seasons were never to be watched; prejudices to be respected; nor allowance to be made for inveteracy of habit, dulness of apprehension, or conflict of opinion. On he would go right to his end, through flood and fell, with the obstinacy of a Roman road.—'Inveniam viam, aut faciam.' In Milton's phrase, Cranmer and Ridley were 'time-serving and halting prelates;' yet, whilst the sublime reveries of himself and his friends are now scarcely known to the antiquary, the changes which those 'time-serving and halting prelates' wrought in the religion of their country, are to this day stedfast as ever; and the mighty effects with which their measures, their *tame* measures, were pregnant, have only been made more manifest by the revolution of years. Milton was about as well qualified to act a part in the

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the practical business of life as Plato would have been, if, according to his wish, he could have 'unsphered him.' He might, for aught we know, have legislated admirably for the inhabitants of the moon, but for those of the earth it was out of the question. He lived in a world of his own creation, and peopled it with beings of other passions than ours. Jacob Behmen, who could teach his followers to smell angels, was not too mystical for him; and had he been born in later times, he would probably have preferred Joanna Southcote or William Huntington, S. S., to the whole bench of our bishops, and the Fasting Woman of Tutbury to the most florid of her sex.

Those temptations which practically fill the world with confusion and misery, which stock our prisons, and madhouses, and hospitals, he threw out of his reckoning, as utterly contemptible and powerless. In his sight they, doubtless, were so; for far are we from charging him with any deliberate intention of producing the mischief to which his system would have necessarily led. The Sabbath might have been abolished, and Milton would still have employed it in devotion; the Liturgy might have been suppressed, and he would still have poured out his soul before God with the eloquence of a prophet; churches might have been demolished, but still would he have erected for himself a chapel in his heart; austerities might have been discouraged, but his rule would have ever been that which the 'strictest temperance taught;' indolence might have been made no reproach, but he would still have been stirring before the chime of the matin-bell; libertinism might have rejoiced at his doctrines of polygamy and divorce, but their author would still have remembered that the high reward of accompanying the lamb with celestial songs is reserved for those who have not 'defiled themselves with women.'

We do not charge him with bad intentions, but with bad theories —with making no allowance in his machinery for friction. He forgets that men are made of flesh and blood; he only sees them, as Madame de Staal says, *en buste;* he supposes that, 'because *he* is virtuous, there will be no more cakes and ale:' in all his speculations the body is regarded as a mere engine, which the soul condescends to employ for the present, and over which its controul is as absolute as that of an astronomer over his telescope, or a carpenter over his plane;—'*animus* cujusque, is est quisque.' Is the king to be imprisoned? Then why not killed, for what matters it whether the 'useless bulk of his person' be stowed in a coffin or a gaol? Is the marriage-bed violated? Why call for a divorce, whilst mutual aversion is not permitted to annul the contract? The injury of a worthless vessel is not to be compared with that of a wounded spirit. Do the martyrs expire in the flames?

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flames? What of that? Who would not give his body to be burned, if the occasion called for it?

A man who was thus all his life long dwelling in the third heaven, was not the material out of which Cromwell could fashion an adviser, or a confidant. Time was, when the Protector had been living there himself, but he had thought better of it, and was now content to walk the earth. Accordingly, Milton had not interest enough to procure for his friend Marvell a laborious appointment of two hundred pounds a year (*Todd*, v. i. 163); and when Peter Heimbach solicits his good offices towards obtaining a subordinate situation in the embassy to the Dutch, he at once declares his inability to serve him by reason of his very little intimacy with those in power (p. 246.); so ludicrous is the effort of his biographer, Dr. Symmons, to exalt the secretary of foreign tongues into the secretary of state for foreign affairs! (*Life*, p. 230.)

We do not speak thus of Milton wantonly. Who would take delight in using irreverently a name which is bound up with the glories of England? But, surely, in proportion as his authority is great, we ought to be jealous of its misapplication:—'Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile.' The most judicious of his admirers will admit that, in his political writings, the author of Paradise Lost has fallen; and their aim will be, not to expose that fall, by making it a subject of eulogy, but to contribute towards its decency, and to hide it with their mantle. Nor do we speak thus of Milton unadvisedly; it is his own acknowledgment, that, in writing on matters of polity, 'he knew himself inferior to himself;' and that, 'led by the genial power of nature to another task, he had in this but the use of his left hand.' Clarendon, who omitted none of the men that stamped the times in which he lived, makes no mention of Milton, either in his History, or (where he had a fair opportunity of introducing him, incidentally, amongst the other great wits of his day) in his Life; Baxter, a voluminous writer on the side of the Presbyterians, and who severely censures some of the coadjutors of the poet in the cause of independency, passes him over in profound silence. His doctrine of divorce was received with ridicule*; and when he was summoned before the House of Lords, at the instigation of the Presbyterians, to answer for this act of heterodoxy, he was speedily dismissed, as though the sentiments were too absurd to do injury, or to provoke censure. On the eve of the Restoration came out his 'Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth,' which met with a jocular reply, and scarcely deserved any other; and though after the return of the king, he was taken before the House of Commons,

* See Sonnet XI., and Warton's Note.

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in custody of the sergeant-at-arms, he was forthwith released on paying the fees. Persecution, to a man of Milton's spirit, would have been a mercy; toleration and neglect he could not endure, nor forgive. In the querulous address to Heaven of his Samson, we may recognise the language of the mortified politician:—

> 'He led me on to mightiest deeds,
> Above the nerve of mortal arm,
> Against the uncircumcised, our enemies,
> But now hath cast me off, as never known.'

The fact is, that the estimation in which Milton is now held disables us from judging calmly of the rank in which he stood with his contemporaries. Many years after the publication of the delightful poems of his youth, he speaks of himself to Salmasius as of a person but little known (v. ii. 381.) Waller, not Milton, was long reckoned the 'Virgil of the nation;' and, strange as it may now seem, there were probably very few, even among scholars, during any part of Milton's life, who would not have preferred the posthumous fame of the elegant panegyrist of Cromwell and Charles the Second, to that of the author of Comus and Paradise Lost. Milton's lesser poems, indeed, (unaccountable as it may seem,) appear, for a long while, to have fallen into utter neglect; and the first attention paid to the Penseroso and Allegro, by a writer of any note, is in the Eloisa of Pope, where some remarkable expressions from those exquisite pieces are adopted without acknowledgment, and, perhaps, under the impression that, to works so little known, no acknowledgment was due. Even in a paper of the Spectator, some lines are quoted by one of the correspondents, as taken from a 'poem of Milton's, which he entitles Il Penseroso,' a form of speech which, as the context shews it not to be intended for something characteristic of the individual using it, argues the poem itself to have been but little read at the time. It is difficult to conceive a stronger proof of the gross depravity of taste which prevailed during the reign of Charles II. than the simple fact, that these two noble efforts of human imagination for a season expired under its sensual influence:—

> 'Fie on sinful phantasy!
> Fie on lust and luxury!'

We have thus entered into the personal character of Milton somewhat more at large, because its leading feature has not been hitherto sufficiently marked. All the world knew that he was an eloquent, a high-minded, 'an austere man,' mighty in the Scriptures; but how visionary he was (though Warburton threw out hints that could not have been altogether neglected by able inquirers) none of his biographers ever told us,—not indeed, perhaps,

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perhaps, until the Treatise on Christrian Doctrine was brought to light, could they tell us at full; yet here, and here alone, will be found the solution of many anomalies in his history, and of many peculiarities in his poems. A life of Milton is yet a desideratum in our literature. Johnson hated his democratic principles, and despised his impracticable philosophy: the severity with which he handled him was only restrained by veneration for his piety, and perhaps ignorance of his arianism; but the bias of his mind is not more discoverable in the sternness of his criticism, than in his selecting for his dictionary, as an example of a sonnet, that very one by Milton which he pronounces 'contemptible.' Johnson was in nothing more remarkable than in his reverence for common sense; to this he appeals on all occasions—in his maxims of government, in his regulations of society, in his canons of criticism: his wisdom was the wisdom of Socrates, practical rather than speculative, homely rather than sublime; he thought that its true province was on the earth, not in the clouds; its proper minister, experience, not conjecture: all this was against Milton, and in favour of Pope; the latter of whom he, perhaps, extravagantly commends,—from the former he no less extravagantly detracts. Dr. Symmons, who has since produced a life of the poet, has the advantage of admiring his subject to idolatry, but his style is pitiable,—feeble, inflated, aiming at that of Johnson, and succeeding, as he who stuffs himself as large as Falstaff, makes himself a prince of wits. This Doctor is a great lover of liberty in church and state, and, therefore, chants forth Milton and independence for ever, with the discrimination of a burgess for Westminster: yet discrimination he has, for he characterises Ovid as 'diffuse and languid;' talks of the 'flexibility of Dr. Parker,' 'who might be regarded' (we presume on that account) 'as the *Horsley* of his age;' discovers a still more accurate knowledge of this latter prelate, by ascribing (because others had done the same) a famous sermon, which he preached before the House of Lords, (or, at least, the appendix to that sermon,) to Bishop Watson, who, as any Doctor ought to have known, would have been the last man on earth to preach, or write, anything like it; wastes, accordingly, much good sarcasm upon that excellent whig; and, with a blind determination to run a-muck in his politics at every man whose memory we have been accustomed to respect, he creates an opportunity of ascribing 'Burke's crusading zeal against the French Revolution' to his pension,—alike unmindful, that, when his own hero defended the regicides, he was writing by order of a council, and upon an annual stipend, while the calumniated Burke, when he published his 'Reflections,' &c. had neither superior to controul, nor pension to pervert him.

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We have seldom met with a finer example of 'the thread of your verbosity spun beyond the staple of your argument,' than the following:—The egregious Doctor introduces Milton to Grotius, and, after a flourish of trumpets, such as might precede a Dialogue of the Dead in Lucian or Erasmus, thus continues—

'Were we able to ascertain with precision all the circumstances of this interview between two extraordinary men, eminently raised above the level of their species by their talents and their attainments,'—[well, what then?] 'we should probably acquire nothing from our knowledge to excite our wonder, or, if our expectations were high, to save us from disappointment. In the formality and coldness of a first meeting, and especially where one party would be restrained by the consciousness of having much to lose, and the other by the felt impropriety of *pressing upon established rank and reputation*, no great display of erudition, or brilliant interchanges of fancy, were likely to take place—compliments requited with civilities; some inquiries respecting the traveller's plans, and some advice respecting their execution, constituted, perhaps, the whole of the conference between these two memorable men.'—p. 80.

The laudable delicacy of Milton upon this occasion we venture to recommend to Dr. Symmons's consideration; and then (we trust) we shall have no more talk of Dr. Symmons' 'honouring with his notice' a work of Dr. Johnson, nor hear a pigmy like this begging pardon of the admirers of a giant, whilst he assures them, that 'Johnson actually wanted the power to comprehend the greatness and elevation of Milton's mind.'

The new Life by Mr. Todd will not supply the defect of which we have spoken. It disarms criticism by its perfect modesty and absence of pretension—but it has more the air of a legal instrument than of a poetical memoir. It contains, indeed, some novel facts, the fruits of Mr. Lemon's researches in the State-paper office, and it was the announcement of these in the title-page that turned our attention to an edition of Milton with which, in all other respects, we had long been sufficiently acquainted. Those facts, however, are few in number, and (except so far as they decide the Treatise on Christian Doctrine to be Milton's) of trifling importance; for it scarcely can be considered a matter of grave concern to know that Milton received his orders from the council, as a clerk from his employers—that his salary was 288*l.*, which was afterwards, on his blindness, commuted for a pension of 150*l.*—that he was reluctant to pay his mother-in-law, Ann Powell, (with whom probably he had no great reason to be satisfied,) her thirds, out of the estate of her deceased husband, to which he had succeeded, by discharging the fine upon it—or that she, on the other hand, was afraid to press her suit against a man, who held her daughter as a hostage, and whom she represents as 'hasty and choleric.' Mr. Todd

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Todd is, no doubt, a laborious man, but he is miserably out of his vocation as an editor of our poets. To edit an author is not to empty upon him the contents of a pedantic common-place book; notes are only useful or desirable when they serve to illustrate. If the writer has stolen from others, let him be exposed—if he has adverted to an obsolete custom or an obscure history, let him be explained—if his readings be doubtful, let him be corrected by appropriate reference to the phraseology of the times. But Mr. Todd's quotations seldom show anything but that other writers have expressed a common thought like Milton, where it would not have been easy for them to have expressed it differently; and, after the fashion of his craft, he is too apt to desert us in our distress, and cumber us with help when we are safe on land. Thus the meaning of

'Smoothing the raven-down
Of darkness till it smiled,'

is left to the reader to discover how he can; whilst the phrase 'bosky bourn,' which occurs shortly after, elicits a whole page of needless exposition—

'For commentators each dark passage shun
And hold a farthing-candle to the sun.'—

If our memory does not fail us, he gives a couple of pages of notes, in his edition of Spenser, on that dark phraze—

'A gentle knight was *pricking* on the plain."

And so he goes on through the two great poets who have had the misfortune to engage his kind offices. Of Milton's *peculiar* sources of thought and illustration—of the rabbinical writings, for example,—he knows absolutely nothing. But enough of Mr. Todd: his edition of 'Paradise Lost' is so heavy a disgrace to our literature, that we may, perhaps, be induced, on some future occasion, to make it the subject of a separate critical notice; and, for a similar reason, we shall certainly ere long devote some pages to his edition of Johnson's Dictionary.—But our present concern is with Milton.

Let us now turn to him in a new character;—and here we are ready to avow that the same quality of mind which made his politics worthless, gave to his poetry its superlative charm. The very

'Light which led astray
Was light from heaven—'

Excess of imagination is commonly to be paid for, whether dearly or not, by defect of judgment. The growth of the one faculty is the decline of the other: years, which make us more wise, make us less imaginative; and, in the madman, where the reason is prostrate,

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trate, the fancy triumphs. Shakspeare, who in this, as in almost everything, was a splendid exception to all general rules, united both these faculties in their exuberance—and, of all the singular features of his mind, none is perhaps so singular as this. The opinion of Shakspeare would have been worth having not merely on the construction of a poem, but on the making of a will, on the purchase of an estate, or the committal of a culprit at a justice's meeting. This union of powers nature denied to Milton; she gave him an imagination equal to that of the great dramatist, but she refused him his common-sense. Nothing was ever so *unearthly* as his poetry. The most unpromising subject, after passing through his heated mind, comes out purged, and purified, and refined; the terrestrial body dissolves in the process, and we behold in its stead a glorified body. That which was by nature a frail and perishable flower, when transplanted to his fancy, becomes 'immortal amaranth.'

A young girl and her brothers are benighted and separated as they pass through a forest in Herefordshire. How meagre is this solitary fact!—how barren a paragraph would it have made for the Herefordshire journal, had such a journal been then in existence. Submit it to Milton, and beautiful is the form which it assumes. Then rings that wood with the jocund revelry of Comus and his company, and the maiden draws near in the strength of unblemished chastity, and her courage waxes strong as she sees

'A sable cloud
Turn forth her silver lining on the night—'

and she calls upon Echo to tell her of the flowery cave which hides her brothers, and Echo betrays her to the enchanter. Then comes the spirit from 'the starry threshold of Jove's court,' and in shepherd-weeds leads on the brothers to her rescue;—and the necromancer is put to flight, but not till he has bound up the lady in fetters of stone;—and Sabrina hastens from under her 'translucent wave' to dissolve the spell—and again they all three bend their happy steps back to the roof of their fathers.

This is not extravagant rhapsody—the tale is still actually preserved; but it is preserved like a fly in amber. The image is a mere thing of wood, but Milton inshrines it, and it becomes an object of worship. Deprive Milton of the privilege of sending Milton's thoughts forth, and the secret of his strength is gone. In *translation* he is not only below himself, but below those who have not a thousandth part of his genius. His version of the Psalms is not above that of Sternhold and Hopkins.

The arrival of Lady Derby at Harefield is to be greeted by her friends and household. Then is Harefield (after the fashion in deed

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deed of the times, but by no common artist) converted into an Arcadia, and the noble guest is ushered in by a company of peasants, and their homage is directed by the genius of the wood, who chaunts the praises of the new queen of Arcady in strains of exquisite delicacy—'ipsa mollities'—strains which he had learned to sing by listening, 'in deep of night,' to the harmony of the spheres.

His friend perishes by sea as he passes from Chester to Ireland. Again, Milton clothes this naked fact in imagery of his own, and Mr. King is no longer his college companion, but the shepherd with whom he had been accustomed 'to drive a-field under the opening eyelids of the morn'—and the crazy vessel is no more a material hulk, but capable of perfidy, and rigged with curses, and built in an eclipse;—and the church does not lament the loss of a promising member, but the pilot of the Galilean lake moans over one who would so well have plied the herdsman's art, and put to shame the careless hinds;—and his fellow-students are not besought to honour his memory with their funeral songs, but the muses who loved him are called upon to purple the ground where, in imagination at least, he lies, with fresh flowers, and to lavish upon it the embroidery of spring.

It has been said that this is not the natural mode of expressing passion—that where it is real, its language is less figurative—and that 'where there is leisure for fiction there is little grief.' In general this may be true; in the case of Milton its truth may be doubted. In his verses on the death of an infant he indulges a similar vein, yet the concluding stanza could hardly have been written by one who wrote without sympathy—and in his Epitaphium Damonis, where he laments the early death of Deodati, his schoolfellow, his co-eval, him in whom his soul delighted, and whom he lost before civil war could have hardened his heart, it is still under the same pastoral figures.

The mind of Milton was perfect fairy-land; and every thought which entered it, whether grave or gay, magnificent or mean, quickly partook of a fairy form. It is in illustration of this circumstance, and with a view to the vindication of Milton's better feelings, that we have given a brief analysis of one or two of his lesser poems. We do not believe that he loved his friend less because he chose to call him Lycidas instead of Mr. King; and we are sure that he did not love the clergy more because he represented them as shepherds instead of rectors. He thought in romance; the daily occurrences of life were translated into romance almost before his mind could act upon them. It happened as naturally as an analyst mechanically translates his propositions into algebra

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algebra before his investigation begins. There is no universal language of grief. It takes its complexion from the country, the age, the individual. In its paroxysms no man thinks of writing verses of any kind; then the rhymes of a ballad-singer would be as much out of place as the strains of a Theocritus. We exclaim, as King David does, 'My son! My son!' When the paroxysm is past, every man will write such verses (if he write them at all) as the ordinary turn of his mind dictates. Bishop Andrews said his prayers in Greek: who would, on that account, doubt the sincerity of the great scholar's devotion? Milton lamented his friend in the language of romance: who would, on that account, deny that the poet's sorrow was unfeigned? Men act and speak under suffering agreeably to the manner in which they act and speak in general. Cicero was, by habit, a reader and writer of philosophy; and therefore, when his daughter dies, he gives vent to his grief by studying philosophical treatises on that affection of the mind. Marmontel was, by habit, a reader and writer of plays; and, therefore, when he loses his favourite child, and witnesses the affliction of his wife, he betakes himself to composing, (so he tells us,) as an analogous subject, the opera of Penelope. The one acted like a Roman, the other like a Frenchman; yet the distress of both parents was, no doubt, sincere. The objection which has given occasion to these remarks has arisen, in our opinion, from that imperfect view of Milton's character, with which we have charged both his enemies and his friends. They forget that he was a visionary—they insist upon his grieving like a man of this world, though he lived in a world of his own—they expect that Tippoo Saib's dreams should be those of an European prince, instead of an Asiatic sultan—that the stuff they are made of should be the clamours of the people, the insolence of the press, the intriguings of a diplomatist, instead of tributary monarchs, and white elephants, and extermination of the infidels. Milton was a visionary; he was so by constitution—he was so through loss of sight—he was so through the form of religion which he had embraced. Even his *earliest* poems breathe little or nothing corporeal. A boy of eighteen must have had more than the usual share of taste for metaphysical masks, to put into the mouth of Ens a speech to his eldest son Substance, and to start a conversation between Quantity, Quality, and Relation. After he became blind, his images were supplied him by reflection more than by sense: they were, therefore, abstract, indistinct, undefined—the essentials present with him, the accidents perhaps absent. We may think that we have a good idea of a hippogriff; yet where were his wings, what was their construction,—was he ten hands high, or twice ten? Yet all this we should have known at once had we ever seen him in the yard at Tattersall's. The eye of flesh

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flesh was wanting to Milton, and therefore he had to trust to that inward eye, before which, however he might desire it, all mist could not be purged and dispersed. His very colours in Paradise Lost and Regained are recollections: they are either *golden* or *black*; all the intermediates are forgotten.

But his religion was, perhaps, the most influential cause of the three: it was in the spirit of his party to despise all outward and visible signs, and herein Milton was a Hebrew of the Hebrews. The state of religion has in every country, and at every age, in a great degree regulated literature and the arts. Sculpture never succeeded in Egypt, because scarcely one of all the gods of the Egyptians was of a human shape: monkeys, monsters, onions, and leeks; 'these were thy gods, O Egypt!' The statuary, therefore, never felt his piety stimulate his chisel. In Greece, the artist was conscious that his own brain, like that of Jupiter, might give birth to a deity—his spirit kindled within him, and the marble started into a shape scarcely unworthy an immortal. After the revival of the arts, the Virgin Mary may be strictly reckoned the patroness of painters—devotion refined the conceptions, and guided the pencil of the Italian. There is scarcely a great picture of which the subject is not sacred: magnificent scenes were to be found elsewhere, but they would not do—Andromache was extinguished by the Madonna, and Priam by St. Francis. The religion of Protestants did not admit of pictures or statues, and consequently the art of making them with success in Protestant countries decayed:—medals, academies, exhibitions were lavished in vain—they were beggarly substitutes for the afflatus from on high: wanting this, the painter became a worker on canvass, the sculptor a stonemason. Nor have the effects of the Reformation been less perceptible on poetry. This was not necessarily confined, like painting and sculpture, to the expression of material and sensible objects. There was no need, therefore, for the Protestant to reject it altogether as a help to devotion; but he would be disposed to limit its province, far more than it had hitherto been, to the operations of pure spirit. An attempt, indeed, has since been made by the Moravians to restore the reign of anthropomorphism to sacred poetry; but the attempt was eminently unsuccessful, and has only proved the more clearly how offensive is that taste to the feelings and faith of a reformed people. There is wanted, for the endurance of such poetry, the spectacle, the sacrifice, the procession, the drama, the life and actions of the goddess or saint—all, in fact, which fills the hymns of Homer or Pindar with imagery appropriate to the appetite and experience of those for whom they were written: neither may it be here out of place to remark that the devotions of Protestant congregations are seldom, perhaps,

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perhaps, improved by that spirit of theopathy sometimes perceptible in hymns selected for their use by individual ministers. It is well if such compositions do not more frequently disgust than edify—if they do not rather debase the Deity than elevate the man. For these reasons, wherever the Reformation has extended, poetry in general, and sacred poetry in particular, has assumed a new character. It is become more sublime and less picturesque, more philosophical and less popular, more argumentative and less descriptive.

And here, we conceive, is to be found the true cause of the remarkable difference which subsists between two poems written on somewhat similar subjects, and by authors of a somewhat similar taste—the 'Divina Commedia' and the 'Paradise Lost.' Dante had in him much of Milton—more of him than a cursory perusal of his writings would discover, for the direct coincidences between them are not numerous. We believe that Milton might be more frequently traced to Tasso and Ariosto than to Dante, though, in spirit, he had not much in common with either of them—with the former scarcely anything. It is probable, indeed, that Dante was naturally more of an Epicurean than our great poet, yet it was by the influence of Divine Wisdom, (if Beatrice is to be considered in that light, which is questionable,) that he was preserved or rescued from the thraldom of the flesh, an influence to which the puritan ascribed the same practical and important consequences.—(*Purg.* xxx.) Both had a strong taste for satire, and were not unfrequently content to sacrifice poetry and propriety to the inordinate and unseasonable indulgence of it.—Both were remarkable for their love of political liberty, which drove them into active opposition to the governments under which they lived; nor was Dante less alive than Milton himself to the abuses of the church, or more temperate in the language with which he exposed them. Indeed, it is not without some astonishment that we perceive the boldness with which both he and succeeding poets of Italy (Bojardo, Berni, Ariosto, &c.) to say nothing of the novelists, levelled their ridicule and invective against the clergy: a good deal of this, however, was only ridicule and invective in manuscript. For a long while ignorance of the art of printing, and, subsequently, the paucity of those who could read, disarmed these weapons of their sting: it was probably on this account, no less than through the happy schism of the papal see, that Wickliffe was suffered to die quietly in his bed, and the vial of wrath reserved for later and more enlightened times. Dante does not confine himself to expressions of regret for the fatal gift of Constantine: he attacks the Pope as an unclean

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thing, chewing, indeed, the cud, but not having the cleft-hoof,* and reprobates the 'woman that sits upon the scarlet-coloured beast, and plays the wanton to the princes of the nations,' with the indignation of a soldier of Cromwell.†

But, for all this, the rites and ceremonies of his gorgeous church had taken fast hold of him, and in spite of his inclination for an ideal world—(which may often be traced both in the choice of his subject and in his treatment of it, and which, had he lived in Milton's age and country, would have made itself more manifest;) in spite of a fondness for mysticism and theological speculation such as the Schoolmen taught him—in spite of a rage for the metaphysics of his day, in which he buries (especially in his 'Paradise') both himself and his reader beyond redemption—in spite of all this, the dramatic character of his church had made itself felt on his susceptible imagination, and the disposition of that church to embody every religious conception in some corporeal form had nurtured in him (that which he had not by nature) a taste for poetical materialism. Accordingly, the Divina Commedia is a Catholic poem, the Paradise Lost a Protestant, almost a puritan poem throughout. Milton was singularly happy in the choice of his subject, which, whether good or bad in itself, was admirably adapted to the temper and genius of the man: he had consulted well,—'*Quid valeant humeri, quid ferre recusent.*' It is by no means certain that he could have written an Iliad, an Æneid, or a Jerusalem Delivered; it is by no means certain that he would have succeeded in 'Arthur:' none of those themes would, in the same degree, have called forth that peculiar quality of mind, which is the only key to the right understanding of Milton. In Paradise Lost he could revel in a creation of his own: nothing like any part of it had ever been matter of human experience. The proceedings of good or evil spirits are things of which we are profoundly ignorant; they were fair subjects for speculation—so were the feelings, the occupations, and the circumstances of our first parents. They were living in a condition of which so little is known with certainty, that much might be conjectured without offence. They were living, too, in a state where Milton's moral and political notions were in their proper place. The multiplication of mankind, and the depravity which attended it, had not as yet rendered restraints needful—no system of government was as yet called for—the rights of man were as yet uncircumscribed—forms and ceremonies were not as yet wanted. Milton's visions of church and state were precisely intended for Paradise: they adorned and improved his subject. We would rather meet with them there, than with the schemes of the most rational and sober-

* Purg. xvi. † Purg. xxxii.

minded

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minded statesmen in the world. The very genius of human sagacity could never have legislated for the garden of Eden with half the effect.

'Paradise Lost' is a poem which a painter can scarcely touch: a living artist of considerable talent has been trying of late to *illustrate* it throughout, and the results are deplorable: we doubt if they would have been much better had Martin been a Michael Angelo.* The 'Divina Commedia' teems with subjects which challenge the bold brush and substantial colours of a mortal man: the one cannot be translated into bodily parts—much of the other may. There is that difference between them which subsists between the Tempest and Coriolanus,—both noble productions of the mind, but the one losing in representation on the stage as much as the other gains. Milton's similes exalt his subject, but do not illustrate: Dante's illustrate, but do not always exalt. When the spirits in council applaud, it is 'as the sound of waters deep,'—when they rise, 'their rising is as thunder heard remote,'—when they pursue their sports, it is 'as when armies rush to battle in the clouds.' On the other hand, when the robber is dissolved into ashes by the sting of a serpent, he revives astonished like a man from an epilepsy. (*Infern.* xxiv.) When Beatrice casts upon Dante a look of pity for his ignorance, it is as when a mother gazes upon her crazy offspring. (*Par.* i.) When the halo of glory envelops the beatified spirits of the moon, it is like the ball which incloses the silk-worm. (*Par.* viii.) When Dante and his companion shoot up into the second heaven, the immortal inhabitants congregate around them like fishes about a bait. (*Par.* v.) Milton delights in abstract terms, far more than his illustrious forerunner in the paths of Hell and Paradise. It is not the round shield that hangs upon the shoulders of Satan, but 'its *broad circumference*.' The swan does not row her proud body, but 'rows her *state* with oary feet.' The Tempter in the wilderness does not hypocritically bend his aged head to the Saviour, but 'bows low his *grey dissimulation*.'

Milton's descriptions, again, are broad, general, in the mass—Dante's sharp, dramatic, and touched from the life. The covetous spirit in Paradise Lost admires—

'The riches of heaven's pavement, trodden gold.'

In the Inferno, he lies with his face upon the earth, and exclaims—

'Adhesit pavimento anima mea.'

* We are not so absurd as to think that the 'Paradise Lost' contains no passages which might inspire a true painter. Satan calling on his host to arise, by the present President of the Royal Academy, is one proof to the contrary—a noble picture, almost as much superior, we imagine, to any historical piece of any other living artist, as Sir Thomas Lawrence's portraits are above contemporary rivalry.

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Milton astonishes, but does not interest: we have too little in common with him or his. His subject does not allow him to be much conversant with human passions, for into Paradise human passions had not entered. We listen to the speeches of his mortal and immortal agents, as to the words of superior beings whom we may fear and reverence, but—not love. Dante, on the contrary, is perpetually striking a note, by which all our sympathies are awakened: it is one of his characteristic charms, that he contrives to introduce man, and the feelings of man, into all his scenes, animate or inanimate. How exquisite is his picture of evening!—we know not how to translate it—indeed Gray knew not how, for he tried the last lines.

Era già l'ora che volge 'l disio
A' naviganti, e 'ntenerisce 'l cuore
Lo dì, ch' han detto a' dolci amici, A Dio:
E che lo nuovo peregrin d'amore
Punge, se ode squilla di lontano,
Che paja 'l giorno pianger, che si muore.—*Purg.* viii.

Who would exchange this touching thought, which must come home to the heart of every man, (especially if his steps have ever led him to a foreign land,) for the most faithful representation of twilight, Hesperus, and the nightingale?

We have said that Dante not unfrequently writes in Milton's vein, and, laying aside his materialism, assumes a lofty indistinctness, which gives abundant scope to the fancy of his readers. Thus, when Virgil inquires his way from the Souls of the Proud, an answer reaches him like that from the Spirit in Job: there comes a voice, but he can discern no form from which it comes. When the Spirits of the Envious fly rapidly past the two poets, they hear the rustle of their wings and their dolorous cry, till it dies in the distance; but the shades themselves are invisible. Of the same kind is his picture of the approach of an angel with a boat, freighted with souls for Purgatory, a mountain-island, according to Dante, on the opposite hemisphere.

Meanwhile we tarried near the rippling tide
As men that muse upon their destined way,
Who move in thought, though still their limbs abide—
When lo! as sometime Mars, with fiery ray,
Gleams through the grosser air at dawn of day,
From forth the western ocean—such the sight,
(Strongly my memory can that hour portray,)
As onward o'er the waters rushed a light
In speed surpassing far the eagle's nimblest flight.

Thence, for a little space, I turn mine eye,
Bent through my guide that mystery to explore,

And

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And look I once again, and now espy
The object larger, brighter than before—
Somewhat of white on either side it bore,
But what I knew not—shapeless all it seemed,
Andissuing by degrees; and somewhat lower,
A like appearance indistinctly gleamed,
Till plain, at length, confessed an angel's pinions streamed.—*Purg.* ii.

We may be forgiven for citing one passage more of the same character; for we do not think that credit has been always given to Dante for possessing the faculty of filling the mind by one ample, undetailed conception. Access to the city of Dis, where the heretics receive their reward, is denied to Dante and Virgil by the refractory gate-keepers: they pause awhile, well assured that the Almighty will soon dispatch his swift angel to open for them a way. His advent is thus described.

And now came up along that turbid tide
A crashing uproar pregnant with dismay:
Trembled thereat the shores on either side,
No less than when the whirlwind tears his way,
Invited where the sultry vapours play,
To fill the void impetuous. At one swoop
It storms the wood—nor brooks it there delay;
Before its dusty vanguard proud trees stoop
Branchless and bloomless—flies each herd and shepherd troop.

My eyes unhooding—"Now," quoth he, "thy nerve
"Of vision stretch along yon ancient lake
"Mantling with yeasty foam—and well observe
"Where chief the dusky vapour throngs opaque."—
As scud the frogs at sight of hostile snake,
And hie them all for safety to the shore,—
So did I mark those abject spirits quake,
And haste their flight by thousands: one before
Who crossed with foot unstained the Stygian torrent o'er—

And he, his left hand waving to and fro,
Cleaved from before his face that murky sky,
Unwearied but for this—and now I know
In him heaven's sovereign messenger was nigh.
Then turn I to my guide—his eloquent eye
Bade me be still, and lowly to the plain
Bow, as the spirit immortal passed me by—
He toward the gate, ah! in what huge disdain,
Advanced, and with his wand he smote and oped amain—

"Outcasts of heaven! O race accursed!" he cries,
While yet his steps on that dread threshold stand,
"What hardihood is this? What bold emprize
"Dares ye to kick against his high command

"Whose

" Whose word is steadfast—whose Almighty hand
" Can vex your senses with a tenfold hell?
" Have ye for this your mastiff's sufferings scanned,
" Whose chain-worn throat and muzzle still may tell,
" Where fate ordains her law, 'tis bootless to rebel?"
He said—and back that noisome path pursued,
Nor word to us he spake—but seemed like one
Whose thoughts on other, deeper subjects brood,
Than care of ought his eyes might light upon.—*Infern.* ix.

There are many other passages in this beautiful poet of a similar class, which justify us, we conceive, in our assertion, that the general *style* of his poetry was the result of the circumstances in which he was placed, rather than of the temper with which he was born. Though Milton had been both an Italian, and a Catholic, it may be doubted whether he would have been as graphic as Dante—but had Dante been an Englishman, and a Protestant, it is not improbable that he would have been as sublime as Milton.

In the foregoing passage will be seen some of that learning which Dante is so fond of producing, and so frequently misapplies. His gates of purgatory, on being opened, grate like the doors of the Roman treasury when Cæsar entered and plundered it. The Indolent are punished, not only like the Israelites, who were cut off in the wilderness, and did not live to see the promised land; but, like the Trojans, who deserted Æneas in Sicily, and thereby had no share in the glory of laying the foundation of Rome. Statius relates the primary cause of his conversion to have been the reading of Virgil's Pollio; and, in the true spirit of those times, when Christianity and Paganism were almost confounded, we hear of *Jupiter* having been crucified for the children of men. Often, indeed, he is more happy; but in general his mixture of the sacred and profane argues his participation in that depravity of taste, which has not been thoroughly corrected, even in our country, till very recent times; and the prodigality with which he illustrates his subject, by reference to Roman history, and occasionally to that of Greece, (which he obtained at second-hand,) savours, to us, of the crude learning of a school theme.

In the management of his scholarship, as, indeed, in the measure of it, Milton far surpassed him. It was said by Bentley, of Warburton, in relation to his learning, that he never knew a man with so great an appetite and so bad a digestion. Milton's digestion was admirable; whatever he borrowed from the ancients he made his own; in him it does not seem quotation, but coincidence. This was not the virtue of his day: applications of passages from the classics abound to profusion in contemporary authors; but they are seldom properly assimilated to the subject-matter

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matter—they are fragments of the Parthenon in the mud walls of a Turkish cottage: Milton used them (if we may be allowed so homely an illustration) as the manufacturer uses rags, not for patchwork, but for paper. His likeness to the ancients is much more often that of *expression* than of *feature*. Sometimes, indeed, he makes an open and lavish display of his vast acquirements; but even here there is a *ripeness* in his knowledge which bears witness that it is not forced for the occasion, but is the fruit of years. The catalogue of the evil spirits in Paradise Lost is, perhaps, the most masterly account of ancient idolatry, brief as it is, in the English language; and at the same time serves to show, that Milton had not only framed for himself a system of divinity, but a system of mythology also,—the latter, indeed, far the more mature of the two. But in none of his works is his reading made so *directly* subservient to his end, as in his Paradise Regained—a poem arguing in its author a more than common confidence in the exuberance of his own resources. It was a bold scheme, indeed, to undertake the structure of even so short an epic as this, out of the history of our Lord's temptation,—comprised, as that history is, in half a score verses of St. Matthew, and forbidding, by its very nature, any violent interference with recorded facts; yet the imagination of Milton, duly exercised upon those elements with which his memory was stored, enabled him to expand his subject without profaning it, into a poem which, had it been only an episode, (as it should have been,) would have borne a comparison with the happiest that have been written. Our Lord is 'an hungered,' and through that appetite tempted of the devil. Narrow as this ground is, for Milton it is enough; and he forthwith raises a table in the wilderness, furnished from 'Pontus and Lucrine lake and Attic coast,' and the charming pipes are heard to play, and Arabian odours and early flowers breathe around, and nymphs and naiads of Diana's train are summoned forth to dance beneath the shade; and the whole is combined into one of those splendid banquets with which nothing but a most perfect knowledge of antiquity could have supplied him. Again, Satan takes 'the Saviour up into an exceeding high mountain, and shows him the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them.' Then is the scholar awakened once more: the hint suffices to unlock the magazines of his learning; the fountains of that great deep are broken up; and now the Parthians, with all their martial appointments, and the evolutions peculiar to them, appear before us in the most faithful array; and now, in her turn, Rome under Tiberius is depicted, with the spirit, indeed, of a poet, but with the accuracy of a contemporary annalist; and her imperial palace, the houses of her gods, the conflux of divers nations and languages at her gates; the embassies from far crowding

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ing the Emilian and Appian roads; the praetors and proconsuls hastening to their provinces, or on their triumphant return; all fill the mind's eye, till it is again carried away 'to the westward,' and the flowery hill of Hymettus offers itself to our notice; and Athens, with its picturesque suburbs, is unfolded with a perspicuity and precision that might challenge the most scrupulous critic to quarrel even with an epithet (so true is Milton to his Grecian masters); whilst her schools of philosophy, the sects into which they are divided, the dogmas they severally espoused—all pass in rapid review, leaving us confounded at the mental plenitude of this extraordinary man. Yet it has been argued by some modern critics, that Milton derived no benefit from his books; that he would have had fewer difficulties to encounter had he lived when the world was younger and refinement less. Many years before the appearance of Paradise Lost, however, he gave it as his own opinion, that 'industrious and select reading' was demanded of him who would write an epic poem with success. Deprive him of those treasures 'out of which he could bring things new and old,' and his characteristic attribute of *force* is gone. If there be one circumstance more than another which sets him above Virgil and Homer, it is this, that he takes more violent possession of the mind of his reader by crowding upon him a phalanx of thick-coming thoughts. Satan's legions lie intranced upon the sea of fire, 'thick as the leaves in the brooks of Vallombrosa.' Here another poet might have ended. Not so Milton:—they are, moreover, like the scattered sedge on the coast of the Red Sea, when Orion hath vexed it with fierce winds. Still something more is wanted—not to complete the simile, but to overwhelm the reader; and in throng Busiris and the Memphian chivalry, and floating carcasses, and broken chariot-wheels. The fallen Archangel is compared to the sun when he shines through the horizontal misty air, shorn of his beams: this is a splendid picture in itself; but Milton does not think it enough: he presses on with another magnificent feature, the eclipse. Nor is this all: the concomitant horrors of the disasters it is believed to portend, perplexity to monarchs, and revolution to nations, are superadded,—and then 'the charm's wound up.' Now, for much of this profusion, the poet is indebted to his reading—probably a noble fragment of Pindar supplied him with no inconsiderable part of the latter passage. Be that, however, as it may, such copiousness, we maintain, can only belong to the poet of a civilised age—to the poet who can lay under contribution the stores of generations past—whose possessions are by inheritance as well as by acquirement,—without this, he would be apt to weary his reader, for want of affluence and variety of matter. He would be an Ossian, perpetually

tainly among mists and mountains. Natural objects may supply materials for an eclogue; but for an epic they will not suffice. It will not do to be 'babbling of green fields' for four-and-twenty books, or even for twelve.

It must be confessed, that while knowledge thus accumulates and ideas multiply, *language* will be necessarily losing much of its primitive character—it will be rendered more expeditious—words will become *visages*—a syllable will express a sentence—a fable will contract itself into a simile—a simile into a metaphor, and the metaphor itself, by habitual use and novel application, be at length forgotten as a figure: just as, when property increases, barter gives way to copper-money, and that again to silver and gold, and these in their turn to pound notes, so called long after their name has ceased to excite any idea of real *pounds*. Poetry may lose something in expression by the one process, and commerce may lose something in security by the other; but the substantial gain will, in both cases, be far more than enough to balance the inconvenience. 'Words are, after all, but the daughters of the earth; things are the sons of heaven.' Milton came into the world when it was filled with knowledge, which he could employ in his art; and if this was a misfortune, it was the misfortune of him who eats the honey which he never helped to make. He came into the world when the language of his country was formed, and by consequence less figurative than it had been; but was it on that account an instrument less fitted for his peculiar genius? The vocabulary which he wanted, was one that should be rather conversant with spirit than matter; and we cannot but think that Milton's most sublime and unearthly conceptions would have sunk under the phraseology (however in many respects admirable) of Chaucer's times.

Let us not hear a polished language blamed for the defects of those who know not how to put it forth. It must be wielded by the master before its true force can be known. The philippics of Demosthenes were pronounced in the mother-tongue of every one of his audience; but who amongst them could have answered him in a single sentence like his own? Who amongst them could have guessed what Greek could do, though they had spoken it all their lives, till they heard it from his lips? The bow of Ulysses is not to be cast away, because in common hands it will not discharge an arrow.

The secret of using a language with effect, is to use it from a full mind. If it is the means by which we seek deliverance of thoughts that are struggling for a vent—

'Thoughts that rove about,
And loudly knock to have their passage out,'

it

it will be almost infallibly eloquent. Indeed of eloquence, whether in speaking or writing—'*Sapere est principium et fons.*' Let the same individual treat of a subject which he has mastered, and of one where his knowledge is only superficial, and how different will be his powers of expression—in the former case, how rich and elastic—in the latter, how poor and cramped! With what justice, then, can Milton complain of being born an age too late for epic poetry, when, had he been born earlier, his mind could not have been furnished with half the knowledge, nor, by consequence, his tongue with half the utterance? But what is to become of the poets of former times under such a theory? We have said that they are inferior to Milton, chiefly because they had not his knowledge; they could not, therefore, overwhelm their readers by such a tempest of thought; but, nevertheless, much knowledge they had, and without it, we maintain, could not have been what they were. No barbarous age has ever yet seen the birth of a great poem. Of the author of the Inferno we have already spoken—his settled intention to avail himself of the learning of former times is sufficiently manifested by his taking Virgil bodily for his guide. Of the latter, we need not say a word—his age was confessedly an epoch of intellectual refinement. But what is to be done with Homer? Let us but listen to the expounders 'of his genius and writings,'* and we must believe that, in his time, letters were unknown, or but newly known, in Greece—that his poems—yes, poems of seven-and-twenty thousand lines—were preserved for some generations by memory;—nay, that the author of the Iliad could hardly count ten—that the word πεμπωσσιται, applied to Proteus, when he was taking account of his sea-calves, indicates that he had a difficulty in getting beyond *five*,—and that his earnest invocation to the Muses, as the daughters of Mnemosyne, to help him in reckoning his ships and soldiers, is inspired from his own very limited knowledge of arithmetic! When the spirit of Homer was introduced to the spirits of his Commentators in the presence of Lemuel Gulliver, that sagacious observer remarked, that they appeared, on meeting, to have had no previous acquaintance whatever. We are not surprised at it. If we turn to the poet himself, we shall find indeed a few traces—voluntary in all probability, and assumed—of barbarism; but many, by no art to be explained away, of refinement. Were the case otherwise, we know not what right we have to identify the manners of the age in which he lived, with the manners of the age in which he wrote. But even if we take the standard of refinement from the Iliad and Odyssey, nothing appears to warrant the most impro-

* See Wood's Essay.

bable

bable and monstrous conclusion, that in Greece literature had no infancy, but came forth at once in the fulness of the stature of a perfect epic. In extracting from the Iliad and Odyssey proofs of barbarism, persons are too apt to measure other countries by their own; for instance, Englishmen have divided and subdivided labour, till some thirty or forty hands are wanted to make a pin; yet it does not follow that we are to set down the people of Ithaca as mere savages, because Ulysses, with an immense establishment, had his clothes manufactured in his own house. In this case, the age of Augustus would be an age of barbarism, for in classical Italy a similar system prevailed. Englishmen maintain a lofty carriage towards their servants; Telemachus allowed the keeper of his swine (who probably, however, was viewed in the light of a bailiff) to sit at his own table; yet nothing follows from this, except that the notions of the Greeks were less aristocratical than our own—not that they were less refined; for again we say, in the most polished ages of Greece and Rome, servants were treated with a familiarity that now astonishes us. Witness the scenes in Aristophanes, in Terence, in Plautus. Columella reproaches, with unheard-of barbarity, certain gentlemen of his time, who would not let their footmen talk whilst they were waiting at dinner.—Homer's princes are often employed in operations that would devolve upon butchers in these days, and the halls and courts of their palaces converted into slaughter-houses and shambles; but with the Greeks and Romans, the butcher partook of the character of priest,—the cow, of the victim,—the shambles, of the altar. Their associations were, from ours, 'wide as the poles asunder;' and those terms of sacrifice which are apt to set our thoughts to run upon a ruffian in a blue frock, with one spur and a carrion horse, would more probably have suggested to them a venerable man in a vesture of white, with a chaplet of flowers about his head, and clouds of incense shrouding his person.

On the other hand, we see positive symptoms of courtesy, of delicacy, of luxury in the manners of Homer, which cannot be mistaken. The urn out of which water is poured on the hands of the guests, is of gold, and the ewer which receives it, of silver (Od. i. 136): the wine is preserved in earthen jars to be eleven years old, and is then drunk out of vessels of the precious metals (Od. i. 142; ii. 290; iii. 330): the plate is wrought and ornamented (iii. 440): Helen's distaff is of gold, the basket for the yarn of silver edged with gold (iv. 132): the chair of Penelope is of ivory and silver (xix. 55): the doors of the palace of Alcinous are adorned with gold, the posts with silver; and figures of dogs, of the same metals, and worked with great perfection, repose on

on either side the entrance; golden images of boys, bearing torches, light the banqueting-room (vii. 91-100): servants are clad with something of the fastidious parade of modern times (xvi. 330). On the continent there were sufficient roads: Nestor offers Telemachus his carriage and horses, to convey him to Sparta, with the politeness of a modern squire (iii. 325): Menelaus presses him to prolong his stay; urges the pleasure he should have in showing him Greece; yields with perfect good-breeding to his earnest wish to go; presents him with a silver cup at parting; and, whilst Helen gives him a mantle to keep for his future bride, he conducts him to his carriage, and pouring forth a libation of wine, wishes him good speed (xv. 125). When Penelope determines to go down into the hall amongst the suitors, and boldly counsel her son to come out from among them, she shrinks from the indelicacy of appearing alone,—requests two of her maids to attend her,—veils herself,—is received by the suitors on their feet,—and addressing Telemachus aloud, reproaches him with a want of spirit in suffering (as he had done) a stranger to be insulted under the roof of his father (xviii. 183-224).

In all this we profess ourselves unable to discover anything like a barbarous state of society; and think that, to draw such a conclusion from such premises, would require something of the ingenuity of Hardouin, who seriously assured the world that Virgil and Horace were the productions of the monks of the dark ages. But we must have done; we can see, then, no reason for despairing of another epic poem, at least on the score of the 'age having become too picked.' The true poet will find himself strengthened by the wholesome study of past times, and, like the 'Matine Bee,' extract, from whatever he settles upon, additional sweets. The renewed interest for the writings of Milton, which has recently manifested itself, is a proof that the taste of the public is still undepraved; and in the more diligent contemplation of those writings the seeds of future poetical excellence may at this moment be scattered abroad. At a period when the fugitive publications of the day are so apt to engross the time and attention of the reading world, to the utter neglect of the great authors who are gone, it is the duty of every well-wisher to the sound literature of his country, to take advantage of any temporary disposition to *try back* which may discover itself, and, as far as in him lies, to cherish the good spirit, and keep it alive. Therefore it is that we make no apology for having devoted so many of our pages to Milton, whose personal character the newly-discovered treatise has helped to develope, and whose defects we have set down, assuredly not in malice, but in honest opposition to

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to those who would make them matter of praise; considering that the errors of Plato are the more dangerous, because, with such a man, it is hardly a disgrace to err.

The politics of Milton had been consigned to oblivion by common consent, until recent circumstances accidentally revived them; and now to oblivion they had better return—they are his 'uncomely parts.' Of his poetry, it would require a tongue like his own to speak the praise; it invigorates the understanding, it purifies the affections, it lifts up the heart to God—'Virtue goeth out of it.' Ever will it endure, to put to shame those who pervert the noblest gift of heaven to low and sensual abuse. Ever will it remain a triumphant memorial that the lamp of genius shines with the brightest lustre when it is fed with the purest oil.

ART. III.—*Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, Founder of the United Irish Society, and Adjutant-General and Chef-de-Brigade in the French and Batavian Republics.* Written by himself, and continued and edited by his Son, William Theobald Wolfe Tone. *With a brief Account of his own Campaigns under the Emperor Napoleon.* 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1241. Washington, 1826.

THE American press has here given us a piece of autobiography which, though written in a spirit of the most ludicrous self-conceit, and in a style of pitiable affectation, by no means deserves to pass into speedy and irretrievable neglect, like those utterly nauseous and unprofitable effusions of doting mimes, discarded pimps, and eaves-dropping parasites, with a constant succession of which the public of this country at present condescends to be entertained.

We have here the history of a political adventurer, a very fair specimen of his class, exhibited by himself in an abundance of detail, not consistent, unless the author were a man of consummate talents, and hardly even then, with anything like an effectual concealment of the truth. We are willing to give Mr. Tone full credit for having believed himself that honest man and sincere patriot, which, throughout his book, he claims to be considered: his most confidential letters and diaries are now before us, and he maintains everywhere the erect attitude of one entitled *nullâ pallescere culpâ*. At his trial he preserved the same air—though he wanted the last consummation of courage to exhibit it also in his death. Such is our charitable judgment. But the sincere garrulity of the man affords to others the easy means of seeing deeper, than he himself could do, into his motives; and what a narrator of greater cunning and less loquacity might, perhaps, have passed off

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as the story of pure devotion, and high, however mistaken, heroism, being exposed to public gaze with this suicidal minuteness, sinks into one chronicle more of the sad workings of egregious vanity fermenting under the influence of merited disappointment. The book is worthy of being read and studied; and the editor would do well to improve its chance of being so, by cutting out half the reprints of political pamphlets that swell it to its present absurd bulk.

Theobald Wolfe Tone was born in Dublin in 1763. His grandfather was a farmer; his father a coachmaker; his mother the daughter of a West India skipper. He tells us that, as a schoolboy, he was incorrigibly idle, and that nothing but the fear of shame could ever induce him to the smallest exertion. When the annual examinations approached, the apprehension of being disgraced in the eyes of parents and friends led him to work for a few weeks, and, having quickness of parts, he was enabled to make, on these occasions, a tolerable appearance—sometimes even to carry off premiums. But 'in two branches,' says he, 'I always failed, writing and the catechism, to which last I never could bring myself to apply.' (vol. i. p. 17.) His father becoming bankrupt, and retiring to the country, young Theobald was left in Dublin, 'his own master before he was sixteen;' and the school being in the neighbourhood of the Phœnix Park, he became very fond of attending all field-days, and reviews of the garrison. 'I mention this particularly,' he says, 'because, independent of confirming me in a rooted habit of idleness, which I lament most exceedingly, I trace to the splendid appearance of the troops, and the pomp and parade of military show, the untameable desire which I have ever since had to become a soldier.'—'Being at this time,' he adds, 'approaching to seventeen years of age, it will not be thought incredible that *woman* began to appear lovely in my eyes, and I very wisely thought that a red coat and cockade, with a pair of gold epaulets, would aid me considerably in my approaches to the objects of my adoration.'

His father sent him, in spite of these heroic aspirations, to Trinity College, Dublin, where he soon received a new disgust from being refused a premium, to which *he says* he was undoubtedly entitled, by Dr. Ledwich, a man of acknowledged learning and talents, whom he qualifies as 'an egregious dunce.' This made him recoil from his studies with tenfold spleen. He tried hard to be allowed to join our troops in America as a volunteer, but was again overruled. He stayed away from college a whole year after this. The consequences of a duel, in which he acted as second to another stripling, made another long absence necessary. Love brought a third interruption: he, absolutely penniless, ran away at two-

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two-and-twenty with a pretty girl of sixteen, of some small expectations, but without a farthing in hand. After a time the relations on both sides forgave this step; Tone resumed his attendance at college, and took his degree of A. B. in 1786. He says that, broken as it had been, his academical career brought him some distinctions; but the chief of these, for aught we can see, were some prizes for rhetorical declamation, from the Historical Society!

The young bachelor of arts took his bride after this to his father's retreat in the country, where they were kindly received, and lived happily for a little while, until the house was entered one night by a band of robbers, who carried off property the loss of which caused new embarrassments. In short, funds were with great difficulty raised for conveying Theobald to England, where, having at last resolved to be a lawyer, it was necessary for him to keep terms at one of the inns of court.

'I arrived in London, (says he, January, 1787,) and immediately entered my name in the books of the Middle Temple; but this, I may say, was *all the progress I ever made in that profession.* I had no great affection for study in general, but that of the law I particularly disliked; *and to this hour I think it an illiberal profession, both in its principles and practice.* I was likewise amenable to nobody for my conduct; and, in consequence, *after the first month I never opened a law-book, nor was I ever in Westminster Hall three times in my life.*'—vol. i. p. 24.

Having thus, by not reading a line of law, ascertained the illiberal nature of the *principles* of the legal profession, and, by not attending a day in the courts of justice, the corresponding illiberality of its *practice*, Mr. Tone turned himself to pursuits more worthy of his genius. He became a writer of 'critical reviews in the European Magazine;' and, in conjunction with two friends, produced 'Belmont Castle, a novel.' These exertions brought him some money, but not enough to eke out the scantiness of his allowance; and he confesses, apparently without shame, that he occasionally received eleemosynary assistance—sometimes considerable sums of money—from his young friends of the Temple. (p. 25.)

Foreseeing (as he expresses it) that he was never to be lord chancellor, Tone was at this period willing to take up any scheme of adventure that might occur, and the return of a brother from a sea-voyage appears to have put the Buccaneers in his head. The result was a plan for a military colony in the Sandwich Islands, which, being detailed in a memorial, was at length delivered, by his own hands, to Mr. Pitt's porter in Downing-street. But, says the diarist,

'Mr. Pitt took not the smallest notice of either memorial or letter! In my anger I made something like a vow, that if ever I had an opportunity,

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tunity, I would make Mr. Pitt sorry; and perhaps fortune may yet enable me to fulfil that resolution.'—vol. i. p. 27.

This vow may be considered as the exode of the first act of this eventful history. The indignant memorialist, however, saw 'no immediate means of vengeance, and determined,' 'in a transport of rage, to enlist in the East India Company's service as a soldier.' But it so happened, that 'the season had passed; no more ships were to go out that year.' Tone, therefore, had nothing for it but to go back to the Temple, whence, when his eight terms were completed, he repaired to Dublin; and being supplied with 500*l.* by his wife's family, was soon afterwards called to the bar. The barrister confesses that he, at this time, knew 'exactly as much of law as of necromancy:' it is not wonderful, therefore, though he doubts whether the result was owing to 'incorrigible habits of idleness,' or to 'a controlling destiny,' that he 'soon got sick and weary' of his profession. He 'continued, however, for form's sake, to go to the courts, and wear a foolish gown and wig, for a considerable time, and went the circuit, in all three times.' *But*, he adds,

'*As* I was, modestly speaking, one of the most ignorant barristers in the four courts, and *as* I took little or no pains to conceal my contempt of the profession, and *especially* had neither means nor inclination to treat Messrs. the attornies, and make them drink (a sacrifice of respectability which even the most liberal-minded of the profession are obliged to make), I made, as may well be supposed, no great exhibition at the Irish bar.'—vol. i. p. 29.

Our readers may, perhaps, be of our mind, that the first of these causes of failure could little need the reinforcement of the other two. But however that might be, Mr. Tone, after completing his third circuit, began to think of 'turning his attention to politics;' and the result was a pamphlet, entitled, 'A Review of the last Session of Parliament,' written, as he informs us, 'in defence of the whig-club,' then fiercely assailed by the hireling scribes of the Irish government. The free spirit of Tone was impelled to chastise these slavish mercenaries by the consideration that,

'Though he was very far from approving the *system* of the whig-club, much less their *principles and motives*, yet they were, at the time, the best-constituted political body which the country afforded; and he agreed with most of their positions, *though his own private opinions went considerably farther*.'—vol. i. p. 30.

This pamphlet, though written by a man who disapproved of the system, and still more of the principles and motives of the Irish whigs, was signed 'an independent Irish whig;' and in the body of it (vol. i. p. 321) the author proudly professed himself 'no *occasional* whig.' The production is a pert and puerile declamation; but

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but the apparently settled zeal of the rhetorical partisan won it favour. It pleased the whig-club of Ireland. Mr. Tone was complimented and caressed, and at last introduced to Mr. George Ponsonby, the leader of the Irish opposition, (and whom we have more recently seen in the same situation in the imperial parliament.) With Mr. Ponsonby, however, he never 'had any communication further than ordinary civilities.' A barrister of some note came to him shortly after—but he must tell the story himself.

'He told me the Ponsonbys were a most powerful family in Ireland; that they were much pleased with my exertions, and wished, in consequence, to attach me to them; that I should be employed as counsel on a petition then pending before the House of Commons, which would put an hundred guineas in my pocket, and that I should have professional business put in my way, from time to time, that should produce me at least as much per annum: he added, that they were then, it was true, out of place, but that they would not be always so; and that, on their return to office, their friends, when out of power, would naturally be first considered. He likewise observed, that they had influence, direct or indirect, over no less than two-and-twenty seats in Parliament; and he insinuated, pretty plainly, that when we were better acquainted, it was highly probable I might come in on one of the first vacancies. All this was highly flattering to me, the more so as my wife's fortune (the 500*l.*) was now nearly exhausted. I did, it was true, not much relish the attaching myself to any great man, or set of men; but I considered, as I have said before, that the principles they advanced were such as I could conscientiously support, *so far as they went*, though mine went much beyond them. I therefore thought there was no dishonour in the proposed connexion, and I was certainly a little dazzled with the prospect of a seat in parliament, at which my ambition began to expand. I signified, in consequence, my readiness to attach myself to the Whigs, and I was instantly retained in the petition for the borough of Dungarvon, on the part of James Carrigee Ponsonby, Esq.' —vol. i. p. 31.

Tone says, 'he now looked on himself as a sort of political character, and began to suppose that the House of Commons, not the bar, was to be the scene of his exertions.' 'But in this,' quoth he, 'I reckoned like a sanguine young man.' Month after month passed on 'without any communication from George Ponsonby, *whom I looked upon as more immediately my object.*'

'He always spoke to me, when we met by chance, with great civility, but I observed that he never mentioned one word of politics. I therefore at last concluded that he had changed his mind, or that, on a nearer view, he had found my want of capacity; in short, I gave up all thoughts of the connexion, and determined to trouble myself no more about Ponsonby or the Whigs, and I calculated, that as I had written a pamphlet which they thought had served them, and as they had

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had. In consequence employed me professionally in a business which produced me eighty guineas, accounts were balanced on both sides, and all further connexion was at an end. But my mind had now got a turn for politics. I thought I had at last found my element, and I plunged into it with eagerness. A closer examination into the situation of my native country had very considerably extended my views, and, as I was sincerely and honestly attached to her interests, I soon found reason not to regret that the whigs had not thought me an object worthy of their cultivation. I now began to look on the little politics of the whig-club with great contempt—their peddling about petty grievances, instead of going to the root of the evil; and I rejoiced that, if I was poor, as I actually was, I had preserved my independence, and could speak my sentiments without being responsible to anybody but the law. An occasion soon offered to give vent to my newly-received opinions. On the appearance of a rupture with Spain, I wrote a pamphlet to prove that Ireland was not bound by the declaration of war, but might, and ought, as an independent nation, to stipulate for a neutrality.'—vol. i. pp. 32, 33.

In a word, Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, having first tried Mr. Pitt, and received from that stone-blind tory no encouragement whatever to plant a colony of Buccaneers in the dominions of king Tuhomahoma, and then tried Mr. Ponsonby, and received from that purblind whig nothing but civil words and eighty guineas, immediately 'received *new opinions*' as to the relative situation of England and Ireland, and opened his views in a rebellious pamphlet, which the publisher was fain to suppress next morning; 'for which,' ejaculates the patriotic diarist, 'may his own gods damn him!' Mr. Tone informs us that, immediately upon this, he was thrown off by his wife's family, a circumstance for which he can give no reason, though we apprehend his readers will easily supply the blank; and here closes the second act.

From this date Mr. Tone was the enemy of whigs and tories alike. In the course of the ensuing summer, indeed, he made another effort to draw the attention of the English government to his South Sea scheme; but this failed, and he was fain to console himself with dinner-clubs in Dublin, where he formed or strengthened his intimacy with Emmett, Keogh, Napper Tandy, Dr. Mac Nevin, and other congenial spirits, almost all of whom have since earned sufficient notoriety. The French revolution broke out, and poured new blood and vigour into the hearts of these patriotic whiskey-drinkers. 'It is needless,' says Tone, 'to mention that I was a *democrat* from the beginning; and that this gave the *coup-de-grace* to any hopes of succeeding in a profession which I always disliked, and which the political prostitution of its members had taught me sincerely to despise.' 'About this time,' says he, 'I came rather more forward than I hitherto had done.'

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By 'coming forward' Mr. Tone means making himself notorious by the publication of a series of pamphlets in which he denounced the members of the established church in Ireland as persons 'who dreaded and abhorred the principles of the French revolution, and were, in one word, an *aristocracy* in the fullest and most odious extent of that term,' (p. 213); and calling upon the dissenters and Roman Catholics to unite heart and hand, for the emancipation of the latter body from all political disabilities, which *he* advocated expressly on this ground, that it must form a *preliminary* step towards the true and real object of all good Irishmen's wishes; namely, the shaking off of the connexion with Great Britain, (vol. i. p. 107). The clubs of United Irishmen (so called from the hitherto undreamed-of league of Romish and Protestant dissenters) began, as is well known, at Belfast. A friend of Tone's, Russel, an ensign in the King's service, happening to pass through that town on his way to join his regiment, was struck with the delightful spirit there prevalent, and invited Tone to visit a scene where he must necessarily find himself so much at home. He did so; he was voted an honorary member of the Belfast volunteer corps; subsequently assisted at the framing of the first club of United Irishmen; and was eventually commissioned by the Belfast patriots to act as an agent for procuring them the support of the general committee of Roman Catholics in Dublin, 'who were, about this time, to the Catholics of Ireland what Paris, at the commencement of the French revolution, was to the departments.' (vol. i. p. 61.) He wrote the Declaration of the first club of United Irishmen; became an active partisan of the Catholic committee in Dublin; in a word, Mr. Tone began to 'come forward.'

'About this time it was,' says he, 'that the leader of the (Catholic) committee cast their eyes on me to fill the situation left vacant by Richard Burke. It was accordingly proposed by my friend, John Keogh, to appoint me their agent, with the title of assistant secretary, and a salary of 200*l.* sterling a-year. My circumstances at the time were extremely embarrassed, and of course the salary annexed to my office was a considerable object to me. But though I had an increasing family to provide for, I can safely say that I would not have deserted my duty to the Catholics for the whole patronage of government if it were consolidated into one office.'—vol. i. pp. 62, 63.

It is needless for us to dwell upon the history either of this Roman Catholic committee or of the United Irishmen: it is sufficient for our present purpose that Mr. Tone continued to be a principal pamphleteer, messenger, negotiator in every turbulent scene that occurred in that dismal period. It was at this time that he commenced keeping a diary for the benefit of his wife, and

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intimate friends: it is written throughout in rivalry of the 'Journal to Stella,' with what success a few specimens will show:—

'*Belfast, July* 15, 1792.—The business now fairly settled in Belfast and the neighbourhood. Huzza! huzza! Dinner at the Donegal Arms. Everybody as happy as a king, but Waddel, who looks like the devil himself! Huzza! God bless everybody! Stanislas Augustus, George Washington: *beau-jour*. Who would have thought it this morning? Huzza! Generally drunk.—Broke my glass thumping the table. Home, God knows how, or when. Huzza! God bless everybody again, generally. Bed, with three times three. Sleep at last.'—vol. i. p. 160.

'*Ibid. July* 16.—The tanner looks extremely wise and significant. Gog,* Mr. Hutton,† and he, worship each other, and *sign an article with their blood; flourish their hands three times in a most graceful manner* (see Goldsmith's Citizen of the World), and march off into town. *Ho, but they are indeed most agreeable creatures.* (Do.) Lounge till near dinner. Go to the Donegal Arms, and meet all the catholics.—. . . . . Dinner; M'Tier in the chair. Chequered at the head of the table, a dissenter and a catholic. Delightful! The four flags, America, France, Poland, Ireland, but *no England!* Bravo! Beau-jour!'—pp. 161, 162.

'*Dublin, July* 21.—We arrive at Grattan's, and tell him of the state of things in the north, which he approves.'—p. 165.

'*Ibid. Aug.* 1.—Busy all day folding papers, *&c.* for the Munster bishops. Damn all bishops! Gog not quite well on that point: thinks them a good thing. Nonsense. Dine at home with Neilson and M'Cracken. Very pleasant. Rights of man. French revolution. No bishops, *&c. &c. &c.*'—p. 168.

'*14th.*—The Belfast men get warm with wine and patriotism. All stout; Gog valiant; also the Irish slave;‡ also the tanner; also Mr. Hutton. The catholics offer to find soldiers, if Belfast will provide officers. All fair. Lurgan green, as usual. Something will come out of all this. Agree to talk the matter over to-morrow, when we are all cool. Huzza! Generally drunk. *Vive la nation!* Damn the Empress of Russia! Success to the Polish arms! with three times three. Huzza! Generally very drunk. Bed—God knows how. To dine to-morrow with the tanner. Huzza! Huz—!'—p. 172.

'*16th.*—What might not be done by the aristocrats of the county Down, if they were actuated by the same spirit? Damn them! Mug a quantity of mulled wine. Generally drunk. Union of Irishmen, with three times three, *&c.* Bed late.'—p. 175.

'*19th, Sunday.*—Go to mass; foolish enough: too much trumpery. *The king of France dethroned!!* § Very glad of it; for now the people have fair play.'—p. 176.

'*Sept.* 9.—Dine at Castle Browne with Rowan, *&c. Beau-jour!*

* Gog, *i. e.* Keogh. † Mr. Hutton, *i. e.* Tone himself.
‡ The Irish slave, *i. e.* Macabe.
§ The italics in these quotations are not ours, but the author's.

Rowan

Between fine fellow, and Wogan Browne just as good. Drink "The spirit of the French mob to the people of Ireland." Stout! All very pleasant and well.'—p. 182.

'*Oct.* 2.—I fear, after all, Lord Rawdon will not have the sense to see what a great game he might play here. He would rather dangle at the tail of an English party, when, I think, he might be everything but king of Ireland. Mug with Gog, and walk home elevated with liquor. God bless everybody!'—pp. 188, 189.

'*Oct.* 25.—This is the king's (God bless him) accession. *How many more accessions shall we have?*'—p. 198.

'*Nov.* 9.—At court. All sorts of men, and especially lawyer Plunkett, take a pleasure in girding at Mr. Hutton, "*who takes at once all their seven points in his buckler, thus.*" Exceeding good laughing, Mr. Hutton called *Marat*. Sundry barristers apply to him for protection in the approaching rebellion. Lawyer Plunkett applies for Carton, which Mr. Hutton refuses, inasmuch as the Duke of Leinster is his friend, but offers him Curraghmore, the seat of the Marquis of Waterford. This Mr. Hutton does to have a rise out of Marcus Beresford, who is at his elbow listening. Great laughter thereat.'—p. 204.

How little did these merry gentlemen suspect of Tone's real views, and of the length to which he had already carried them!

'*Nov.* 9.—*Right or wrong, success to the French; they are fighting our battles, and if they fail, adieu to liberty in Ireland, for one century!* Apropos of fighting! Mr. Hutton has bought a fine sword, of which he is as vain as the devil; intends to sleep on it to-night. *Quære*, May he not wear it in the Court of Chancery, with his wig and gown, to edify Lord Fitzgibbon? Mr Hutton proposes to make it the pattern sword for his regiment, when he has one.'—p. 205.

'*July* 10.—Set off early; see a cat before we come to the bridge; game.—The Keeper mortified. Very pretty amusement for a statesman and a philosopher. O Lord! O Lord!—On an average, about a cat and one-seventh of a cat per mile on the great northern road.'—p. 155.

'*October* 24.—Wakened very sick. . . . German linens preferred, out of spite, by some families in England, particularly by the royal family. All the King's and Queen's linen German, and, of course, all their retainers'. Sinclair, for experiment, made up linens after the German mode, and sent it to the house in London, which served the King, &c.; worn for two years, and much admired; ten per cent. cheaper, and twenty per cent. better than the German linen. Great orders for Irish German linen, which he refused to execute. All but the royal family content to take it as mere Irish. *God save great George our King.*'—p. 149.

'*April* 23, 1793.—12th Sitting of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland. The Chairman of the Committee of Honourable Engagements presented their report, which, being received, was then read, and the following resolution was agreed to:

'1. *Resolved*, That the sum of 1,500*l.* be made up and presented to

Mr.

Mr. Tone, as a testimony of his services, and of our gratitude, together with a medal, bearing a suitable inscription, value thirty guineas.'—p. 264.

Such are the transactions of Mr. Tone from July, 1792, down to April, 1793; such is the statement of them, recorded at the time, in his own diaries. Yet we find this gentleman publishing, on Thursday, July, 1795, a letter to the editor of Faulkner's Journal, in which he does not hesitate to complain of the friends of the Irish government, as the most unjust of men, in entertaining any suspicion of his loyalty. 'It is *inferred*,' says he, 'that we, the agitators, that is the Catholics, my friends and associates in France, and myself, have formed a serious design to rebel against Great Britain, and form a republic connected with France!!! These are indeed the dreams of the wicked!! "The thief doth fear each bush an officer!!"'—vol. i. p. 505.

This ill-used gentleman, however, was, at last, fairly compromised, in consequence of his concern in the treason of Messrs. Jackson and Hamilton Rowan, in 1794. He had drawn up a paper to show what excellent things might be expected from the invasion of Ireland by a French army, and how that army ought to act; and this paper was found on Jackson's arrest: there had been, besides, a negotiation about Tone's going over to France himself, as envoy for the patriots of Ireland.—In short, the young man was altogether in the power of the Irish government; and whatever may be said of that government as to other matters, it acted most leniently to him. Some gentlemen (particularly Mr. Beresford and Mr. Knox) who had known him in earlier days, and who still pitied him as a misguided coxcomb, interfered so powerfully, that it was agreed to let him save his neck, on condition that he should leave the country; and, accordingly, after being permitted to linger a year in Ireland, for the arrangement of his private affairs, this ingenious ally of the *Comité de Salut Public* embarked with his family for the United States of North America, where he arrived in safety, (June, 1795,) and established himself in the agreeable society of Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Hamilton Rowan, (who had escaped from prison,) and other distinguished personages, whose merits, like his own, had not been justly appreciated in the old world.

The French government had at this time a minister in Philadelphia; and Mr. Tone's first anxiety was to be introduced to this person, by his friend Mr. Hamilton Rowan. Citizen Adet received him kindly, and a negotiation touching the scheme of invading Ireland by a French army was forthwith opened. Mr. Tone appears to have felt no scruples whatever in commencing this treaty. He had given, he says, no *parole* to the government that

spared

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spared his life—but even if he had done so, it is by no means clear that he would have acted otherwise than he really did.

'I should have been exceedingly distracted (quoth he) between *opposite duties*; luckily I am spared that difficulty.'—vol. i. p. 127.

He proceeded, therefore, in his work, consulting, he tells us, at every step with Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Hamilton Rowan, and Mr. James Napper Tandy; and at length being supplied with money by Keogh, Russell, and others, in Ireland, and furnished with a letter to the *Comité de Salut Public*, by Citizen Adet, he sailed for France, there to hasten and conclude his treaty. Arriving at Havre-de-Grace on the 1st of February, 1796, he resumes his diary; and we must remind our readers that he expressly designs it to be perused, not only by his wife and his sister, but also by the male friends whom he had left behind him in the United States.

Mr. Tone's admiration of France is, at first, altogether unbounded. He weeps tears of rapture at every ballet in which some dancing girl enacted the Goddess of Freedom, and received, on her classical tripod, the flowers and incense of the Genius of Emancipated France, the Genius of Europe, the Genius of Man, and other such personages, all equally skilled in the mystery of the *pirouette*. He weeps at the morning parades of the national guard. He weeps when the mob shout to see an ensign pass with the tricolor flag displayed.

'*Here*,' says he, emphatically, 'here was no fiction! and that it was that drew the tears irresistibly into my eyes!'—vol. ii. p. 12.

'For particular reasons, I chose to remain incognito. Altogether, I was exceedingly pleased with the exhibition, and the tears were running down my cheeks when Carnot presented the wreaths and standards to the soldiers. It was a spectacle worthy of a grand republic, and I enjoyed it with transport. Vive la République!'—p. 118.

Once more—

'I take pride in the French troops, though they are neither powdered nor varnished, like those of the other states of Europe. I frequently find the tears gush into my eyes whilst I am looking at them.'—p. 135.

He dines at 'a tavern covered with gilding and looking-glasses down to the floor;' and is enchanted to learn that it had been the hotel of the chancellor of the Duke of Orleans.

'There went much misery of the people to the ornamenting of that room; and now it is open to any one to dine in it for three shillings. "*Make aristocracy laugh at that.*"

'The French are a humane people when they are not mad; and I like them, with all their faults, and the guillotine at the head of them, a thousand times better than the English.'—vol. ii. p. 59.

Visiting

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Visiting the Palais de Justice, he says—

'The judges, five in number, were dressed in black, à la Vandyck, with hats decorated with the national feathers, and a tri-colour ribbon round their necks, like the collar of the orders of knighthood in England, to which were suspended the fasces and axes in silver, the emblem of their functions. The public accuser, or attorney-general, was habited pretty much after the same fashion; the lawyers had no discrimination of dress, which shows their good sense. It is the same in America; the judges alone are distinguished by their habits, and they are not disguised by that most preposterous and absurd of all human inventions, the long full-bottomed wig. Altogether, the appearance of the French tribunal criminel, and the manner in which the trial was conducted, pleased me extremely. Certainly every justice was done to the prisoner. I was astonished at the purity of his diction and politeness of his manner, in a short discussion he had *with the public accuser!!*'—vol. ii. p. 87.

In short, his enthusiasm is universal; but when he gets fairly into his negotiation with Clarke, (afterwards Duc de Feltre,) the secretary at war, and, above all, when he is admitted to an audience by Carnot himself, the young gentleman gets absolutely delirious.

'The folding doors were now thrown open, a bell being previously rung to give notice to the people, that all who had business might present themselves, and citizen Carnot appeared, in the *petit costume* of white satin with crimson robe, richly embroidered. It is very elegant, and resembles almost exactly the draperies of Vandyck.'—vol. ii. p. 26.

'Nothing but *ministers and directoire exécutif and revolutionary memorials*. Well, my friend Plunket, (but I sincerely forgive him) and my friend Magee, whom I have not yet forgiven, would not speak to me in Ireland, because I was a republican. Sink or swim, I stand today on as high ground as either of them. My venerable friend, old Captain Russell, always had hopes of me in the worst of times; Huzza! I believe that wiser men, if they would speak the truth, would feel a little elevated in my situation; hunted from my own country as a traitor, living obscurely in America as an exile, and received in France, by the executive directory, almost as an ambassador!'—p. 30.

'Madgett tells me that the minister is quite satisfied as to my having seen Carnot, and that he would be very glad if I would take an opportunity to insinuate artfully to him that Prieur de la Marne would be a very acceptable person in Ireland, (which I dare say he would, as his name is well known there,) and which I may fairly do, *as I am here the representative of the Irish people; so I am accredited*. I will certainly mention Prieur to Carnot, as the minister desires it; and I recollect Rowan told me in Philadelphia that when he was leaving Brest on his way to Paris, after his escape from Ireland, Prieur, who was then deputy on mission, shook hands with him, observing that *he hoped that they would land in Ireland together. It is not impossible that they may meet there*. So, I am to become an *intrigant*, I find, and to procure

procure appointments for ex-deputies, and I know not what. "*Hey-day, what doings, what doings are here!*" It is very laughable to think of the minister of foreign affairs desiring *me* to recommend a member of the national convention to the executive directory of France.'—pp. 62, 63.

Mr. Tone has to encounter, however, all the difficulties of a dangler about public offices, and meets with many mortifications. The Frenchmen tell him that their expedition shall sail as soon as they can raise money to equip transports; he, in the meantime, presses hard for a little pecuniary assistance to himself, and 'there's the rub.' It is at last suggested that Mr. Tone might enter the military service of France—but here a nice scruple intervenes—

'Madgett asked me whether, as I was here the representative of the Irish people, I would not feel it beneath the dignity of that character to accept a commission'—

to which the representative of the Irish people very modestly replies in the negative; nor does he spare throwing out hints occasionally that any monies advanced to him now, might eventually be nobly repaid.

'I always keep up the idea, and, in fact, it is my opinion, that liberal provision should be made, in case we succeed, for those Frenchmen who might be in high station in Ireland, as the generals, commissaries, civils, &c.'—vol. ii, p. 65.

'This day wrote an artful letter to Clarke, to see if I can list him on the score of his interest. It is also his duty. This is sad work, but what can I do? *Il faut hurler avec les loups.* I engage him one thousand pounds a-year for his life, if we succeed, and I rely on *the nation* to make good my engagement.'—p. 108.

'The devil puts it into my head sometimes that I am like Hannibal at the court of Prusias, supplicating his aid to enable Carthage to make war upon the Romans. There is a sort of analogy in the circumstances.'—p. 111.

In the midst of all his public distresses, the Irish Hannibal is careful to inform Mrs. and Miss Tone, Dr. Reynolds, Messrs. Napper Tandy, Hamilton Rowan, &c., that his private virtue is put to many trials in Paris. Take a specimen—we could easily give fifty still more disgusting—

'I am lodged in the house of a little "*bossue,*" (anglice, a hunch-back,) and she wants me to go to bed to her, and I won't, for my virtue forbids it, and so she is out of humour, and very troublesome sometimes. To tell the God's truth, I have no great merit in my resistance, for she is as crooked as a ram's horn, (which is a famous illustration,) and as ugly as sin besides; rot her, the dirty little faggot, she torments me. "*I will not march through Coventry with her, that's flat.*"'—vol. ii. p. 144.

At length, however, this Hannibal-Joseph triumphs over all his difficulties.

difficulties. He obtains a commission as *chef-de-brigade*, receives a month's pay in advance, and actually dines with Citizen Carnot.

'This was a grand day; I dined with the President of the Executive Directory of France, beyond all comparison the most illustrious station in Europe. I am very proud of it, because it has come fairly in the line of my duty, and I have made no unworthy sacrifices to obtain it. I like Carnot extremely.'—vol. ii. pp. 155, 156.

From this time Mr. Tone's journal is rather the history of the Irish expeditions of Hoche and Humbert than of himself. His first introduction to the former of these generals is thus described—

'*July* 12, 1796.—*Battle of Aughrim.*—As I was sitting in my cabinet, studying my tactics, a person knocked at the door, who, on opening it, proved to be a dragoon of the third regiment. He brought me a note from Clarke, informing me that the person he mentioned was arrived, and desired to see me at one o'clock. I ran off directly to the Luxembourg, and was shown into Fleury's cabinet, where I remained till three, when the door opened, and a very handsome well-made young fellow, in a brown coat and nankeen pantaloons, entered, and said, "*Vous êtes le citoyen Smith?*" I thought he was a chef-de-bureau, and replied, "*Oui, citoyen, je m'appelle Smith.*" He said, "*Vous vous appellez aussi, je crois, Wolfe Tone?*" I replied, "*Oui, citoyen, c'est mon véritable nom.*" "*Eh bien,*" replied he, "*je suis le Général Hoche.*" At these words I mentioned that I had for a long time been desirous of the honour I then enjoyed, to find myself in his company; "*Into his arms I soon did fly, and there embraced him tenderly.*" He then said he presumed I was the author of the memorandums which had been transmitted to him. I said I was. Well, said he, there are one or two points I want to consult you on,' &c.—vol. ii. pp. 152.

In the midst of these consultations, it certainly does appear that Mr. Tone continued to think of himself quite as much as of any other matters, and we gather that he had never exactly made up his mind whether, after Ireland had achieved her independence, he should be her ambassador to Paris, or her secretary of state for foreign affairs in Dublin. We might quote a hundred passages about these matters; but, perhaps, one specimen may suffice:—

'I reminded him that hitherto I had drawn nothing either from France or Ireland; but, on the contrary, had sacrificed time, labour, person, and property, in the common cause of both countries; that I had no doubt, if we succeeded, of being amply recompensed; nevertheless, that the more attention was shown to me by the French Government, and by the General, on our arrival, the greater services it would be in my power to render to France, to Ireland, and to our friends embarked in the expedition. That I believed he knew my zeal and affection for the cause of the Republic, as well as my gratitude to the Directory; and I left him to consider, whether, in framing our government in Ireland, it might not be desirable for France to have,

in

in an efficient station, a man on whose principles and attachment he might safely count, a circumstance which might be materially forwarded and most probably secured by the attention on the part of the General, to which I alluded; an attention which both Catholics and Dissenters would consider as shown to themselves, much more than to me personally, as I could have no claim upon it, other than as I stood in the capacity of their agent, and possessing, as I would venture to say I did possess, their confidence.'—vol. ii. pp. 212, 213.

This is all very sly. But in the meantime the fish remain uncaught, and, to do the aspirant justice, he seems to have laboured most diligently in quickening those movements of the French republic, which must form the necessary preliminaries to his own personal advancement.

The result of these exertions is well known. Tone was with the expedition to Bantry Bay, and the vessel in which he sailed escaped shipwreck as narrowly as any in the fleet, which the extraordinary hurricane of Christmas, 1796, so providentially dispersed and ruined. Upon returning to the continent, we find our *chef-de-brigade* spending some months at the head-quarters of the army of the Meuse and Sambre, but never forgetful of his main purpose, and occupied, from time to time, in attempts to corrupt the British soldiers and sailors then in the prisons of France, with a view to embarking them in his next expedition. He had some success with the Irishmen among them; and thus describes his methods of dealing:—

'I know the Irish a little. When everything else is ready, let them send in a large quantity of wine and brandy, a fiddle and some French *filles*, and then, when Pat's heart is a little soft with love and wine, send in two or three proper persons in regimentals, and with green cockades in their hats, to speak to them, of whom I will very gladly be one. I think, in that case, it would not be very hard to persuade him to take a trip once more to Ireland, just to see his *people* a little.'—vol. ii. p. 64.

Thus things went on until the expedition of Humbert was at length organised. The *chef-de-brigade* had long ere this time acquired feelings eminently worthy of the service in which he had engaged, and memorialised the republican government in a style which, we have no doubt, they considered as every way honourable to his principles.

'My heart,' says he in his Diary, 'is hardening hourly, and I satisfy myself now at once on points which would stagger me twelve months ago. The Irish aristocracy are putting themselves in a state of nature with the people, and let them take the consequences. If ever I have the power, I will most heartily concur in making them a *dreadful example*.'—vol. iii. p. 89.

And

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And again,

'It is no slight affair; thousands and thousands of families, if the attempt succeeds, will be reduced to beggary. I cannot help it. If it must be, it must. *The truth is, I hate the very name of England; I hated her before my exile; I hate her since, and I will hate her always!*' —p. 241.

And shortly afterwards we find him offering to citizen Carnot the following valuable hints as to ways and means:—

'Ireland would, in case of a revolution, possess, amongst others, *the following resources:* 1st. Her actual revenues, amounting, at present, to about 2,000,000*l.* per annum, making 48,000,000 livres. 2d. The *church, college, and chapter lands*, whose exact value I do not know, but which are of vast amount. 3d. The *property of absentees* who never visit the country at all, amounting, at least, to 1,000,000*l.* sterling, or 24,000,000 livres. 4th, The *casual property of emigrants*, which would amount to a very great sum, but which, as depending on circumstances, cannot be reduced to a calculation. 5th. The *property of Englishmen in Ireland*, whether vested in land, mortgages on land, trade, manufactures, bonds, bills, book debts, or otherwise, to be confiscated, and applied to the discharge of the obligations incurred in the acquisition of the independence of Ireland; I cannot say what the amount of this might be, but it must be immense. One English nobleman, Earl Mansfield, formerly ambassador at Paris, under the name of Lord Stormont, and an implacable enemy of France, has 300,000*l.* sterling, or 7,200,000 livres, lent on mortgages in Ireland; another English gentleman, Mr. Taylor, has 150,000*l.* sterling, or 3,600,000 livres, lent in like manner.'—p. 202.

The expedition sailed; and we need not dwell upon the issue. Tone was one of those who were taken, after a desperate resistance, in the Hoche, by the squadron under Sir John Borlase Warren; he was recognised the second morning after he was put ashore, and sent to Dublin, where he was very shortly tried, and, as all the world but himself anticipated, condemned; for, incredible as it may seem, the fact really does appear to have been, that this ex-ornament of the Irish bar gravely and seriously apprehended he was to escape scot-free, after all that he had done, simply by proving himself to be the bearer of a commission in the service of the French republic. He delivered a very flowery declamation upon this head, to which his judges paid all merited respect; and Brigadier-general Tone, finding that, in spite of the uniform of the *grande nation*, he was *bonâ fide* ordered for execution, inflicted on himself a mortal wound the same evening in the jail of Dublin.

His wife, on hearing of this catastrophe, repaired to Paris with her family, whom she educated upon a small pension allowed by the government. Her son, the editor of the book before us, was destined,

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destined, from the beginning, for the army, and his mother, when he was of age to bear arms, obtained, without difficulty, a commission for him from the Emperor Napoleon; but she was not so fortunate as to succeed in her second request, to wit, that young Tone should join his colours with the rank of *Baron de l'Empire*. This she claimed stoutly as a fair acknowledgment from France of the merits of Theobald Wolfe Tone; and perhaps there are few readers who will not be as much amused as we ourselves have been with the fervid ambition of the republican family as to this noble matter. The would-be baron, however, was marched into Germany, and bore his part in the disastrous campaigns of 1813 and 1814. After Buonaparte's abdication he continued in the service of the king, but eagerly re-transferred his allegiance to his old leader when the opportunity offered, and, indeed, made every effort to get on the staff of General Grouchy when the campaign of Waterloo began. He was not, however, present at the battle in which, 'by some unavoidable accidents,' as he is pleased to tell the story, the fortunes of Napoleon were for ever struck down. Mr. Tone now 'felt that his connexion with France was broken, and on the day before the white flag was hoisted, resigned his commission.' He made an application to be allowed to visit this country, but, luckily for himself, he received no encouragement to do so; and, instead of figuring among the orators of the Catholic Association in Dublin, Mr. Tone is now happily established, 'enjoying,' says he, 'an honourable rank in the American army, and the proud title of a free American citizen, and united to the object of my early and constant affections, the only daughter of my father's friend and countryman, Counsellor Samson, of New York, whose fate, it is well known, led him, *like us*, to this country, a victim to the cause of liberty and his native land.' from which we infer, that Lieutenant Tone fought at Leipzig, and would fain have fought at Waterloo, in the cause of freedom and Ireland. Mrs. T. W. Tone formed, in 1810, a second matrimonial connexion with a Scotsman of the name of Wilson; but he is since dead, and Mrs. Wilson has rejoined her son in 'that free and hospitable country, the asylum of the world, where the victims of persecution meet from every quarter under the protection of liberty and equal laws.' The story of the younger Tone is not ill told, and gives some details of the interior discipline of the French army, to which, had we space and leisure, we would willingly have directed more particularly the attention of our readers.

The story of the father is one which, we think, may very safely be left to speak for itself; the facts in it are few, simple, tangible, and we have rarely read the narrative of a life at all remarkable in which circumstances seemed to have done so much, and principle

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or talent so little. This is not the history of a high-minded person pleased by the working of noble passions; vanity, so overweening, never before exhibited the naked meanness of plebeian ambition. Denied by nature that genius which can sometimes dispense with industry, and far too idle to arm himself with any acquirements of solid value, this headstrong boy chose to marry a pretty girl before he had one shilling to buy her bread, and therefore began the world under the pressure of difficulties which he possessed no legitimate means to overcome. His professional career was, even in his own eyes, hopeless from the commencement: without toil no man can be a lawyer; and, though not too proud to beg, Mr. Tone was too lazy to work. The alms of youthful associates were soon exhausted; magazine articles and trashy novels might do something, but not much; and this stripling son of a Dublin coachmaker was at once convinced that nature had destined and fitted him for politics. Rejected by the minister, he vowed revenge, and threw himself at the feet of the opposition; fed, but not pampered by them, he vowed revenge again, and entered at once, *per saltum*, upon the career of treason. What had *he* to complain of but his own unruly passions and obstinate scorn of labour? If either the dissenters of Ireland, or the Roman Catholics of Ireland had reason to rise against the government under which they lived, had they no spirit among themselves to animate and guide them? Who committed their interests to the keeping of a nominally Protestant, but really infidel, barrister of two-and-twenty, strutting briefless in the hall of the four courts? In one passage of his diary, which we have already quoted, he says himself, 'This is no light matter;' yet how little room, amidst the fever of his vain dreams, does he seem to have found for such reflections! To seize the private property of thousands who had never done injury to him, whose only sin was, that they happened to be contented with the government under which they had been born,—to burn cities, and deluge kingdoms with blood,—these were steps to the *hôtel d'Irlande*, or some equally delightful elevation, which this philanthropist could contemplate with scarcely, to all appearance, one passing twinge of self-distrust.

He paid for his rashness the penalty of an early death, and we have no wish to trample on his grave. But we must be permitted to remind the editor of this book, who writes as if he had the most pure and spotless of heroes for his subject, that Mr. Tone's treason cost many lives besides his own. Upon his memory, and the memory of those of his co-agitators who are now no more, there lies, and must continue to lie, a heavy burden; and, if any who participated in all the darkness of his guilt be yet alive, we do not envy the feelings with which, provided they be possessed of any good qualities whatever, such men must look back to one of the

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the most melancholy pages of our modern history. It is, indeed, no light matter to stir up a rude, uncivilised peasantry, and array them in battle, upon pretences of which they are entirely incapable of judging, against men who, as men, cannot even be said to have done them any harm; it is no light matter to create a *Inquiries*; and we should not think it a light matter to have upon our conscience any part of the Irish, or the French, or even of the English blood which Mr. Tone and his friends caused to be shed in the hope of raising themselves to be ambassadors. . . .

We have already quoted as much from this book as seemed at all necessary for giving a just notion of its hero; but it would be unfair to close it without observing, that it contains many lively sketches of the habits and manners of persons of note in the French revolution, with whom Tone's functions as 'representative of the Irish people' brought him into contact. These have the high recommendation of giving us the author's impressions fresh and vivid; and in them, no doubt, many readers will be of opinion, that the chief value of the book consists. We can, however, afford room for no more than a single specimen; and we shall take what he says about Buonaparte, to whom he was introduced in December 1797, with the view of being employed on the staff of the *armée d'Angleterre*.

'*December* 21.—General Dessix brought Lewines and me this morning, and introduced us to Buonaparte, at his house in the Rue Chantereine. He lives in the greatest simplicity; his house is small, but neat, and all the furniture and ornaments in the most classical taste. He is about five feet six inches high, slender, and well made, but stoops considerably: he looks at least ten years older than he is, owing to the great fatigues he underwent in his immortal campaign of Italy. His face is that of a profound thinker, but bears no marks of that great enthusiasm and unceasing activity by which he has been so much distinguished. It is rather, to my mind, the countenance of a mathematician than of a general. He has a fine eye, and a great firmness about his mouth; he speaks low and hollow. So much for his manner and figure. We had not much discourse with him, and what little there was, was between him and Lewines, to whom, as our ambassador, I gave the *pas*.'—vol. ii. p. 454.

'*December* 23.—His manner is cold, and he speaks very little; it is not, however, so dry as that of Hoche, but seems rather to proceed from languor than anything else. He is perfectly civil, however, to me; but, from anything we have yet seen or heard from him, it is impossible to augur anything good or bad. We have now seen the greatest man in Europe three times, and I am astonished to think how little I have to record about him.'—p. 456.

Even in those days, however, the proud and violent spirit that slumbered beneath this disguise of coldness and languor, could occasionally betray itself; and in the following fervent exposition of

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of the dignity of a legislative body we recognise precisely the tone of the imperial invectives, beneath which, in due time, all such bodies were doomed to tremble.

'*Feb.* 2 *to* 10, 1798.—Lewines was the other night with Buonaparte, when a conversation took place, which I think, from his relation of it, worth recording. Since the 18th Fructidor, the Jacobins are, in a certain degree, more tolerated by government than formerly, and some of their leaders, who had been tried at Vendome with Babeuf, venture to show themselves a little. On that evening, a person called on the general from the minister of police, and spoke to him, for a considerable time, in a low voice, so that Lewines did not hear what he said; but it appears, by the sequel, that it was probably relative to some overtures from the chiefs of that party; for Buonaparte, all at once, sprung into the middle of the room, with great heat, and said, "What would these gentlemen have? France is revolutionized! Holland is revolutionized! Italy is revolutionized! Switzerland is revolutionized! Europe will soon be revolutionized! But this, it seems, is not enough to content them. I know well what they want: they want the domination of thirty or forty individuals, founded on the massacre of three or four millions; they want the constitution of 1793, but they shall not have it, and *death* to him who should demand it. We did not fail to reduce them to order when we had but fifteen hundred men, and we will do it much easier now, when we have thirty thousand. We will have the present constitution, and we will have no other, and we have common sense and our bayonets to maintain it. I know these persons, in order to give themselves some little consequence, affect to spread reports of some pretended disunion between the government and the legislative body. It is false. From the foundation of the republic to this day, there never was, perhaps, a moment when there reigned such perfect harmony between the constituted authorities; and I may add, since it seems they are good enough to count me for something in the affair, that I am perfectly in union of sentiment and esteem with the government, and they with me. He that fears calumny is below me. What I have done, has not been done in a *boudoir*, and it is for Europe and posterity to judge me. No! we will not have the assistance of those gentlemen who call themselves chiefs and leaders of the people: we acknowledge no chiefs or leaders but those pointed out by the constitution, the legislative body, and the Executive Directory; and to them only will we pay respect or attention. For the others, we know very well how to deal with them, if necessary; and, for my part, I declare for one, that if I had only the option between royalty and the system of those gentlemen, I would not hesitate one moment to declare for a king. But we will have neither the one nor the other: we will have the republic and the constitution, with which, if those persons pretend to interfere, they shall soon be made sensible of their absolute nullity." He spoke to this effect, as Lewines reported to me, but in a strain of the greatest animation, and with admirable eloquence.'—vol. ii. pp. 462, 463.

ART.

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ART. IV.—1. *Reports relating to the Failure of the Rio Plata Mining Association, formed under an Authority signed by his Excellency Don Bernardino Rivadavia.* By Captain F. B. Head. London. 1827.

2. *Remarks on the Mines, Management, Ores, &c., of the District of Guanaxuato, belonging to the Anglo-Mexican Mining Association.* By Edward James. London. 1827.

WE do not profess to cure insanity, and have, therefore, no ambition to persuade those who still rave about the riches they are to extract from the American mines, that their speculations are as visionary as Daniel O'Rourke's visit to the moon. Deeply as we lament their situation, we offer no remedy to constitutions which require rather blisters, bleeding, and water-gruel, than any treatment which it is our province to administer.

The rational part of our community have now, we believe, come to the general conclusion, that these mining speculations are absurd; yet, as the foundation of this opinion is not clearly defined, or, in other words, as the question has not as yet been considered with the requisite calmness and minuteness, we think we may do some service by laying before our readers,—1st, a short practical sketch of the Cornish system of mining, with the character of the Cornish miner; 2dly, a similar outline of the American mines and miners; and, 3dly, a brief review of the progress which our city mining companies have made, and of the experience they have gained. From these data we conceive that every candid person may collect ample reasons for adhering to the opinion now generally prevalent on this subject.

1. The largest mines in Cornwall are the Consolidated Mines, the United Mines, the Poldice Mine, the Dalcoath Mine; all of which are in hills of clay-slate or killas, three or four hundred feet above the level of the sea, and in the neighbourhood of the town of Redruth. These mines run east and west; and they are about half-way between the two shores of the British and Bristol Channels.

To one unaccustomed to a mining country, the view from Carn Marth, which is a rocky eminence of seven hundred and fifty-seven feet, is full of novelty. Over a surface, neither mountainous nor flat, but diversified from sea to sea by a constant series of low undulating hills and vales, the farmer and the miner seem to be occupying the country in something like the confusion of warfare. The situations of the Consolidated Mines, the United Mines, the Poldice Mine, &c., &c., are marked out by spots a mile in length, by half a mile in breadth, covered with what are termed 'the deads' of the mine—*i. e.*, slaty poisonous rubbish, thrown

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thrown up in rugged heaps, which, at a distance, give the place the appearance of an encampment of soldiers' tents. This lifeless mass follows the course of the main lode (which, as has been said, generally runs east and west); and from it, in different directions, minor branches of the same barren rubbish diverge through the fertile country, like the streams of lava from a volcano. The miner being obliged to have a shaft for air at every hundred yards, and the stannary laws allowing him freely to pursue his game, his hidden path is commonly to be traced by a series of heaps of 'deads,' which rise up among the green fields, and among the grazing cattle, like the workings of a mole. Steam-engines, and *whims*, (large capstans worked by two or four horses,) are scattered about; and in the neighbourhood of the old, as well as of the new workings, are sprinkled, one by one, a number of small whitewashed miners' cottages, which, being neither on a road, nor near a road, wear, to the eye of the stranger, the appearance of having been dropt down *à-propos* to nothing.—Such, or not very dissimilar, is in most cases the superficial view of a country the chief wealth of which is subterraneous.

Early in the morning the scene becomes animated. From the scattered cottages, as far as the eye can reach, men, women, and children of all ages begin to creep out; and it is curious to observe them all converging like bees towards the small hole at which they are to enter their mine. On their arrival, the women and children, whose duty it is to dress or clean the ore, repair to the rough sheds under which they work, while the men, having stripped and put on their *underground* clothes, (which are coarse flannel dresses,) one after another descend the several shafts of the mine, by perpendicular ladders, to their respective levels or galleries—one of which is nine hundred and ninety feet below the level of the ocean. As soon as they have all disappeared, a most remarkable stillness prevails—scarcely a human being is to be seen. The tall chimneys of the steam-engines emit no smoke; and nothing is in motion but the great 'bobs' or levers of these gigantic machines, which, slowly rising and falling, exert their power, either to lift the water or produce from the mine, or to stamp the ores; and in the tranquillity of such a scene, it is curious to call to mind the busy occupations of the hidden thousands who are at work; to contrast the natural verdure of the country with the dead product of the mines, and to observe a few cattle ruminating on the surface of green sunny fields, while man is buried and toiling beneath them in darkness and seclusion.—But it is necessary that we should now descend from the heights of Cairn Marth, to take a nearer view of the mode of working the mine, and to give a skeleton plan of that simple operation.

A lode

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A *lode* is a crack in the rock, bearing, in shape and dimensions, the character of the convulsion that formed it; and it is in this irregular crevice that nature has, most irregularly, deposited her mineral wealth; for the crack, or lode, is never filled with ore, but that is distributed and scattered in veins and bunches, the rest of the lode being made up of quartz, mundic, and 'deads.' Under such circumstances, it is impossible to say beforehand, where the riches of the lode exist; and, therefore, if its general character and appearance seem to authorise the expense, the following is the simple, and, indeed, the natural plan of working it usually resorted to.

A perpendicular pit, or *shaft*, is sunk, and at a depth of about sixty feet a horizontal gallery, or *level*, is cut in the lode, say both towards the east, and towards the west—the ore and materials being raised at first by a common windlass. As soon as the two sets of miners have each cut or driven the level about a hundred yards, they find it impossible to proceed for want of air; this being anticipated, two other sets of miners have been sinking from the surface two other perpendicular shafts, to meet them; from these the ores and materials may also be raised: and it is evident that, by thus sinking perpendicular shafts a hundred yards from each other, the first gallery, or level, may be prolonged *ad libitum*. But while this horizontal work is carrying on, the original, or, as it is termed, the *engine*-shaft, is sunk deeper; and at a second depth of sixty feet, a second horizontal gallery, or level, is driven towards the east and towards the west, receiving air from the various perpendicular shafts which are all successively sunk down so as to meet it.—The main, or engine-shaft, is then carried deeper still; and at the same distance—sixty feet, or ten fathoms—is driven a third, and then a fourth gallery;—and so on to any depth.

The object of these perpendicular shafts, and horizontal galleries, is not so much to get at the ores which are directly procured from them, as to put the lode into a state capable of being worked by a number of men—in short, to convert it into what may now be termed a *mine*—for it will be evident that the shafts and galleries divide the lode into solid rectangular masses, or compartments, each three hundred feet in length, by sixty feet in height. These masses of three hundred feet are again subdivided, by small perpendicular shafts, into three parts; and by this arrangement, the lode is finally divided into masses called *pitches*, each sixty feet in height, by about thirty-three feet in length. In the Cornish mines, the sinking of the shafts, and the driving of the levels, is paid by what is termed *tut-work*, or task-work, that is, so much per fathom; and, in addition to this, the miners receive a small

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per centage of the ores, in order to induce them to keep these as separate as possible from the *deads*, which they would not do, unless it were thus made their interest.

The lode, when divided as above described, is open to the inspection of all the labouring miners in the country; and by a most admirable system, each mass or compartment is let by public competition, for two months, to two or four miners, who may work it as they choose. These men undertake to break the ores, wheel them, raise them to the surface, or, as it is termed, '*to grass*,' and pay for the whole process of dressing the ores—which is bringing them to a state fit for market. The ores are sold every week by public auction, and the miner receives immediately the *tribute* or per centage for which he agreed to work—which varies from sixpence to thirteen shillings in the pound, according to the richness or poverty of the ores produced. The owners of the mine, or, as they are termed, the *adventurers*, thus avoid the necessity of overlooking the detail of so many operations, and it is evidently the interest of the miner to make them gain as much as possible. Should the *pitch*, or compartment, turn out bad, the miner has a right at any time to abandon his bargain, by paying a fine of twenty shillings. At the expiration of the lease, or whenever they may be abandoned, the *pitches* are anew put up to auction, and let for two months more: Some may be getting richer, others poorer, as the work proceeds;—and thus public competition practically determines, from time to time, the proper proportion of produce which the miner should receive. The different rectangular masses, or *pitches*, into which the lode is divided by the galleries and shafts, very seldom turn out to be of similar value; and they are of course worked exactly in proportion to their produce. In one compartment the whole of the ore is worked out; in another only a proportion will pay for working; while not a few turn out so poor, that no one will undertake to work them at all. The *pitches* are in most cases taken by two miners, who relieve each other, and one often sees a father and son, who are in partnership, gradually find the lode turn out poorer and poorer, until they are at last compelled to pay their fine, and quit the ungrateful spot. The lottery in which the *tributers* engage abounds in blanks and in prizes. Sometimes the lode gets suddenly rich, sometimes as suddenly poor, and occasionally a productive lode altogether vanishes, or, as the miners say, has '*taken a heave*;' by which they mean, that some convulsion of nature has broken the lode, and removed it off—sometimes two or three hundred feet—to the right or left. In order to determine where to find it, those well acquainted with the subject carefully observe the fracture or broken extremity

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mity of the lode, and from its appearance they can determine on which side, and in what direction, to search for the lost prize. Sometimes again, a lode which is paying very well, is all of a sudden found 'to have *taken horse*,' which means, that it has split into two lodes, separated from each other by an unproductive mass, which the miners term a '*horse*;' and although the aggregate of the two lodes frequently contains the same quantity of ore as the original single lode, yet as the expense of working is doubled, it often will not pay to work them; for in all mining operations it must be constantly remembered, that it is not the quantity, or even quality of the ores, that can induce a prudent man to work them, if the *expenses*, from any circumstances, should exceed the *returns*.

In explaining the above operations, we have delayed to describe the draining of the mine, which, in a humid climate like Cornwall, calls for very early attention. The method, however, would suggest itself to any one on very little reflection: for it is evident that, if there be water in the mine, which impedes operations, there can be only two ways to get rid of it—either to lift it out, or to tap the hill. The latter is sometimes impossible, and it then becomes necessary to employ pumps, which are worked first by hand, then by horses, and, finally, if the mine will pay for the expense, by steam.

Without entering into further details, it will be evident that the system of *tributers*, in the Cornish mines, teaches the miners to live by their wits. Great practice and experience alone can teach them to calculate the value of the ores, and to speculate with tolerable accuracy on the capabilities of the lode which they are about to work for a definite per centage of its produce; and each miner thus finds it advisable not to undertake too much, but, by a very natural division of labour, to confine his sole attention either to tin or to copper. These ores are completely different; the individual labourer studies either the one or the other, not both. In the proverbial language of the district, *a copperer is not a tinner;* and those who fancy that any Cornish miner is able to work any lode, in any country, under any circumstances, will be surprised to hear that at the Poldice mine, where a lode of copper runs absolutely touching a lode of tin, no man who could venture to take a *pitch* of the former on tribute, would ever pretend to have the smallest notion of the value of the latter. Generally speaking, the copper-man would no more think of undertaking to work tin, or *vice versâ*, than a London plumber would undertake to do the task of a London blacksmith.

In working by tribute, the miner naturally does all he can to enrich himself; but the system is so admirably balanced and arranged

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ranged by long practice and experience, that it is very difficult for him to enrich himself without also enriching the owners or *adventurers*. Still, however, there are modes by which he occasionally endeavours to defraud his employer. The miners will sometimes steal each other's ores. If they come to a very good lode, they will occasionally hide their ore under the rubbish, or *deads*, with the view of making the profit they are getting appear to be inconsiderable, and, of course, being able, at the end of their contract, to take on their *pitch*, for another two months, at an easy rate. They perhaps succeed in this; but when they go to reap the benefit of their fraud, they sometimes find that a brother miner, still more cunning than themselves, has discovered their hidden treasure, and has carried it off.—The most usual mode of fraud, however, is a combination between two *tributers*, one of whom is working very rich, and the other very poor ores. The tributer who is working poor ores has, perhaps, bargained that he is to receive thirteen shillings out of every twenty shillings' worth of ore; while his friend, who is working the rich ores, is to get only one shilling out of twenty. In the dark chambers of the mine these two men secretly agree to exchange some of their ores, and then to divide the gross profits, which are, of course, very large; for, by this arrangement, instead of one shilling they get thirteen shillings out of twenty for a portion of the rich ores, while they lose but a trifle on a corresponding portion of the poor ores.—There are a few other methods of defrauding the adventurers; but in the diamond-cut-diamond system of the Cornish mines, a severe check upon all such tricks is established in the appointment of a number of excellent men, who are selected from among the working miners, to superintend all their operations. These men, having been brought up in the mines, are, of course, acquainted with the whole system. They have fixed salaries of about eighty or ninety pounds a-year, and are termed *captains of the mines*. Each district of mines has three captains; the senior of whom is very properly entitled a *grass captain*, because his duty is on the surface, while his brethren, who overlook what goes on within the mine, are styled *underground captains:*—and underground we now beg to leave them, while we say a few words on the mode of dressing the ores, or preparing them for market.

These ores, or, as the miners term them, '*hures*,' are all dressed by women and boys, who cob them, pick them, jig them, buck them, buddle them, and splay them as they may require;—but as these terms of art may not be altogether intelligible to some of our readers, we shall describe the process in humbler words. In order to prepare *copper ores* for market, the first process is,

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of course, to throw aside the deads, or rubbish, with which they are unavoidably mixed; and this operation is very cleverly performed by little girls of seven or eight years of age, who receive threepence or fourpence a-day. The largest fragments of ore are then *cobbed*, or broken into smaller pieces, by women; and after being again picked, they are given to what the Cornish miners term '*maidens*,'—that is, to girls from sixteen to nineteen years of age. These maidens *buck* the ores,—that is, with a bucking iron, or flat hammer, they bruise them down to a size not exceeding the top of the finger; and the *bucs* are then given to boys, who *jig* them, or shake them in a sieve under water, by which means the ore, or heavy part, keeps at the bottom, while the spar, or refuse, is scraped from the top. The part which passes through the sieve is also stirred about in water, the lighter part is thrown from the surface, and the ores, thus dressed, being put into large heaps of about a hundred tons each, are ready for the market. They then are forthwith shipped for *Wales*, (it being much cheaper to carry the ores to the coals than the coals to the ores); and in Wales, after undergoing another trifling operation, they are ready to be smelted—a process of which no Cornish copper-miner of any order has the slightest notion.

The dressing of *tin ores* is altogether a different process, because not only are the ores perfectly different, but the method of smelting them is also so different, that it is necessary the tin should be reduced to the finest powder, while copper ore is smelted in small lumps. The tin ore, after being picked, or separated from the deads, is thrown into a stamping mill, where it gradually falls under a number of piles or beams of wood, shod with iron, which are worked vertically up or down—generally by a water-wheel, though at the Poldice mine thirty-six of them are at once worked by steam. As it is necessary that the ore should be bruised to a very fine powder, the bottom of the stamp is surrounded by a very fine copper sieve, and water being made constantly to flow through this, the ore can only escape when it is fine enough to pass with the water through the interstices of the sieve. It then settles into a fine mud, which is composed of metallic particles, and powdered quartz-rock, &c. This mud undergoes a very ingenious process, which the miners term *buddling*. The metallic and other particles are all of different specific gravities, and the dresser, being aware of this, places the mud at the top of an inclined plane, and, gently working it about, allows a small stream of water to run over it. In a short time the inclined plane is all equally covered with the mud, and although, to any person who has not been brought up to the business, the whole mass has the same appearance, yet the dresser is able to distinguish, and to draw a line between,

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between, the heavy metallic particles, which have remained at the top of the inclined plane, and the worthless ones, which, from being lighter, have been washed towards the bottom. After separating the one from the other, the worthless part is thrown away, and the metallic part buddled again, and the process is repeated until the mass retained consists almost entirely of metallic particles. But these particles, which are as fine as flour, are not all tin; generally many of them are composed of mundic (the sulphuret of arsenic); others are copper; and as the difference between the specific gravities of these three metals is not sufficient to separate them by buddling or washing, it becomes necessary to roast the mass, an operation which the dresser does not himself perform. As soon as the mass is placed in a furnace, and subjected to a proper degree of heat, the sulphuret of arsenic goes off in white poisonous fumes or smoke, and the specific gravities of the different particles of copper and tin are so altered by the action of the fire, that, upon being taken out of the furnace, and again delivered to the dresser, he finds that, in the course of carefully buddling the mass on the inclined plane before described, the particles separate, —the tin, which is the heaviest, being left upon the upper part, while the copper is at the bottom. The tin is then packed in bags and sold; and, being nearly pure metal, it requires, in comparison to copper ore, so little fuel that it is all smelted *in Cornwall*.

Whoever compares together the two processes of dressing copper and tin ores, must be satisfied that they are completely different affairs; and in Cornwall, accordingly, it is perfectly well understood that they form different trades. The ores are so dissimilar, and require such different modes of treatment, that the experience which the labourer gains in dressing the one, is of no possible use to him who dresses the other. It is true that both sets of people are called *dressers*, but it does not follow that, for that reason, they can all dress *any* thing; and to desire a copper-dresser to dress tin ores would, in Cornwall, be considered as preposterous as if one were to send him to Aldersgate Street to dress a turtle, or to St. James's Square to dress a duchess. All this is perfectly well known, and has been so for ages; how strange, then, was the conduct of our city mining companies in sending out to America, at the enormous salaries of fifteen guineas a month, so many Cornish tin-dressers, and copper-dressers, to instruct the native miners in dressing *silver ores*, of the composition, character, qualities, and treatment of which they were totally ignorant!

But it is time that the *underground captains* should come *to grass*, and that the whole body of subterraneous labourers should be released; and those who have attended to their labours through the day will scarcely regret to see them rising out of the earth, and issuing

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issuing in crowds from the different holes or shafts around—hot—dirty—and jaded; each with the remainder of his bunch of candles hanging at the bottom of his flannel garb. As soon as the men come *to grass* they repair to the engine-house, where they generally leave their *underground clothes* to dry, wash themselves in the warm water of the engine-pool, and put on their clothes, which are always exceedingly decent. By this time the *maidens* and little boys have also washed their faces, and the whole party* migrate across the fields in groups, and in different directions, to their respective homes. Generally speaking, they now look so clean and fresh, and seem so happy, that one would scarcely fancy they had worked all day in darkness and confinement. The old men, however, tired with their work, and sick of the follies and vagaries of the outside and the inside of this mining world, plod their way in sober silence—probably thinking of their supper. The younger men proceed talking and laughing, and where the grass is good they will sometimes stop and wrestle. The big boys generally advance by playing at leap-frog; little urchins run on before to gain time to stand upon their heads; while the '*maidens*,' sometimes pleased and sometimes offended with what happens, smile or scream as circumstances may require. As the different members of the group approach their respective cottages, their numbers of course diminish, and the individual who lives farthest from the mines, like the solitary survivor of a large family, performs the last few yards of his journey by himself. On arriving at home, the first employment is to wheel a small cask in a light barrow for water—and as the cottages are built to follow the fortunes and progress of the mine, it often happens that the miner has three miles to go ere he can fill his cask. As soon as the young men have supped, they generally dress themselves in their *holiday clothes*,—a suit better than the *working-clothes* in which they walk to the mines, but not so good as their *Sunday-clothes*. In fact the *holiday-clothes* are the *Sunday-clothes* of last year, and thus, including his *underground-flannels*, every Cornish miner generally possesses four suits of clothes.

The Sunday is kept with great attention. The mining community, male and female, are remarkably well dressed, and as they come from the church or meetings, there is certainly no labouring class in England at all equal to them in appearance; for they are naturally good-looking. Working away from sun and wind, their complexions are never weather-beaten, and often ruddy; they are naturally a cheerful people, and, indeed, when one considers how many hours they pass in subterraneous darkness, it is not surprising

* Sixteen hundred persons are employed in The Consolidated Mines.

that

that they should look upon the sunshine of the sabbath as the signal, not only of rest, but of high and active natural enjoyment.

The '*ticketing*,' or weekly sale of the ores, forms a curious feature of the system of mining in Cornwall. The ores, as before stated, are generally made up by the tributers into heaps of about a hundred tons each; and samples, or little bags, from each heap, are sent to the agents for the different copper companies. The agents take these to the Cornish assayers—a set of men who (strange to relate) are destitute of the most distant notion of the theories of chemistry or metallurgy, but who nevertheless can practically determine with great accuracy the value of each sample of ore. As soon as the agents have been informed of the assay, they determine what sum per ton they will offer in the names of their respective companies for each heap of ores at the weekly meeting or ticketing. At this meeting* all the mine-agents, as well as the agents for the several copper companies, attend, and it is singular to see the whole of the ores, amounting to several thousand tons, sold without the utterance of one single word.—The agents for the copper companies, seated at a long table, hand up individually to the chairman a ticket or tender, stating what sum per ton they offer for each heap. As soon as every man has delivered his ticket, they are all ordered to be printed together in a tabular form. The largest sum offered for each heap is distinguished by a line drawn under it in the table; and the agent who has make this offer is the purchaser.

2. Having now endeavoured to introduce to the acquaintance of our reader the Cornish miner, and the system of mining established in his country, we shall proceed to a general but faithful sketch of the miners and mining of the Spanish colonies over the Atlantic. It is certainly the case that nature has formed the vast continent of America on a scale very different from that of the old world. In point of grandeur and magnificence the outline of the Western world is far superior to that in which it is our fortune to live. We cannot boast of rivers one hundred or one hundred and fifty miles in breadth; but we have streams of much narrower dimensions, free from the rapids of St. Lawrence, from the pamperos and sand-banks of the Rio Plata, and broad enough for every purpose for which we can require their aid. We have not, it is true, a range of mountains to equal, in sullen magnificence, the stupendous Andes; but Mont Blanc is quite high enough for the scientific portion of our community, and Greenwich hill quite steep enough for those who feel anxious to

* The meeting is held for the sale of tin ores every Tuesday, and for copper ores every Thursday.

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roll down it. We have neither the dark impenetrable forests of North America, nor the vast interminable plains of the Pampas; but we possess, in their stead, the snugger regions of civilized life, and we have beef somewhat tenderer than that of the wild bull, with plenty of good coal to cook it. In like manner, we do not possess mines of gold and silver to equal those which are said to be deposited in the lofty Cordilleras of the American mountains; but we have, in our own country, in great abundance, humbler metals, which possess the inestimable value of being within our reach, and under the protection of our own laws.

With respect to the value of the American mines, there is now but too much reason to believe that the popular estimate has been all along greatly exaggerated. The unprecedented mass of precious metals poured into Europe after the discovery of America, naturally led men to conceive that the ores must have been obtained with great facility, and that, consequently, they existed in great abundance in America: but it was not remembered, that, for a large proportion of these metals, the Spaniards, who dazzled us with the display of them, had never paid the labour of extraction—in short, that they were gained at first by open plunder, and long afterwards by dooming the Indians to a life of forced labour and misery, which caused, in many places, all but the extinction of that unfortunate race. There can, however, be no doubt, that, for a considerable time previous to the revolution, some of the mines in Mexico did produce very large profits; but here again we quite forget that these profits proceeded not from the whole of the mines, but from a very small number.

During the revolution, many of the richest mines were burnt and ruined: being, therefore, deserted, they gradually became filled with water; and because the natives of America, under such circumstances, hesitated to undertake the expense of re-working them, English Companies were formed for the purpose of doing so—the singular foundation on which all these Companies principally rested, being a notion that the natives of America were ignorant of the proper mode of working their own mines.

This notion was radically absurd, and it has been acted upon with miserable consequences. It now turns out that the American system was the result of intelligence, trial, and experience, and was adapted to the character, habits, and state of civilization of the country; and of this the mode in which many of the poor mines were worked gives, perhaps, the fairest example. A small party of miners were engaged, who, with their tools in their hands, and with a supply for some months of *charque*, or hung beef, at their backs, ascended forthwith the mountain, until they reached the lode, and there, without hut or shelter of any sort, at once commenced

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commenced their operations, by sinking small shafts on the most promising points, and following the veins wherever they were found to be richest. By these means they often contrived to extract a small profit from the lode, and certainly their mode of operations, under the circumstances, was the best they could adopt; for the locality of the lode was such, that it could not bear the expense of being worked on a more extended plan, and besides, the lode, after all, was so poor, that it was only the irregular system of taking its best parts, that could at all pay the miner for his labour. The native miner, therefore, worked his lode after his own way, and he certainly managed to extract from it a profit which no foreigner could hope for. Any one who has travelled among the mountains of America will admit, that there are hundreds of spots from which silver has been extracted, which would not pay *us* for working, even if they were in England; and it seems to follow that the same credit is, in these cases, justly due to the native miner, which no man in England would refuse to the farmer who should extract a profit from land for which no one but himself would undertake to give any rent.

The plan adopted in the great mines of America was not less suited—we speak from personal observation and deliberate reflection—to the localities of the lodes, the character of the country, and the habits of the population. In Cornwall, as we have stated, neither miners nor captains of mines, nor assayers, nor *adventurers*, pretend to work upon scientific principles, or to possess any but practical knowledge: they have no books upon mining, and, until the present day, mining has never occupied public attention in this country. But in Mexico the court of Spain, far from neglecting the mines, looked towards them for its greatest revenue, and cared for them accordingly. Besides many intelligent individuals who went to the mines from Spain, German miners were sent thither by the court to introduce, as far as was possible, their knowledge and experience; and a college, or 'tribunal de mineria,' was founded in Mexico, the professor of mineralogy in which establishment (M. del Rio) had visited the most celebrated mines in Europe, and made himself acquainted with all that they could show. The working of the mines was also the natural, indeed almost the sole object, to which the most intelligent persons resident in Mexico had earnestly directed their attention. They had more people at work in some of their establishments than any of our mining companies in England ever employed; they had worked some mines to greater depths than have ever been explored, down to the present hour, in Cornwall; and as their profits before the revolution were very great, they not only possessed capital enough to enable them to introduce whatever improvements

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provements they conceived necessary, but they were quite liberal enough to exert it. To take an example, we are assured that the works on Count Regla's mine cost him 400,000*l*. But although the proprietors of the Mexican mines were naturally anxious to avail themselves of any improvements which might increase their profits, or diminish their expenses, it was impossible for them blindly to adopt the customs of the mines in Europe, which all differed from each other, exactly in proportion to the differences of locality, resources, &c. &c. in the states where they were worked. To any one who has for a moment considered the subject of mining, it must be evident that no one general system can be pursued, even within the limits of one country. In America, for instance, even supposing that two lodes quite similar to each other existed on two mountains, of the same altitude, dimensions, and geological construction, *but* widely separated from each other, it would by no means follow that the same system could be adopted in both of them. The one mine might be drained by means of simple machinery, to be worked by water which might exist near the spot, or by mules which might be supported in its neighbourhood; while, from want of roads, pasture, water, and so forth, it might be absolutely necessary to drain the other by means of an expensive adit. And again, supposing the ores extracted from the two mines to be of the very same class, yet they would probably require to be treated in a different way: those near water and wood would be easily dressed and smelted, while the dressing of the others might entail great trouble and cost, and also the process of amalgamation; and, under these circumstances, the ores would weekly increase or diminish in value, according to the fluctuating prices of quicksilver, conveyance, and the like.—It is natural and probable to conceive that there *were* some improvements in mining which the Mexican proprietor might have overlooked, and which he might have introduced with advantage; yet the Mexican system, upon the whole, was far from bad. Every one who has visited those mines must admit, that the masonry in the shafts is admirably performed—that the wood-work, though not so neatly done as in England, is strong and sufficient —that the arastras, or mills for the trituration of the ores, have been brought to great perfection—and that the native miner possesses prodigious physical strength.

A great deal has been said against the system of carrying out the ore on the backs of men, yet it must be recollected that, where the population is so small, and the lodes are so large as in Mexico, the proprietors of the mines are naturally in the habit of searching after the best ores only, instead of regularly working out the lode, as is customary in England. Now, under this mode of operations,

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it is often unavoidably necessary to bring the ore through irregular serpentine galleries, for which the American method of carrying the ores is peculiarly adapted, as it saves the expense of sinking shafts; and, upon the whole, when it is considered that the Indian Tenateros carry upwards of three hundred pounds, which is a fair burden for a mule, it is easy to conceive that the Mexican proprietor had deliberately calculated the cost and produce of their services, and that, under the circumstances of the case, he had found human beings the cheapest machines he could use. It was, undoubtedly, by hard labour and rigid economy alone that the Mexican proprietor ever dreamt of reaping a harvest from his mine.

When the revolution took place, the mines were burnt, and the timbers being destroyed, the principal workings and galleries fell in: on this the positive value of the mines instantly fell, because the expense necessary for working them was of course considerably increased. The intelligent Mexican miner, living on the spot, conversant with the subject of mining, possessing many data for calculating with considerable accuracy what average wealth the lodes about him probably contained, and what it would probably cost to extract that wealth, did not think it worth his while to work the mines. The mines, thus lying idle, happened to attract the notice of some individuals in London; and an idea, which, if it had been calmly taken up, might have proved not altogether unworthy of attention, suddenly burst into hasty plans and greedy speculations, which were carried on in a manner little creditable to the prudence or character of this country.

It was resolved at once to dispatch Cornish miners, machinery, and money, to mines, whose situation was scarcely known; indeed, several companies sent their miners from Falmouth, before they had secured even the frailest title to the mines in which the men were to be employed. The subject of mining was one to which very few people in England had ever directed their attention; and nothing can prove the profound ignorance which prevailed among us, more than the assortment of commissioners and miners, that were now embarked for America. To command the Cornish miners, and to conduct the whole speculation, one or two commissioners were appointed by each of the new companies; and as there was no class of people in this country who could boast of any experience in working silver mines, the directors, who knew no more of the business than the shareholders, were rather puzzled to determine, from what profession these commissioners ought to be selected. One of the companies considered that, in order to guard their property, no person could be better than an officer of the guards; other directors

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directors resolved that, as engines were to be sent out, it would be well to procure officers from the engineers. Many selected officers from the artillery, because they heard that gunpowder was to be required for the mines. Several determined that, for hauling up ores, water, &c. from the depths of transatlantic mountains, officers of his Majesty's navy would be singularly serviceable—and one company, whose mines were filled with water, and widely separated one from another, concluded, that to encounter difficulties both on land and on water was indisputably the province of an officer of marines; and, therefore, from every one of the above callings one or more persons received the invitation to direct the operations of some mining company in America. The honourable professions to which these gentlemen belonged afforded satisfactory pledges, that they would severally conduct their undertakings with zeal and integrity; but, perhaps, none will now be more ready than themselves to admit, that their education had in no way fitted them for expounding the systems of mining, smelting, amalgamation, &c.—and few of them can hesitate to confess that far from being acquainted with the nature of the country in which their administrations were to be carried on, they were quite unable even to speak its language. However, although they knew nothing, the shareholders, if possible, knew less, and the whole system being that of the blind leading the blind, these forlorn-hope commissioners took their leave and started for the New World.

The Cornishmen who accompanied them consisted of copper miners, tinners, copper-ore dressers, and tin-ore dressers; and if these men had only been questioned, we are quite sure they would all have said at once that they did not profess to know anything either about searching for silver ores, or about dressing them. The copper miner would have said, 'If you will send me to a copper mine, and if the copper ores in that mine are similar to the particular description of copper ores, which are to be met with in the neighbourhood of the Dalcoath mine, where I have worked all my life, I will undertake to tell you which are good ores, and which are bad; I will tell you whether the lode is '*kindly* or not—that is, whether it promises to improve. *If* you will put me among people who speak English I will teach them all this,—*if* you can prevail on them to learn it; and *if* you wish me to work upon *tribute*, I tell you fairly, I will make the best bargain with you I can.'—The copper-ore dresser would have said with equal frankness, 'I know nothing at all about dressing *tin-hures*, because that is a trade by itself; and I come from a part of Cornwall where there are no tin mines; but if you will give me *copper-hures*, I will undertake to buck them, and jig them, and dress them,

them, and make them in every way fit to be smelted in Wales. I know nothing about silvery "hures," or about smelting any sort of "hures;" and I don't know what amalgamation means—however, as you offer me fifteen guineas a month to go to America, and as I now can scarcely get three, I am very willing to engage.'

The captain of the Cornish mines would have said: 'I will engage to work your mines in America exactly on the plan they are worked in Cornwall. I know all the tricks of the Cornish miners, for I was brought up among them; and if there are the same tricks in America, I will do my utmost to put a stop to them; but as I cannot understand what it is foreigners say when they speak to each other, I will not answer to find out anything beyond what I can see; and with respect to the foreign miners swallowing pieces of gold, and concealing pieces of rich ore in their hair, arms, thighs, &c.—which I hear they do, to the amount of four thousand pounds a-year in one mine—these are tricks our miners never practice, and I should not know how to prevent them;—however, as you offer me one thousand pounds a-year, and as my present pay is ninety-six pounds, I shall be exceedingly happy to go.'

If any man of common sense, practically acquainted with the character of the Cornish miners, had been consulted, he would have said, 'It is useless to make bargains with these men, which are inconsistent with their habits and experience; their signatures can be no security to you that they will perform more than their nature can permit. They are ignorant of the work you are about to require from them—they are unable to stand against a climate so uncongenial to their constitution. Consider, moreover, that in Cornwall, not only do the laws of the country ensure protection to your undertaking, but every branch of trade offers its support. Fuel, candles, rope, iron, wood-work, machinery, tools, provisions, everything that the miner can possibly require is furnished him, and, like a spoiled child, he has never known want. Accustomed to follow his own judgment, you will find him obstinately bigoted to Cornish customs, and modes of working, which must be totally inapplicable to the mountains of America. His experience has made him intelligent in Cornwall, and his own interests have taught him to be cunning; but the latter characteristic is the only one that will bear exportation—the former will vanish, like witchcraft, in crossing the moving waters of the Atlantic. In England, your miner must work, or starve; but you have yourselves annihilated in him all inducement to labour, by the enormous salary at which you have engaged him. By virtue of your contract, you may insist upon his going down to the mine; but you cannot make him labour when he is there, for, raised above his work by the independent salary of

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one hundred and fifty pounds a-year, which you have been so inconsiderate as to ensure to him, he will do little more than look about him and drink to your health.'*

The opinion of the native miners of America was unfortunately never asked; and assuredly the first rencontres that took place between them and their new rivals were strange scenes. On one of these occasions (says an eye-witness) a small party of our *tinners* and *coppérers* had at last, with great difficulty, succeeded in climbing to the summit of one of the lofty ranges of the Andes. The Cornish men, dressed in their *holiday clothes*, were flushed with the fatigue of riding to such a height, and their healthy, florid cheeks seemed ready to burst with the blood dancing within them. They rode on their mules to the mouth of a small mine, and had scarcely arrived there, when an old Indian gradually rose from the earth beneath them. Excepting a small piece of cloth which was round his middle, he was naked, and a fragment of rock, weighing more than two hundred weight, rested upon his bare back. His red frame was sinewy rather than muscular, and there was not a line in his withered countenance, which did not seem to tell its own tale of suffering. He looked as if he had long wanted food, yet betrayed no symptom of exhaustion. Standing firmly under his gigantic load, the poor man gazed wildly through the lank black hair that streamed and dangled before his face, as if utterly surprised at the appearance of the strangers,—to whom, could they have understood him, he might justly have said: 'For what purpose have the inhabitants of the old world come again among us? Is it to relieve our wants, or to add to our misfortunes? You have driven us from our plains—our ancient empires are in your hands—we have been, and we are, unable to stand against you—but do you still seriously believe that our whole race has neither judgment nor strength? Do you conceive that we could have procured you the precious metals in such abundance without gaining experience in the arts of searching for them? Do you fancy that they are here in profusion?—Enter the mine beneath us, and you will perceive how trifling is its value if you abstract from it our labour. In what do you pretend to instruct us? Are you better acquainted with our mountains than we ourselves? Or, are you prepared to bear the sudden changes and rigour of this climate with more firmness? How can you expect to work cheaper than we do? Will you live in a more humble hovel than that before you, or will you subsist on coarser food than it contains? Look around at the cheerless, snowy mountains by which we are imprisoned! Is it in your power to fertilize or to enliven them? Do you fancy that

* One of the Cornish miners did write to his brother in Cornwall, 'You have no idea, Bill, how thirsty this here hot, dry country do make us!'

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you are stronger than an Indian? If so, use those weighty tools, or carry this rock which I support;—if you admit that you would sink under the fatigue of doing either, you can be superior to us in nothing but the faculties of your minds; and if you be really miners, you must know but too well, that intellect need not be very rapid, or bright, to keep pace with, or to enlighten him who passes his dreary life in the rocky bowels of these wild mountains—that to force one's way through them is a much greater exertion of the muscles than the brain. Though you be children of the civilised world, you may perhaps deign to profit by the experience of an old Indian, when he assures you that the mine in which he has worn out his life is incapable of giving any labourer clothes such as you wear, or food such as it has apparently been your good fortune to subsist upon!'

Besides the instruction which the city mining companies expected that their commissioners and Cornish men were to impart to the Indian miner, they had also calculated on great advantages which they were to receive, by introducing into America machinery and capital; and upon these two points it is, therefore, necessary that we should make a very few observations. Machinery is the representative of labour, and it is applied in England generally, and in our Cornish mines in particular, because, upon calculation, it is found to be an economical substitute for labour. The great ninety-inch steam-engine on the Consolidated mines in Cornwall, for instance, cost at the foundery two thousand pounds; the expense of putting it up was four thousand pounds, and the pit-work two thousand more. In twenty-four hours it consumes about one hundred and eighty bushels of coals, which are delivered at one shilling a bushel. In return for this calculable expense, the engine lifts sixty-four gallons of water per stroke, and it can work twelve strokes in a minute. It is, we take it, evident that the advantages of such an engine are scrupulously to be weighed against its expenses, and that it can only be introduced with prudence when the former exceed the latter. Now the engines sent to Mexico were of seventy-inch cylinder, and being similar to those used in Cornwall, their advantages, or rather powers, are every where the same;—that is to say, they are capable of lifting a certain number of gallons per stroke, and of working so many strokes in a minute; but in America what is to be the expense of this? Even at the first glance it must appear that the cost of transporting a seventy-inch engine to the mines even of Mexico, must be something quite enormous. There is not only the unhealthy climate of Vera Cruz to contend with, but the whole country is one continued obstacle to the undertaking. It is necessary to make roads, to construct bridges; and such unnatural

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natural efforts are and must be attended by unnatural expenses. Supposing, however, that all these difficulties are, by dint of money, surmounted, and that this unwieldy labourer does get to the mines—at what expense is he to be supported there? What is to be the price of his fuel; and what are to be the salaries of the artisans who must unavoidably be maintained for the purpose of repairing every sort of accident that may happen to the many-limbed and most delicate colossus, in his unnatural exile? Without attempting to calculate the expenses of all these contingencies, we do not hesitate to assert, that if the same, or similar, difficulties could exist in Cornwall, there would not be at this hour one steam-engine in that country.

Again, with respect to the benefit which the city mining companies expected to derive from introducing capital into America, it may justly be said that the advantage here was more evidently in favour of America than of the English shareholder. It was asserted in London, first, that the American mines were exceedingly rich; and secondly, that they were lying idle for want of capital; but it was rather singular that the facts offered in support of the first assertion contradicted the second. To establish the riches of the Mexican mines, for example, we are told, how Joseph Laborde, a Frenchman, who came into Mexico very poor, suddenly acquired immense wealth, by working one of the mines of Tlapujahua; and how, having dissipated this money, the same Joseph again realised one hundred and twenty thousand pounds by working a mine in the Intendencia of Zacatecas. The fortunes acquired by M. Obregon, created Count Valenciana—by Don Pedro Tereros, created Count Regla—by the Marquis del Apartado, &c. &c. are also quoted as tests of the riches of the Mexican mines. But as these immense fortunes were all made by persons who commenced with little or no capital, it seems to follow as the proper conclusion, from the very showing of the case, that if these mines are now as they were then, it is not necessary to have large capitals to work them;—that if they are *not* as they were, the same profits cannot be expected from them; and, upon the whole, that if the Mexican adventurers consider the mines not worth their attention, they ought not in prudence to engage ours.

In England, the advantages of large capital are evident;—in all our large undertakings, money is as powerful as steam, because, like that power, we are enabled to confine it, and to apply its force on the particular point, and in the particular direction, which is required. But take from us the laws of our country, and the advantages of public competition, which bind and protect our

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capital, and money, like steam, became impotent as magic. It required, surely, no extraordinary sagacity to foresee that a large capital suddenly appearing in Mexico, Chili, Buenos Ayres, &c. before we were acquainted with the characters of those countries,—before our titles to the mines were secured,—before the laws of these young states were even strong enough to secure our titles,—before we had taken any precautions to prevent the monopoly of the numerous articles we should require—would only operate as a temptation to the governments, and to every class of society, to tax and plunder us, and would attract obstacles instead of removing them.

4. We have now endeavoured to show what, in theory, might have been expected from the scheme of forwarding English commissioners, miners, machinery, and capital to the American mines, and it only remains for us to record a few of the events which have already attended the actual execution of the scheme.

The confusion and hurry in which miners and miners' wives, machinery, and commissioners were huddled on board, can hardly be forgotten. It may also be remembered, that these companies were of such hasty growth, that they were scarcely considered to exist at all, until it could be reported 'that the miners and machinery had been (the phrase was ominous) *dispatched*.' As soon as this was made known, the value of the shares rose rapidly, though no rise, however unexampled, could keep pace with the expectations of people who fancied that the gold and silver was (as the secretary of one of these companies admirably expressed himself) 'glaring and glistening, and jumping into their pockets.'

However, when the Cornish miners, assayers, doctors, surveyors, &c. &c. had been confined on board ship a few days, the mixture began to ferment;—in a short time two of the ships returned to Falmouth, the miners having taken possession of the vessels, because the Captain would not give them fresh beef; and if these city companies had reflected for one moment—*si mens non læva fuisset*—they would have learnt, from this trifling incident, the folly of sending out on such an errand men who had never known restraint, and who were evidently so unprepared to submit to the privations which *must* be required of them amidst scenes and labours so entirely new. However, the captains were changed, the vessels were filled with better provisions, and off again they sailed; and when well away from land, their murmurs were soon hushed by the wild winds that howled around them. One vessel had weathered Cape Horn, when the commissioner resolved to save the French brandy, and to deliver to each of the miners,

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miners, per day, a quart of light claret, which had been purchased on the voyage. The Cornish men, for some days, were pleased with the change; but they soon declared that it was cold—that there was no warmth in it—that it was poor stuff—and, finally, that it was sour; and after some days, the miners, in a body, all came aft. The spokesman who was to address the commissioner held in one hand a quart mug of claret, and in the other a basin, which had evidently contained brown sugar, and, with an unusual acidity of countenance, he said to the commissioner, 'Sir, I will drink no more of this clarety wine! I have put all this here sugar into this here stuff, and it is sour yet!' By degrees, however, these little grumings and fermentations subsided, and the different vessels at last landed their passengers and cargoes at their respective destinations.

The fate of most of the *South American* companies was very rapidly decided. On the arrival of the Cornish miners, military, naval, or marine commissioner, &c., it was, in most cases, found, that the mines which the shareholders expected to have had for nothing, were in the hands of persons who had exceedingly well calculated on the distress in which these companies were about to be involved. Enormous sums were, accordingly, asked for mines which, upon inspection, proved to be poor, without resources, and adapted only to operations upon a very small scale. Many of the commissioners purchased such mines at exorbitant prices, at distances of seven hundred or eight hundred miles from each other; and while the natives were smiling at the Cornish *tinners*, who were standing on the sunny sides of the streets, devoured by musquitoes, and cutting water-melons the wrong way—the governments began to ask for *loans!* Although the object of these companies was to make money, and not to spend it, yet one hundred thousand dollars were lent to one government, and smaller sums to others, until the capitals were expended. In short, one plethoric hobby after another was bled to death; and after agents and governors had, like vampyres, sucked its vitals—the hide and carcass, being of no value in South America, were, with due form, delivered over to the shareholders, who gazed in groups at the melancholy spectacle before them; and comparing their defunct favourite with his cock-tailed picture taken as he trotted out of Cornhill but a year before, involuntarily exclaimed,—*'Heu! quantum mutatus!'*

On the arrival of the different mining parties *in Mexico*, they too, with all diligence, prepared to carry into execution their respective plans. The miners and machinery were landed, and, of one company of forty-four individuals, almost the first act which twenty-six performed, was—to die. They were buried chiefly on Mullan beach,

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beach, at Vera Cruz, eight of them in one grave.* Attempts were made by the different companies to transport their machinery to their respective mines. One company, at an enormous expense of money and *life*, succeeded in dragging their engines to their nearest mines: a second managed to transport the boilers in separate plates, but the bobs were left on one part of the road, and the

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* We possess an elegy, written at Vera Cruz, by one of the survivors of the party; but the subject is too serious to admit of its publication. However, as the reader may be curious to see a specimen of a Cornish miner's poetry, we submit a few verses of a ballad, written by William Simmons, of Redruth Highway, one of the individuals in the service of the Famatina Mining Company.

'Come all my friends and neighbours round, give ear, while I disclose
The dangers of a foreign voyage, in which we was exposed.

'Its of a mineing company who left their native shore,
And sail'd for South America, in search of mineral ore.

'We all embark'd at falmouth port, our voyage for to proceed,
In the good ship Marquis of anglesea, a handsom ship indeed.

'The thirteenth of September, when our oders was for sea,
We hauled up our topsails, and we soon got under way.

'Our friends they stood upon the hills, while they could have a view,
We gave a cheer of three times three, and bade our isle adieu.

'We had not left our island long, before we was surprise
To see our burk so toss about upon the swelling seas.

'The twenty-first of November a gale of wind came on;
We lost one of our comrades here, he from the deck was blown.

'We saw our friend toss'd on the swells, that runs like mountains high;
Sailors and men was active then, and every means did try.

'The *oders* then was backen sails; we for a while lay to,
And after using every means, we bid our friend adieu.

'He sunk beneath the heavy swells, near the Brazilian shore;
The greedy sea inclos'd him in, we never seed him more.

'He left a wife and child on board, to share their loss apart;
The crys that echo'd through the ship whould rend the hardes heart.

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'Then on our voyage we did proceed; i'm sorry to relate,
We was drove on a bank of sand, that's in the River Plate.

'Sea after sea did drive us forth; all hands was call'd on deck,
For to consult the best methods to save us from a wreck.

'When much exertion here was used to git her off again;
But after toiling all the day, we seed our work was vain.

'To throw the cargo overboard. Our lives was valued then,
And try to save our shatter'd hulk, to bear us safe to land.

'When many thousands pounds value, was thrown into the sea,
We had no hopes of gitting off, our ship so heavy lay.

'Expecting of a gale of wind to blow from the south-west;
The only means we had to try, was to cut down our mast.

'But while we held a council here, our look-out did express
"A sail in sight, a sail in sight, and standing towards us."

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'Just at this time a schooner came, our wants for to relieve,
Part of our cargo for to save, though they was Portugese,' &c. &c.

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cylinder on another. Others were obliged to abandon altogether so ruinous an undertaking; and their Birmingham steam-engines, and other cumbrous pieces of machinery, are now lying on the beach at Vera Cruz, and on different parts of the road, miserable monuments of the reign of this unexampled *gullibility*.

Instead of feeling their way, and confining their operations each to a single mine, these companies, as soon as they broke loose from their dead weight of machinery, ran riot over the country. Careless of the distances which separated one mine from another, and led by the nose by the crafty, intelligent natives, they scampered about and made such numerous purchases of mines, that it was morally impossible even a small proportion of them ever could be worked.—For instance, one single company engaged the whole or parts of *thirty-five* large mines, besides smaller ones, nine haciendas, and *three hundred* mills—which last they took on leases for nine or twelve years; and this same company, after expending about eight hundred thousand pounds, have now just determined to abandon all their mines together, excepting *four*. Of the Cornish miners who went to Mexico, a considerable proportion have been fortunate enough to find their way back, and these men, who are now at their old work in Cornwall, say, that the native miners could labour harder and longer than they could—that they found them cunning and pilfering, and that they were once seen driving off twenty mule-loads of ore, but in such numbers, that the Cornish guard did not dare to interfere—that many people were imposing on the English companies; and that, after all, the mines, in their opinion, were poor.—These statements are corroborated by many recent letters from Cornish miners who are still in Mexico, and of which the following literal extract may serve as a specimen:—

'The mines is very poor. The engine is working at —— Mine, and nearly in fork, (*i.e.*, dry,) but for my part I believe it would be so well if the water was running out to adit.'

Having now laid before the reader data, which we conceive may enable him to form, for himself, some opinion on the subject of Cornish mining in America, we have but a few general observations to offer. In all countries, the fascinating speculation of mining is a lottery; for it not only is composed of blanks and prizes, but the whole number of the latter would not pay for the price of purchasing all the shares. In Cornwall, as elsewhere, it is perfectly well known, that mines in the aggregate are a losing concern—that the quantity of copper, for instance, annually extracted in Cornwall, is not worth the money annually spent in Cornwall in copper mining. A number of people, therefore, lose money by mining in Cornwall, and a few gain very large profits.

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Now, such being the case, no prudent man, surely, would recommend a stranger to invest money in mining generally, although, under certain circumstances, he might speculate most to a very large amount himself. Many of the proprietors, as they are termed, the *adventurers*, of the Cornish mines, supply the mine with coals, candles, rope, iron, or other materials; and the profit which they thus gain collaterally, supports them in case the main speculation should fail. Indeed, if a man has but a small share in a mine, and furnishes it with a large quantity of materials, it may be his clear interest to vote that operations should continue, even though the mine itself be a losing concern.—Again, if the mine is turning out badly, and if the adventurers are privately desirous of getting rid of their shares, it is not impossible to give the mine a momentary appearance of doing well; and, lastly, if it *is* doing well, it is sometimes for the interest of the adventurers to conceal that fact. From these and many other circumstances, all people who are well acquainted with the subject concur in advising a stranger to have nothing to do with mining in Cornwall, unless he is himself to be resident in that country, or unless he can implicitly depend upon the judgment of some friend who is a resident—for, as some one must have the blanks, it requires considerable intelligence and cunning to avoid them. It is from a practical knowledge of these facts, that the Cornish people have all a very bad opinion of the South American mining companies. Without entering into any long-winded argument on the subject, these people—(we have had occasion to talk with not a few of them)—very significantly say, 'Do you think *we* would have any thing to do with a mine, if we could not look *into* it?' And the same general argument equally applies to Mexico; for it is well known that the wealth which was extracted from the Mexican mines, even before they were destroyed, burnt, and inundated, and when provisions and labour were infinitely cheaper than they are at present, proceeded from a very few mines—that, although there were many speculations, yet, comparatively, only a very few *adventurers* were enriched.

The great question, therefore, is—admitting that mining in America is a lottery in which prizes are again to be gained, who are the individuals most likely to obtain them? Without hesitation, we reply, *the natives of the country*. They have already shown their superior intelligence and ability, by inducing us to make expensive purchases, which we have since found it necessary to abandon. They possess great practical experience, and local knowledge, and they can themselves supply their mines with materials at a cheap rate. They understand the mode of governing, rewarding, punishing, and watching the Indian labourers. They

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be acquainted with the laws, good and bad, of their own country; and have probably influence enough to get the duty on one article increased, and on another diminished, as their interests may require. They have the natural good-will of the government and of the country in their favour. If a company of wealthy foreigners, ignorant or not, were to land in England, with men and machinery, to possess themselves of our Cornish mines, and set about working these, would *they* succeed?—would *they* carry off the prizes?

In the expectations which *our* companies have formed—in the arrangements they have made, and in the failures which they have encountered, they have already exposed a measure of ignorance and absurdity which will surely satisfy every reflecting mind, that we are the last people who are capable of carrying off the mining prizes of America—that our share in that lottery is a blank.

We have possession of some mines, it is true, and it is reported that we are gradually succeeding in draining the water from a few of them, and in obtaining ores—but at what price are the ores rising, and at what expense is the water sinking?

Supposing even, for a moment, that after paying all our expenses, we should succeed in procuring silver at less per ounce, than we can here purchase it at our markets, is there no chance that we *might*, by so doing, excite the jealousy of the natives, or the avarice of the government? *Might* not the open enmity of the one, or the secret impositions of the other, rob us of our profits? If property could possibly exist in England under circumstances at all similar, would it not, by every prudent man, be considered in fearful jeopardy? Ought we to be satisfied with the mere countenance and professions of any government, or any people, unless they could offer us security which neither could dare to attack?

But it is argued that our city mining companies have gone too far to retreat; that several of them have already spent from eight hundred thousand to a million of sterling money; that they, therefore, must proceed; and the shareholders are generally not unwilling to cling to a doctrine which tends to save their shares from annihilation—for we all know *now* that *shares* may flutter about the Stock Exchange, though the speculation to which they belong has been long defunct. We must humbly remind these shareholders that the subject is one which cannot much longer be veiled in ignorance; and that, if they have no rational hope of succeeding, they may increase their loss—they cannot hope to retrieve it;—that to abandon a bad undertaking is one of the first axioms among miners; and that when the simplest Cornishman has taken a *pitch* which ceases to be "kindly," he abandons his work, and pays his forfeit.

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To conclude—we have avoided, as much as possible, alluding either to any particular company, or to any set of individuals; and we withhold from publication many curious enough facts which we possess, solely because they might tend to injure the interests, or hurt the feelings, of particular individuals. Whether the directors of one or two of these companies have acted honourably or not—whether they have given to their shareholders correct or incorrect pictures of the reports actually transmitted to them by their commissioners—these are matters which we have no desire to discuss. It is sufficient to inform the reader, that if he takes a particular interest in such details, the works named at the head of this paper are full of them.* We have levelled our observations at the system in general; and we have done so, because we believe it to be one which is bringing not only great loss, but very serious discredit, upon this country.

ART. V.—1. *Voyage d'Orenbourg à Boukhâra, fait en* 1820, *à travers les Steppes qui s'étendent à l'Est de la Mer d'Aral et au-delà de l'ancien Jaxartes. Rédigé par* M. le Baron Georges de Meyendorff, Colonel, &c. Paris. 1826.

2. *Voyage en Turcomanie et à Khiva, fait en* 1819 *et* 1820; *par* M. N. Mouraviev, Capitaine d'Etat-Major de la Garde de S. M. l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, &c. Paris. 1823.

WE think it but fair to apprize our readers that, if they expect us to supply much amusement out of the two publications whose titles we have transcribed, they will suffer a disappointment—both of them being, in fact, as dry, as cold, as uninviting, and nearly as barren, as the desert regions over which the journies of our two Russian authors and envoys were respectively destined to be performed. These volumes contain, however, a few valuable details on points of physical geography, and embrace questions relating to foreign policy, in which England is, or may be supposed to be, essentially interested: and, at any rate, they afford us a glimmering of light respecting countries that have not been recently visited by Europeans.

Since the days of Peter the Great, and more particularly since the development of the ambitious projects of Catharine, some of our politicians and statesmen have been subject to a sort of periodical remittant, or nervous apprehension, for the safety of our Indian dominions against Russian aggression. The rash and unequal war which Persia has just now unfortunately been induced

* Captain Head's explanation of his personal history throughout these transactions will be found exceedingly interesting. Indeed, it is almost as lively reading as his 'Rough Notes.

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to struggle with Russia, and out of which she will certainly not escape without the sacrifice of a considerable extent of territory, has once more brought on an agnish paroxysm among the subjects of our Eastern empire, exciting the fears, or elevating the hopes, of the few native powers still remaining in India, according as these are favourably disposed or otherwise towards the British rule. Already the cry has gone forth into the East of 'the Cossacks are coming'—a name of ominous import in that part of the world, where the term 'Kaissac' is synonimous with that of robber.

These alarms, we confess, are to us little more than mere bugbears—though they may not be so to all the near neighbours of that gigantic power, whose sceptre sways one-tenth part of the habitable globe; that power which has already swallowed up the Crimea and Finland, partitioned Poland, dismembered Persia, and torn Turkey limb from limb. It is natural enough that every movement of such a government should be regarded with suspicion by the feeble and disorganized nations with whom she is placed, almost on all sides, in immediate contact.

The Czar Peter was the first who opened the way to extensive conquests, though his views, as they regarded the Eastern world, would appear to have been directed rather to the extension of commerce than of dominion. Thus we should ascribe his movements in attacking the Persians in Shirvan and Daghestan, and in penetrating the destructive forests of Gheelan and Mazanderan, chiefly to the desire of getting possession of the western and southern shores of the Caspian, in order to have the command of the whole trade and navigation of that sea. With the same view of extending the commerce of his subjects, was his journey made to the eastward, when he paid a visit to, and coquetted with, the old chief of the Kerghis tribe of Tartars, and his wife, as narrated by that honest old traveller, John Bell of Antermony: nor can we dream that when he sent the unfortunate prince, Bekovitch, with an escort of soldiers, in the year 1717, in search of a mound or dyke, which the Khivians were supposed to have thrown up across the Amou-daria or Oxus, to turn the stream of that river from its ancient channel and divert its course from the Caspian into the Aral, he had any other object than to ascertain whether, by restoring those waters to their former channel, he might not be able to open a navigable communication with India from the gulph of Balkan on the eastern shore of the Caspian.

The Empress Catharine may fairly be suspected of having had higher and more ambitious objects in view—which were indeed intelligibly enough expressed by a caricature of her own time, in which her imperial majesty appeared in a truly feminine attitude, namely,

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namely, with one foot perched on the Kremlin, and the other on Saint Sophy. We recollect indeed to have seen a piece in the same taste, which exhibited a colossal portrait of the late Alexander, resting with one foot on the minarets of Teheran, and with the other on the battlements of Delhi—seizing with his right hand a pinnacle of the mosque of Saint Sophy, and with his left a five-clawed dragon on the roof of the imperial palace of Pekin. We may safely, however, acquit Alexander of any such ambitious projects as are insinuated by this caricature; though, while under the fascinating influence of Napoleon on the unfortunate meeting at Tilsit, he might seem to have listened to certain proposals for the conquest of Persia and India, we do not believe that he ever felt the least disposition seriously to engage in any such wicked taking.

The views of Catharine were of a more decisive character than such as have been entertained by any other sovereign of Russia; for we reckon the vagaries of Paul to go for nothing. Not satisfied with the possession of the western shores of the Caspian, she aimed, as her great predecessor had done, at the exclusive navigation of this inland sea; and to forward this object she ordered Count Voïnovitch, the commander of the Caspian squadron, to form an establishment on the eastern coast. This officer, having found a bay close to Astrabad suitable for his purpose, requested permission of Aga-Mahomed Khan, (the eunuch,) then ruler of Persia, to erect a factory on that spot. The khan, thinking it might not be quite so easy to drive away a whole squadron with troops on board, had recourse to dissimulation, and seemingly acceded to the request. The Russians immediately set about constructing a fortress to defend the harbour, on which were mounted eighteen guns. As soon as it was completed, Aga-Mahomed, who had closely watched the proceedings of the Russians, came down to inspect it, admired its construction, praised the activity of the workmen, and invited himself, with his attendants, to dine on board the frigate of Voïnovitch. The day was spent in great hilarity; and on going away, the khan engaged the commander, with his officers, to visit him in return, at his country-seat, near the foot of the mountains. They accordingly went the following day. The old eunuch ordered the whole of them to be seized and put in irons, threatening them with instant death if Voïnovitch did not sign an order forthwith to the commandant of the fort, to raze it to the ground. As soon as the work was demolished, and the guns re-shipped, the khan delivered the Russian officers over to his slaves, who, after treating them with every species of insult and indignity, drove them to the sea-shore, and compelled them to seek refuge in their ships.

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With no better success were her attempts crowned when she undertook to form permanent establishments in China. This cautious nation, while not unwilling to open a trade with Russia, made it a condition, that her trading subjects should not approach the Celestial Empire, but confine their establishment to one spot on the confines of Mongul Tartary, where the Russian town of Kiachta stands on one side of a river, and the Chinese town of Mai-mai-chin on the other; and though, for the sake of a mutual understanding of each other's language, a Russian Archimandrite, with some half-a-dozen pupils, are allowed a residence in Pekin, yet so jealous are the Chinese of this powerful neighbour, that when a splendid embassy was sent from Petersburgh, loaded with magnificent presents, the ambassador was met on this side the Great Wall, and sent back without being permitted to enter the country, because he would not dismiss the greater number of his attendants.

The Russians have for some time carried on a petty commerce with the city of Bokhara, long celebrated as the most eminent seat of Mussulman learning in this region of central Asia, and perhaps of any now existing. To gain the respect and improve the friendship of the ruling powers of this eastern state, Catharine sent them a present of 40,000 silver rubles, to be expended in the building of a college, which they erected of brick, and which is said by M. de Meyendorff to be the most magnificent—as, indeed, it may easily be—of the great number of mosques and colleges, mostly built of clay, which their famous city contains. Russia has also had intercourse with another Mahomedan state to the eastward, named Khokand, (or Fergana,) the capital of which is situated at the feet of the mountains that give rise to the Sir-deria or Jaxartes, and to the north-east of Samarcand. The sultan or khan of this state had sent an embassy in the year 1812 to the court of Petersburgh; and the two principal persons died on their way home again, one of a fever, the other in consequence of irregularities he had committed by falling into bad company. To explain these untoward circumstances, the governor of Petropavlosk, on the Issim, sent Mr. Nazaroff, the following year, with the surviving part of the deputation, who not only met with a most scurvy reception, but, as we have already stated in a former Number,* were kept for some time in prison.

The bad reception of Nazaroff, however, did not deter the Russians from sending another embassy, on a somewhat more extended scale, to the neighbouring state of Bokhara. M. de Négri was appointed chargé-d'affaires, with a secretary, a naturalist, a

* Quarterly Review, No. LIII.

geographer,

geographer, and two assistants, three interpreters, an escort of two hundred Cossacks, and two hundred infantry, besides twenty-five Bashkir horsemen, and two pieces of artillery, for his better protection; three hundred and fifty-eight camels to carry baggage; and four hundred horses for the gentlemen of the embassy, and the cavalry; and twenty-five waggons for such of the men as might fall sick, or be wounded in crossing the desert. Of this journey, as related by M. le Baron Georges de Meyendorff, who calls himself the chief collector of geographical and statistical notices, we now proceed to give a brief outline.

The whole party had assembled in the month of August at Orenbourg, on the river Oural, and the most eastern town of Russia in that parallel of latitude; but it was not till the 10th of October that they were prepared to depart. They had to send seventy or eighty miles to collect oats for the horses: the exportation of Russian money being prohibited, it was necessary to procure ducats, and none were to be had at a shorter distance than Moscow, fifteen hundred versts from Orenbourg. By the time above-mentioned, the bad season had set in, which recalled to the recollection of the Baron what the army of Timour had suffered on the Sir or Gihon, where, according to Shereffeden, 'some lost their noses and ears, others their feet and their hands; the sky was but one cloud, and the earth but one mass of snow.' The Baron indulged in many other anticipations of evil from the risks and dangers to which the expedition would probably be exposed; none of which, however, were attended with very serious consequences. It was calculated that the journey across the desert —so the whole of it may be accounted—would consume two months; it actually took them seventy days; and for this length of time they had to carry with them every kind of provision for themselves and their horses, and even water, having understood that such as was to be met with in the beds of rivers, lakes, and wells, was, for the most part, either stinking or saline, or both. The camels are usually left to fare as well as they can, on salt-water or no water, and to eat anything, whether green or withered, that may occur in the shape of a plant.

The distance from Orenbourg to Bokhara may be reckoned about a thousand miles, which the Baron, unnecessarily, and not very skilfully, divides, with regard to the nature of the surface, into three portions. The first part, between Orenbourg and the Moughodjar hills, comprises about two hundred and fifty miles; the second is the space between these hills and the Sir-deria, (the Gihon, or Jaxartes,) being also about two hundred and fifty miles; and the third is from the Sir to Bokhara, a distance of five hundred

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dred miles. The appearance of the surface of the first division is described as nearly uniform, consisting of gentle undulations, a total want of wood, and a few detached eminences of small elevations, scarcely sufficient to interrupt the prospect of a distant horizon on every side, around which the eye seeks in vain for an object to repose on. This part of the steppe is characterized by aridity, uniformity, and a dreary, dead silence; a few prickly shrubs, of two or three feet high, scattered here and there, can scarcely be said to interrupt the dismal monotony. Several deep ravines, which become the beds of rivers in the spring, cross the flat surface, and within them, and on their banks, are a few poplars and willows, with no great variety of herbaceous and shrubby plants. Of the minor rills or rivulets, which occasionally afford running water, the Ilek is mentioned as the principal one between Orenbourg and the Sir. The soil is generally argillaceous, covered in the hollows with incrustations of salt; and on the rising ground, in various places, were found large belemnites, ammonites two feet and a half in diameter, and numerous shells, petrified moluscæ, and sharks' teeth, which, says our author, appeared to us as so many indications of this steppe being an ancient bottom of the sea. These large ammonites are not uncommon in many parts of Europe and North America, and, from their being found with the bones of another class of immense animals, the mastodon and megatherium, and among petrified shells, naturalists have been led to suppose them all to have been the inhabitants of lakes or swamps. Sir Joseph Banks, being once asked what these enormous animals could have fed upon? replied—'On ammonites as big as cart-wheels, to be sure;' those of this desert were of the cart-wheel kind. Our travellers also found many specimens of coal, which burned very well; and detached pieces of malachite, and red oxide of copper, which had been rounded by rolling in water. The elevations, and the sides of the ravines, were of a reddish sandstone formation. The naturalist of the mission had no doubt that, in the government of Orenbourg, and on the first part of the steppe, many valuable mines of copper might be discovered. A hillock, named Bassagha, is formed of crystallized gypsum, which substance is found strewed over a great part of the steppe.

The mountains of Moughodjar, at which our author's second division of the journey commences, are covered with rocks of porphyry, quartz, serpentine, feldspar, and greenstone, and their highest elevation rises to nine hundred or one thousand feet above the level of their base. On descending these mountains to the southward, the traveller enters on a level, uniform country, apparently burnt up, and producing nothing but a few stunted and shrivelled

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shrivelled plants, chiefly of wormwood, (*absinthe*, a plant, however, not mentioned by the botanist of the expedition,) whose very dark gray tints were feebly pushing out of a darker surface, as if, so our author says, it were 'in mourning.' For two hundred and fifty miles, no river, not even a rivulet of any size occurred, nor any indications of water, except salt lakes, or the dry clayey beds of what had once been lakes, now covered with a thin coating of salt. It was, in fact, a wide-spreading desert of moving sands, out of which might be seen here and there a sombre argillaceous hill rearing its gray head, denuded of all vegetation; and the scene continued thus without change, until its uniform dreariness was interrupted by the line of verdure which marked out the course of the Sir-deria or Jaxartes, in the same manner as the banks of the Nile, particularly on the Libyan side, are distinguished by their narrow strip of dusky green palms and other plants. To the distance of about twenty miles from the mouth of this river in the sea of Aral, the surface of vegetation is so considerable, that in some places it exhibits a wide plain of twelve or fourteen miles, tolerably well covered with tall reeds and fine grass. The width of the river itself, near its mouth, is not more than three or four hundred feet; but higher up it increases to more than twice, or even three times that width, and is said to be navigable for rafts and small barks as high up as Khokhan, a distance of five or six hundred miles.

Such is the nature of the country inhabited by the wandering tribes of Kherghis, who subsist almost entirely on their flocks and herds, and a little grain which they purchase in exchange for them, and for the prisoners who fall into their hands, at Bokhara. How the cattle themselves subsist is the wonder: but probably the fact is, that the hilly regions which surround the desert afford them some copious nutriment and better water. These Kherghis are described by our author as a melancholy race, who will often pass half the night sitting on a stone to look at the moon, uttering mournful sounds set to a measured plaintive air. Their greatest pleasure is to listen to the murmurs of the rapid waters of the Sir, in a sort of reverie, abstracted from all thought or care. To this river they flock in the winter season, happy to erect their tents of felt among the tall reeds which cover its shores. With all his appearance, however, of indolence and indifference, the Kherghis herdsman is capable of exerting an extraordinary degree of activity, when required to visit a distant friend, or to harass and attack a caravan. Alone, mounted on his horse, he will dart forward on the desert, which he scours, as Head did the Pampas, at the rate of a hundred or a hundred and twenty miles a-day. Hospitality is considered, with this race, as being

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being so much a duty, that he never doubts of meeting with a welcome reception at the *aouls*, or camps, of every tribe of his countrymen, whether friends or foes. The Kherghis, like most of the orientals, observe a profound veneration for the dead;—they keep sacred the anniversary of the decease of a near relation much in the same manner as in China. They erect tombs, or small mausoleums, of clay or earth, mixed with cut straw, to the memory of their departed relatives;—whole cemeteries of which appear on the banks of the Sir, resembling so many Lilliputian towns or villages; and these buildings endure for a long time, being preserved from decay by the dryness of the climate.—The elders of the tribe are always regarded with the highest respect, and are appealed to on all occasions of difficulty; but each tribe is governed by its own khan, or sultan, who executes the law according to the Koran, as explained by the mullahs. The baron was present at the mitigated sentence of a criminal, who had been convicted of stealing a horse:—

'The thief, half naked, with a bit of black felt hanging over his shoulders, was forced by two men on horseback, furnished with whips, to run on foot to the nearest tent. There they smeared him over with soot, and sent him back through the midst of his countrymen; a cord was then tied to the tail of a horse, which he was compelled to hold between his teeth, and to run after the horse, which two men kept upon a trot; several others who followed lashed the thief with whips. After this he went to thank the sultan, and to promise never to be guilty of the like again. In the meantime the criminal's horse underwent the fate which had at first been reserved for its master—its throat was cut; then, in an instant, it was cut in pieces and divided among the crowd, amidst shouting, and scrambling, and blows.'

Mr. Nazaroff witnessed, among the same people, the execution of a khan, who was condemned to die by being fastened to the tail of a horse, and dragged along in full gallop, till the breath was out of his body.—M. de Meyendorff had the curiosity to visit one of these khans in his tent:—

'I found him sitting nearly in the middle of a large round tent. His friends were seated in a semicircle on one side; on the other, places were kept for our reception. The sides of the tent were decorated with carpets; dresses were also suspended from a cord; skins of the tiger were displayed; a rich diadem of massy gold, studded with turquoises and ballas rubies, the head-dress of his Kirghis wife: in the same place might be seen raw flesh stuck upon a hook, large skin bags, filled with mare's milk, and certain vessels of wood. Thus objects of luxury were placed by the side of those destined to satisfy the first necessities of life, and the love of pomp was found united to the taste and customs of savages.

The Sir was so completely frozen over as to afford a passage

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for their camels, waggons, and two pieces of artillery on the ice, which the Kherghis strewed over with the ashes of reeds to prevent the cattle from slipping. On their return, this river was crossed on rude rafts, put together without a nail, and the horses and camels swam across, at the expense of three of the latter, which were drowned. If it were not a well-ascertained fact that the extremes of temperature are greater on extensive desert plains, than on a variegated surface of hill and dale, clothed with vegetation, under the same parallels of latitude, it would scarcely be credited that, on the same elevation as that of the Aral, which is also that of the Caspian, and probably but a few feet, if any, above the level of the Mediterranean, and in the parallel of 45° lat., the mercury in the thermometer should have descended to 10° below zero of Reaumur, or 9½° above zero of Fahrenheit; a degree of low temperature more extraordinary than that experienced by Oudney and Clapperton, on the deserts of Africa, and occasioned, no doubt, by the same physical causes, which we have assigned in noticing a phenomenon which was at first deemed incredible. The low level of the Asiatic desert was indicated by the barometer, whose average height was rather more than 30 English inches.

The first portion of the Baron de Meyendorff's third and last division of his journey consists of a plane surface, intersected to the distance of about sixty miles with branches of the Sir, forming a delta whose apex is about 200 miles from the eastern shore of the Aral. The included space is varied by lakes, swamps covered with reeds, splashes of water, and hillocks of sand. Along the ancient bed of the Djan-deria, now dried up, or nearly so, is a continued thicket of jungle—poplar, willow, robinia, and tamarisk, the latter of which, under the name of *saksoul*, is found in a diminutive state in most parts of the desert; but here it assumed the shape of a tree fifteen or sixteen feet high, with a stem from twelve to fourteen inches in circumference, and became of course a remarkable object. These thickets give cover to numerous tigers, wolves, jackalls, tiger-cats, and wild boars. In hunting these animals the Kherghis first set fire to the reeds and jungle, then surround the place in large parties of horsemen, some with spears, some with matchlocks and others with pistols, and thus destroy great numbers. The Baron says that his party, by these means, killed, in about three hours, eighteen wild boars.

Along the banks of the several branches of the Sir, and more especially near the ancient bed of the Djan-deria, are numerous ruins of habitations, some of bricks dried by the sun, others burnt by fire. In the midst of these ruins are found fragments of baked earthenware, and in all directions were seen evident traces of canals

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canals leading from the beds of different branches of the great river, now all dry, and nearly sanded up. The Djan-deria, which seems to have been the principal branch, is stated by the Kherghis to have dried up within the memory of man; but they could give no account of the numerous ruins, except that, by tradition, they were habitations belonging to the Nogais before their fathers took possession of the country. From the appearance of the neighbouring surface, the Baron thinks it probable that the bed of this river has been choked up by the moving sands of the adjoining desert of Kizil-coum, which are rolling towards the river, just as the sands of Libya are encroaching on the left bank of the Nile.

This desert of Kizil-coum (red-sand) is in breadth, from north to south, from seventy to eighty miles, and extends, east to west, from the sea of Aral to the country of Khokan, at least three hundred miles. Sandy deserts are much the same whether in Africa or the east. The following is the description of the Kizil-coum, which took up five days in crossing, without the party having met with a drop of water of any kind, or in any shape, the whole way:—

'The surface of the Kizil-coum is interspersed with sandy hillocks, raised to the height of twenty to sixty feet above the general level; but there is a cluster of five sand-hills, about a hundred and eighty feet high. From the summit of the most elevated of these the uninterrupted view across the immense surface is like to a sea in a storm, which had been suddenly transformed into sand. In vain is a single object sought to fix the attention; nothing is seen on every side but a desert, to an extraordinary degree gloomy and monotonous.'

He notices, however, a few miserable plants, which, as the spring advances, become shrivelled up and reduced to powder. Yet, even in this destitute place, we are told, are found many lizards of different kinds, cameleons, tortoises, rats, gerboas, magpies, vultures, and 'a great number of birds of a bluish colour, which appeared only in the winter months, resembling rooks, but much smaller'—plovers, no doubt. 'Such,' says he, 'are the living creatures which venture themselves on this desert, in spite of all its sterility.'* At the end of this journey across the desert, all their horses had visibly become lean; those of the Baskirs

* The flora of this desert tract of country is neither brilliant nor bountiful. The herbarium of the botanist contains only about fifty species. Of leguminous plants we find the *Astragalus*, *Robinia*, *Tamarix*. Among the herbaceous are, *Anchusa*, *Myosotis*, *Onosma*, *Chium*, *Lithospermum*, *Hesperis*, *Sinapis*, *Arabis*, *Raphanus*, *Galenia*, *Sedum*, *Sempervivum*, *Scorzonera*, *Leontodon*, *Valeriana*, *Phlomis*, &c. Among the bulbous-rooted plants are *Hypoxis*, *Iris*, *Tulipa*, *Anthericum*, *Allium*, *Ornithogalum*, *Asphodelus*, &c. The principal shrubby plants consist of *Amygdalus nana*, *Rosa berberifolia*, *Robinia frutescens*, *Lonicera tatarica*, and a *Spiræa*. The only plants deserving the name of a tree were the *Populus alba* and a *Salix*, growing on the banks of the Oxus and Jaxartes.

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could no longer draw the six remaining waggons of the five-and-twenty they started with; all the party were extremely reduced, especially the infantry; they left behind in one day eight of the draught-horses: in short, says our author, 'we had all of us the greatest need of arriving at the end of our journey.' The desert of Kizil-coum was succeeded by a mountainous country of no great elevation, yet sufficiently so to have snow on the hills in the month of December. Beyond the hills they had again to cross a strip of sand, about twenty miles in width, and after this the country became somewhat improved. It was not long before they were met by four custom-house officers of Bokhara, who rode up and saluted them with *Khoch-amedid*—'welcome.'—They informed the ambassador that the khan had ordered provisions to be sent for them to a frontier town called Aghatma, some sixty or seventy miles on this side Bokhara.

Aghatma was found to be situated in a sort of tunnel, at the bottom of which was the appearance of a lake, and close by it two abundant springs of warm sulphureous water. Here they were met by a Bokharian officer, with twenty horsemen, who, having all saluted them with *Khoch-amedid,* returned at a swift gallop. 'Most of the horses,' says the Baron, 'were very beautiful, large, light, full of fire; they disappeared like lightning.' They were here regaled with new white bread, delicious grapes, water-melons, and pomegranates. 'One may imagine the pleasure,' says the Baron, 'which all of us experienced in eating this bread and these fruits, on reflecting that, for seventy days, we had lived upon biscuit, which became harder every day.' The horses, too, after living so long on the wormwood and other shrivelled plants of the desert, were here supplied with artificial grasses, and a species of lentil called *djougara;* the consequence of which was, that this food and plenty of water killed no less than fifty of them before they left Bokhara. Nothing could be more agreeable, or create greater surprise, than the sudden change from a barren desert to a smiling, well-cultivated, and thickly-peopled country; 'where,' says our traveller, 'we were surrounded with fields, with canals, with avenues of trees; on every side houses, villages, gardens, orchards, mosques, and minarets; in a word, we might suppose ourselves transported into an enchanted country. Imagine,' he continues, 'with what interest we beheld those thousands of orientals, clothed in habits of blue, and with white turbans on their heads, all rushing forward to meet us, some on foot, others mounted; some riding on asses, others on horses, expressing their welcome with the most lively joy.'—The gaiety of the scene, however, was somewhat damped by the appearance, in the midst of the crowd, of some Russians, who had been seized by the robbers of the desert,

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desert, and sold into slavery.—They had not proceeded far, when they were met by an officer with the title of Hakim-beg, or governor of a city, and four other gentlemen. Having pronounced the usual 'welcome,' a discussion took place as to the nature of the ceremonial to be observed in the ambassador's introduction to the khan, on which, it seems, the parties could not agree. They proceeded, however, some thirty miles further, surrounded by a crowd almost the whole way, the country continuing to be well cultivated. When within ten or twelve miles of Bokhara, four other gentlemen waited on the ambassador, to compliment and welcome him on the part of the khan. Another discussion here took place respecting the ceremonial, which, we are told, lasted *six-and-thirty hours*, when it was finally agreed that M. de Negri might *sit* in the presence of the khan.

On the 20th of December they made their grand entry into Bokhara: they were marched through many crooked, narrow, and dirty streets, bordered by miserable earth-built houses with flat-roofs, till they reached a great square, surrounded with mosques and colleges, and in which were the gates of the palace. Here they dismounted, and were led along a passage guarded by about four hundred soldiers, armed with muskets—thence through a little court, beyond which was another passage, where a dozen cannon were lying without carriages. They next crossed a square court, in which were sitting from three to four hundred Bokharians with white turbans, and clothed in *khalaats* of embroidered gold. Having passed these, they entered an ante-chamber which led to the hall of reception, where the khan, dressed after the manner of the grand vizier, or the capitan-pasha of the Ottoman empire, was sitting on cushions covered with a carpet of red cloth, richly embroidered with gold. The ambassador having delivered his credentials to the minister, to be handed to the khan, the latter read them aloud. He then desired that some of the Russian soldiers might be brought, without their arms, into the ante-chamber; and on perceiving them he laughed like a child. The audience lasted about twenty minutes, and the khan having seen the presents, the Russians rejoined their companions who had been left without the palace, and were marched back to a place called Bazartchi, where they bivouacked in a garden during the remainder of the winter; but M. de Negri, and those attached to the embassy, were lodged as prisoners, or something very like it, in a large house in the capital, without any further notice being taken of them by the khan. Here they remained from the 20th of December to the 10th of March, when they took leave of Bokhara, 'very glad,' says our author, 'to have seen that country, but more glad still to leave it behind them.'

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The city of Bokhara is thus described :—

'L'aspect en est frappant pour un Européen. Des dômes, des mosquées, les hautes pointes des façades, les médressés, les minarets, les palais qui s'élèvent au milieu de la ville, la muraille crénelée qui l'entoure, un lac situé près des murailles et entouré de maisons à toits plats ou de jolies maisons de campagne ceintes de murs crénelés; enfin, des champs, des jardins, des arbres, et le mouvement qui règne toujours dans les environs d'une capitale, tout contribue à produire un effet fort agréable; mais l'illusion cesse aussitôt qu'on entre dans la ville; car, à l'exception des bains, des mosquées et des médressés, on ne voit que des maisons en terre de couleur grisâtre, entassées sans ordre les unes à côté des autres, formant des rues étroites, tortueuses, sales, et tracées au hasard. Ces maisons, qui ont leurs façades sur des cours, n'offrent du côté des rues que des murs uniformes, sans fenêtres, sans rien qui puisse fixer l'attention ou récréer les regards des passans; tout ce qu'on rencontre dans cette ville si peuplée, semble annoncer la méfiance; la physionomie de ses habitans n'est presque jamais animée par un sentiment de gaîté; jamais de fêtes bruyantes, jamais de chant ni de musique; rien n'indique qu'on s'y divertisse quelquefois, rien ne montre qu'elle soit habitée par des hommes jouissant d'une existence agréable. Aussi au mouvement de curiosité et d'intérêt que nous éprouvâmes d'abord à voir des édifices d'architecture orientale, succéda bientôt une impression de tristesse et de mélancolie.'—pp. 167, 168.

The ancient palace of the khans of Bokhara is built of bricks dried in the sun, and situated on the summit of a natural rise, which the hand of man has formed into a regular truncated cone of two hundred and forty feet in height, with a base of from four to five hundred feet in diameter: a wall twenty-four feet high surrounds the city, flanked with round towers at the distance of a bow-shot from each other; it is entered by eleven gates, which are opened and shut at the rising and setting of the sun: the form of the walls is irregular, and about ten miles in circuit. M. de Meyendorff was told that it contains about eight thousand houses and seventy thousand inhabitants, three-fourths of these being Tadjiks or Persians, who are shopkeepers and artisans, and a great number of them slaves:—he learned also, that about eight hundred houses are occupied by Jews, who here, as elsewhere, meet with every variety of extortion and indignity. The public baths, which are fourteen in number, are described as large and built of brick:—and we are told of sixty-eight tanks, or reservoirs of water, each thirty feet square, surrounded by steps of cut stone; but the dilapidated condition of these, and other public works, seemed to point out the declining state of the city of Bokhara: in short, nothing appeared to flourish but praying and concubinage, which are sometimes found to go together in other countries besides Mawenelnahar:—The khan sets the example of the former

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former by maintaining for his own use no less than two hundred women, and the mûllahs of the latter by compelling, with the whip, all the citizens to attend the usual hours of worship at some one or other of the numerous mosques, which, with the colleges and schools, occupy a large share of the capital. This whipping-in of the lazy Mussulmans to prayers was the daily and saintly practice of Beggee Jân, the predecessor of the present khan, whose singular character and habits are so well described by an English 'Elchee'—the same holy usurper of whom the king of Persia used to say, that he 'sold true believers like cattle at the market-place of Bokhara.'

M. de Meyendorff enters into a most minute and elaborate detail, not only of every thing which regards the oasis of Bokhara, but of the whole of central Asia—whereof, being confined as a prisoner for three months, and without any knowledge even of the language of the spot where he was confined, we cannot conceive how he could possibly have acquired much accurate knowledge. We have, therefore, contented ourselves with a very short statement of what the gentleman actually saw,—which little appears to have afforded him no great share of satisfaction, if we may judge from the feelings he expresses on leaving the country:—

'I recall to my recollection those deserts of seventy days' journey which I have traversed; their aridity, their monotony, the vast extent of their lakes; rivers gliding on a level nearly with the surface, the beds of others deprived of water, the magic effects of the mirage, the paucity of living beings, &c. . . . I have observed the influence which arbitrary power exercises over the manners of the people of Bokhâria, the dread which this power inspires, and the fatal effects of religious intolerance. The principal city of the country is like a monastery, where the care of causing the precepts and the rites of religion to be observed appears to be the great business of the government.' 'This journey, therefore, has satisfied my curiosity without affording me any agreeable impression, without leaving behind it one consoling reflection. I have never seen among the Bokharians a single face animated with easy, affable gaiety—never did I there experience a single trait of disinterestedness—never one kind action.'

The number of villages and the extent of cultivated land indicated a very considerable population. M. de Meyendorff makes that of the whole province of Bokharia, including the wandering tribes, amount to 2,478,000 souls: he supposes the cultivated portion of land to consist of about three hundred square miles, and that each mile may contain five thousand souls: this would give one million and a half employed in agriculture—the remaining million he supposes to be the dwellers of the towns and herdsmen of the desert, suppositions which, it is almost needless to observe, must be considered as utterly worthless and absurd. That a territory

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ritory of something less than two hundred thousand acres should support a population of one million five hundred thousand persons employed in agriculture, and afford supplies of corn and fruits for a million besides, is a species of fertility we know nothing of in Europe, not even among the potato-feeders of Ireland: if such things are, well might the Arab geographers call Bokhara a paradise! M. de Meyendorff appears to approve of the raptures with which these writers speak of its exquisite melons, its plums, its pomegranates, and its grapes; but he is silent as to the excellence of its wines. 'There is no wine,' says the emperor Baber, 'superior in spirit and strength to that of Bokhâra: when I drank wine at Samarcand, in the days of my drinking-bouts, I always used the wine of Bokhâra.'

Nearly contemporaneous with this expedition to Bokhâra was that of Captain Mouraviev, who was sent, by General Yermôloff, from Georgia to the khan of Khiva. He crossed the Caspian in a corvette, proceeded to the gulph of Balkan on the eastern coast, and from thence across the desert on the southern and western sides of the sea of Aral, a country in the occupation of the Turcomans, who follow the same pastoral and wandering life as the Kherghis do on the northern and eastern sides of that sea. The two nations, though originally different, have, in the course of ages, become nearly the same mixed race, from constant intercourse with Persians, Arabians, and Toorki Tatars. Authors are not agreed as to the etymology of the word Turcoman: it seems to be all but certain, however, that it has no relation whatever to the name of *Toorki*, a people whom De Guignes calls *Huns*, and who first, under Athman, or Othman, made an irruption into Asia Minor, and laid the foundation of the Ottoman empire. On the contrary, it has, with great probability, been supposed that the Turcomans, who then inhabited the western part of Asia Minor, fell back on the desert as the Turks advanced,—the two people thus changing places with each other. The Usbecks, the Eleuths, and the Kherghis are Turks, having the same features, and speaking the same language with the Osmanlies of Constantinople, with a mixture, however, of Persian and Arabic. They are a people altogether different from the Mougols and the Kalmucs, whose high cheek bones and narrow oblique eyes sufficiently mark them to be of the same origin with the Chinese and the Malays. How the sagacious Klaproth could suppose the Mongols and Turks to be the same people does, we confess, very much surprise us. The Turcomans, like the Kherghis, call themselves *Sara kaissacks*, or robbers of the desert, and it is indifferent to both whether they commit robberies on each other, or on the caravans passing between Khiva and Astrachan,

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and those between Orenburg and Bokhara. They make excursions also within the frontiers of Russia on the one side of the desert, and those of Persia on the other. This desert is, in all respects, of the same nature as that we have described—if possible, still more destitute of water and of vegetation—a blank space, or, as our author calls it, 'the image of death, or rather of desolation, caused by some great convulsion of nature.'

After the murder of Prince Bekevitch by these ferocious Turcomans of Khiva, it was rather a bold undertaking, on the part of a single Russian officer, accompanied only by an Armenian and a Georgian servant, and two or three natives of the skirts of the desert bordering on the Caspian sea, to proceed on such a mission; and we are not much surprised to find our captain, ere he had well begun his journey, indulging in the most dismal forebodings of what was to happen to him, and almost taking it for granted that he should never return. The salutation, on meeting with a small caravan from Khiva, was not much calculated to raise his spirits. On observing three strangers, these traders inquired of what nation they were: the Turcomans replied they were Russians wrecked on the shore of the Caspian, whom they were taking to be sold at Khiva.—'Right,' exclaimed two or three voices, 'carry thither the damnable infidels: we have just sold three of them for a good round sum at Khiva.'

There are but two objects that need detain us on a journey which occupied our traveller sixteen days. The first is one that, in any other situation than on an uniformly flat, sandy plain, would attract little notice; it is a steep rocky bank, rising out of the flat surface, and running in a direction between the Caspian and the Aral. The Turcomans told our traveller it was once the coast of the Caspian, and he is inclined to think that the physical probabilities are in favour of this assertion, though he does not tell us why, which a practised geologist would readily have done: he would have dug down and examined the base, in order to discover the beach of this supposed sea; and if he had met with a bed of rolled pebbles, he would then have concluded with the Turcomans, but on more substantial grounds, that the sea had once extended thus far into the desert; and, which is in concurrence with ancient authorities, that the waters of the Caspian and the Aral had once been united. The second object which our traveller notices, and on which we shall bestow a few words, is the ancient channel, or channels rather, of the Amou-deria, or Oxus, through which, partially at least, those waters are supposed to have once been conveyed into the gulph of Balkan in the Caspian, which are now wholly emptied into the Aral. It was (as we have said already) a tradition to this effect that induced the Czar Peter

to

to send out the unfortunate Bekevitch. From the territory of Khiva, which lies upon, and is watered from, the Oxus, to the gulph of Balkan in the Caspian, the distance is about the same as that from Khiva to the southern part of the sea of Aral. The whole surface of the delta, included between the present channel and the supposed ancient one now dry, is a perfect flat, and precisely like those deltas through which rivers in their courses are apt to separate into numerous branches. The Turcomans told our traveller that the ancient branch dried up some five hundred years ago in consequence of an earthquake; like too many travellers, M. Moraviev is rather fond of calling in a 'convulsion of nature' to account for what he cannot comprehend; and we think, in the present case, a very simple and obvious cause might be assigned for the change—if any change has actually taken place. The numerous canals cut through the oasis of Khiva, and which are supplied entirely by the water of the Oxus—the great extent to which cultivation of grain, and fruits and vegetables, is said to be carried, requiring, in this sandy soil, where rain seldom falls, a prodigious quantity of water—the water that is drained from the river, for such purposes, along its whole course—and the absorption and evaporation in a passage of some three or four hundred miles over the sandy plain,—these are circumstances amply sufficient to explain how the Oxus never reaches the Caspian. In such a state, and with such drains, we should think the moving sands, which in some places form high mounds, are quite sufficient to choke up a river in the lower part of its course.—The Turcoman story, of an earthquake having changed the course of the river five hundred years ago, *cannot* be true, as we know from Ebn-Haukal, who wrote in the tenth century, and also from Abulfeda, that in their time the waters of the Jehoun or Oxus were emptied into the lake Kharism, or sea of Aral.—But here, too, a geologist would easily have determined the point, by digging down into the supposed bed, where, if he discovered flattened pebbles with the edges rounded off, such pebbles would have afforded him certain indications of a river having once flowed over that bed; the difference between a sea beach and the bed of a river being, that, on the former, the pebbles are invariably rounded by rolling with the waves, and in the latter as invariably *sided*, or flattened, by *sliding* with the stream.

Our traveller's fears, with regard to his personal safety, would appear not to have been ill-founded. On reaching the territory of Khiva, and while he was feasting his eyes with the delightful novelty of 'fields, cultivated with as much care as he had ever seen even in the heart of Germany,' two officers and four men rode up to him, and said it was the order of the khan that he should

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should be conducted to a place called El Gheldi, where every thing was prepared for his reception. This El Gheldi he soon discovered to be a square fortress, flanked by four towers: it was one of those places which, it seems, the 'landed interest' find it necessary to build on the skirts of the wilderness, both here and at Bokhara, as protections against the incursions of the 'robbers of the desert.' Within the walls of such places are store-houses, magazines, chambers, sheds, and pens for cattle, and, generally, a small garden. Such was the residence prepared for the reception of a Russian officer sent on a mission to the khan of Khiva; and herein he was closely confined for forty-eight days. At first he had no suspicion that they meant to shut him up. The sentinels which were placed over him, even in his room, he tells us, with great simplicity, he took at first for a guard of honour. Three or four different persons were sent to visit him from time to time, who were anxious to find out who he was, what he came for, what credentials he had brought; and these worthies, to do them justice, set about it adroitly enough,—sometimes coaxing, then threatening, and at last starving him; and all this with as much cunning and address as the most practised of the more polished Chinese could possibly have done.

It was some time before he discovered, from some relations of his Turcoman travelling companions, any thing like a clue to this inhospitable treatment. The khan Mahomed Rakim, they said, had been informed that in the course of the journey he had taken notes, measured the depth of wells, and been in all respects so inquisitive that he could be no other than a spy. Mahomed had ordered him to be kept a prisoner till he had held a council of his principal officers to determine how the spy was to be disposed of; the cadi was for burying him alive, according to the custom of the country, but the khan expressed his apprehension that if they did this, the 'white Tzar' might be induced to come himself the following year, with a large armed force, and revenge the insult by carrying off the women of his harem. The khan, therefore, it is supposed, sent some trusty messengers to the shores of the Caspian to ascertain that there were no troops landed, nor other indications of hostility, and having satisfied himself on this point, ordered our traveller's release, after a confinement, as we said before, of forty-eight days, and signified that he might proceed to Khiva, where he should have an audience. The following is the account of his first coup-d'œil of this city:—

'A cinq verstes de Khiva, la vue plonge sur une infinité de jardins coupés de ruelles, et parsemés de fortins où demeurent les habitans qui ont de l'aisance. La ville charme, par son aspect, l'œil du voyageur, quand, au-dessus d'un grand mur qui l'entoure, il voit s'élever majestueusement

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tueusement les vastes coupoles des mosquées, surmontées de boules dorées, et peintes d'une couleur d'asur qui tranche agréablement avec la verdure des jardins; ils sont tellement multipliés, que l'œil ne saurait embrasser, dans toute son étendue, l'enceinte de la ville. Auprès de ces habitations, qui semblent destinées aux divertissemens, s'élevaient d'anciens tombeaux. Arrivé à un lieu où la route était coupée par un canal de peu de largeur, que traverse un très-beau pont, j'y trouvai rassemblés des groupes nombreux de curieux; ils m'accompagnèrent jusqu'au logement qui m'avait été destiné; et quand j'entrai dans les rues étroites de Khiva, la foule devint si considérable qu'il paraissait impossible de la traverser; le peuple s'étouffait et tombait sous les pieds de nos chevaux. Pour nous ouvrir un passage, Ious Bachi fut obligé d'employer la force; ce ne fut pas sans une véritable douleur que, parmi ces spectateurs amenés par une vaine curiosité, je distinguai de malheureux Russes qui, en ôtant leurs bonnets, me suppliaient à demi-voix de les sauver!'—*Mouraviev*, pp. 160, 161.

Having entered one of the gates, he was marched to a house, in which he soon discovered that he was once more a prisoner; that his movements were all strictly watched, and that a Russian slave was posted behind his chamber-door to listen to his discourse. In a few days, however, he was summoned before the khan, to whom he had access through a few dirty courts and passages, much like those through which M. de Meyendorff passed to the presence of the khan of Bokhara. On reaching the square, in the midst of which was the khan's tent, a fellow, whom he recognised, by 'ses narines arrachées,' to be a malefactor from Siberia, laid hold of his sash behind, as if to lead him to the tent. Our Russian was highly indignant at such treatment, and began to persuade himself that he had been deluded to this spot for the purpose of being put to death, and that this fellow was selected to be his executioner; but he was somewhat appeased on being told that it was the custom thus to lead ambassadors to the presence of the khan. On reaching the tent, he stood still without speaking for some moments, when one of the attendants uttered the following short, emphatic, and comprehensive prayer—'May God preserve this state for the benefit and the glory of its sovereign!' Then the khan, having stroked his beard, in which action he was accompanied by his two attendants, addressed our ambassador (as he calls himself) with 'Khoch ghelubsen'—'you are welcome'—'Why are you come hither, and what do you want with me?' Our ambassador, resolved, as he says, not to show fear, and affecting 'd'élever la voix et de montrer une grande assurance,' thus replied:—

'Our most fortunate Russian commander-in-chief of the countries situated between the Black Sea and the Caspian, having under his government Tiflis, Ganja, Georgia, Karabeg, Choucheu, Noukhia, Chéki, Chirvan, Bakou, Kouba, Lesghistan, Derbend, Astrachan, Caucasus,

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casus, Leukoran, Salian, and all the forts and provinces taken by force of the imperial arms from the Kadjars, has sent me to your highness to testify his respect, and to be the bearer of a letter written in an auspicious moment.'

He goes on to state his object to be that of establishing friendly and commercial relations for the advantage of the two countries, and asks that the caravans of Khiva, instead of proceeding to Manghichlak over a desert without water, requiring a journey of thirty days, should be directed to come to Krasnovodsk in the bay of Balkan, a journey only of seventeen days;—but the khan told him very abruptly that he had no intention to change the route; and having consented to send two or three persons back with him to Georgia, as the bearers of a letter to the commander-in-chief of all the hard names which he had been enunciating, this mighty personage loudly pronounced the 'Khoch ghelubsen,' which was the signal for retiring.

The captain was now conducted on a gray horse, amidst a great rabble, to his former abode, where he was told he was free to go about his business; but as he had no horses, nor other means of departing, he begged to be allowed to pass the night there. The next morning he took his departure to his former prison of El Gheldi, where he was joined by three Turcoman Khivians, and having hastened their preparations, they all set out to re-cross the desert. It was now the month of December, some snow had fallen on the hills, and the surface of the desert was hard frozen. Numerous dead horses and camels were lying on the ground, and in the midst of them many human carcasses; which, by the length of their beards, the Turcomans recognised to be those of Persian slaves captured about Astrabad, and abandoned on the march. 'It is of no importance,' said these fellows; 'we always leave a full half of these *Kizelbách* (red-heads) on the road, where they die either of hunger or cold.'

The number of Persian slaves in Khiva are stated to amount to thirty thousand: but these are not the only people carried off by the Turcomans. A great number of Russian subjects are living in a state of slavery in Khiva as well as in Bokhara. When our *ambassador* was on the point of leaving El Gheldi, he ordered his piece of artillery to be cleaned out, when a roll of paper was discovered, containing these words:—

'Most noble sir, we take the liberty to inform you that in this country there are three thousand Russian prisoners, who have to suffer hunger, cold, and insupportable labour with which we are oppressed, besides every kind of insult; take pity upon our unhappy condition, and bring it before the eyes of his majesty the Emperor.—But,' exclaims our traveller, 'their countrymen have forgotten them! Drowned in pleasures in the

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the midst of their country, they never once think on these unhappy people!'

On the return of Captain Mouraviev to Georgia with his three envoys, the latter were presented to General Yermôloff, who appears to have taken little notice of them; and they were speedily dismissed, with a letter to the khan, not from the General himself, but from the Captain, who, we cannot help thinking, when the treatment he met with is considered, plays the courtier or hypocrite a little more than was necessary in thus addressing the khan:—

'I have desired them (the envoys) to express my gratitude to you, great sovereign of the East, for the favours which you have shed upon me. . . May the same sun, which rises and sets, continue for ages to shed a lustre over this alliance; and may these ties, formed in sincerity, equal in their splendour that luminary of the world, and be dissolved only with the ruin of the whole universe!'

We cannot suppose Captain Mouraviev to have acquired even as much knowledge of Khiva as Meyendorff did of Bokhara. He says that the whole territory may be about a hundred miles square, well watered by canals supplied from the Oxus; that its population of Sartys (mixed Persians), Kara-calpacks (black bonnets), Turcomans, and Ousbecks, may amount to three hundred thousand souls; that Khiva itself has three thousand houses, mostly of mud or clay, and ten thousand inhabitants—a proportion which proves how little he must know of the matter; that there are four other principal towns, with bazars in each. He states, moreover, that the khan is a man of seven feet high, and stout in proportion; and that he would prove a benefactor to his country, and the scourge of Persia, by forming an alliance with Russia. As a specimen of what kind of benefactor this barbarian would be likely to prove, we are told that he caused four Russian prisoners to be hung up by the heels till they expired, for having suffered a large sheep to stray away from his stables;* nor is this the only instance of his brutality with which we are favoured. The Khivians are, in fact, the same inhuman brutes since their conversion to the Mussulman faith that they appear always to have been. It is understood that the Russian Prince Bekevitch was flayed alive, the executioners beginning the excoriation at the knees; and that they made use of his skin as the covering of a drum. The poor Russian and Persian slaves are said to be treated with horrible inhumanity, a common punishment for trifling offences being that of nailing their ears to the door-posts.

* 'Ils avaient été employés à ses écuries et chargés de la garde d'un grand mouton que le khan aimait singulièrement. Ce mouton se perdit, les soupçons tombèrent sur l'un de ses gardiens; mais comme on ne put pas approfondir la vérité et prouver l'identité du coupable, on pendit les quatre gardiens par les pieds.'—p. 310.

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Notwithstanding the friendly alliance which Captain Meuraview has told the khan is to endure as long as the universe, this officer no sooner returns than he proposes a plan for the conquest of Khiva, which, he says, may easily be accomplished by a corps of three thousand Russians, who may be recruited, and even augmented, out of the three thousand Russian and the thirty thousand Persian slaves. The only difficulty, he says, is the passage of the desert, but that the Turcoman camels will enable them to effect this; and that the present is just the time to upset the government of this seven-feet khan; that the result of the conquest would be, that all the riches of Asia would pass through Russia in their way to the west, which would be the means of snatching from the 'sovereigns of the seas' the great advantages they derive from the commerce of India—and a great deal of that sort of nonsense—the re-hashed 'grande pensée' of the addle-headed consul of Teflis, Chevalier Gamba,—whose reveries we noticed in our last Number: but let the gallant Captain speak for himself:—

'Déjà des caravanes, venant des contrées méridionales, arrivent à Khiva; si le commerce n'y acquiert pas plus d'extension, c'est parce qu'il est entravé par les pillages fréquens des peuples nomades. Si nous possédions Khiva, dont la conquête ne serait pas difficile, les nomades du centre de l'Asie auraient redouté notre puissance, et il se serait établi une route de commerce par le Sind et l'Amou-Déria jusqu'en Russie; alors toutes les richesses de l'Asie auraient afflué dans notre patrie, et nous eussions vu se réaliser le brillant projet de Pierre-le-Grand: maîtres de Khiva, beaucoup d'autres états se seraient trouvés sous notre dépendance. En un mot, Khiva est en ce moment un poste avancé, qui s'oppose au commerce de la Russie avec la Boukharie et l'Inde septentrionale; sous notre dépendance la Khivie serait devenue une sauvegarde, qui aurait défendu ce commerce contre les attaques des peuplades dispersées dans les stèpes de l'Asie méridionale. Cette oasis, située au milieu d'un océan de sable, serait devenue le point de réunion de tout le commerce de l'Asie, et aurait ébranlé jusqu'au centre de l'Inde l'énorme supériorité commerciale des dominateurs de la mer. La route de Khiva à Astrakhan pourrait être de beaucoup abrégée, puisqu'il n'y a que dix-sept jours de marche d'Ourghendj à la baie de Krasnovodsk, d'où, par un vent favorable, on peut aller en peu de jours à Astrakhan.'—pp. 344, 345.

We see nothing in the descriptions that are given by the two Russian travellers to satisfy us that any changes in the course of the rivers, or other revolutions, have here converted a cultivated territory into a barren steppe and a horrible desert. That the oases of Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand, well watered as they are by means of cuts or canals supplied from the river, should excite the admiration of travellers who, for such a length of time, had been exposed to all the hardships of a naked, sandy desert, was quite

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quite natural; and we think it probable, that our two travellers have not over-praised what little they actually saw of the cultivated territories of the two petty sovereigns; but that the general aspect of the ancient plains of Sogdiana, in which these territories are situated, should at any post-diluvian period have accorded with the descriptions given by the Arabian geographers, of the celebrated Mawenelnahar, ('beyond the river,') we never could for a moment believe. By Ebn Haukal, Abulfeda, and Sherefleden, it is described as the most flourishing, fertile, civilised, and happy region of the globe—the first of the three earthly paradises. An unfortunate Russian slave, speaking of the want of rain and of water in the same region, said to Meyendorff, 'It is a country which God must have created in his wrath.' This only shows how differently we see things according to the circumstances in which we are placed. That an Arab, fresh from his own miserable land, which by an unhappy epithet has been miscalled 'Felix', should hail with delight, and tax his imaginative faculties to describe, a country of corn-fields, orchards, gardens, trees, and canals, may very readily be supposed; but in almost all oriental descriptions a great allowance must be made for the habit of exaggeration in which the writers of them indulge. Thus we read of an Arab governor of Samarcand, who boasted that he could, at any time, bring into the field an army of three hundred thousand horse, and as many foot, and that they would not be missed in the province. We read too of an army of seven hundred thousand Mongols and Tatars marching under the standard of Zenjis-Khan; and that in those vast plains, which extend to the north of the Jaxartes, (the very desert which Meyendorff crossed,) they were encountered by four hundred thousand soldiers of the sultan of Carisme, (or Khiva); and that in the first battle, which was suspended by the night, one hundred and sixty thousand Carismians were slain!—'What vast armies we had in Flanders!' said my uncle Toby;—but what were the Flanders armies to those of Mawenelnahar? Well might Voltaire say, that our European battles are petty skirmishes, if compared with the numbers that have fought and fallen in the fields of Asia—fields too, he might have added, on the most of which neither food nor water was to be had either for man or horse.

In these same plains, we are told by another historian, that, when sitting on the throne of Samarcand, the Emperor Timour had an occasion for a display of his magnificence and power:—'The marriage of six of the emperor's grandsons was esteemed an act of religion, as well as of paternal tenderness, and the pomp of the ancient caliphs was revived in their nuptials. They were celebrated in the gardens of Canighal, decorated with innumerable tents and pavilions, which displayed the luxury of a great city, and the

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the spoils of a victorious camp: whole forests were cut down to supply fuel for the kitchens, the plain was spread with pyramids of meat, and vases of every liquor, to which thousands of guests were courteously invited: the orders of the state, and the nations of the earth, were marshalled at the royal banquet; nor were the ambassadors of Europe (says the haughty Persian) excluded from the feast; since even the *cassis*, the smallest of fish, find their place in the ocean. . . . . After the marriage-contracts had been ratified by the cadis, the bridegrooms and their brides retired to the nuptial chambers; nine times, according to the Asiatic fashion, they were dressed and undressed; and at each change of apparel, pearls and rubies were showered on their heads, and contemptuously abandoned to their attendants. A general indulgence was proclaimed; every law was relaxed, every pleasure was allowed, the people was free, the sovereign was idle,'—and, to wind up the climax, the historian might have added, 'his queens got royally drunk.' We have this last circumstance from Clavijo, the ambassador from Henry III. of Castile, who was the *cassis*, or *shrimp*, actually present on the occasion. The rest is, for the most part, oriental hyperbole; the mere fancies of Arabian and Persian historians, which Mr. Gibbon, with all his propensity for the marvellous, would probably have qualified, had he been in possession of the description of the same scene as given by the Spanish ambassador. It might, indeed, have occurred to the historian, that the immense armies, the multitude of horses and cattle, the 'whole forests,' never could have existed in the plains beyond the Oxus (Transoxania), unless the face of nature had wholly changed, which we know it has not done, within the last five hundred years. The Baron de Meyendorff, as we have seen, talks of the state of Bokhara having a population of about two millions and a half, which we cannot consider in any other light than an Arab exaggeration; indeed, we should doubt whether, at the present day, the whole population of the three Oases of Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand, with their surrounding deserts, exceed the amount of the two armies we have mentioned of Zenjis-Khan and the sultan of Chariam.

We are now prepared to consider the practicability—laying out of view for a moment all questions of policy—of a Russian invasion of India.

That it is extremely feasible, from her position, for Russia to threaten, and create alarm, in our Indian provinces, it would be absurd to deny. Her vast extent of territory in the south of Europe has given her the complete command of the Black Sea and the Caspian; her encroachments on Persia, already considerable, will be extended by the present contest, probably to the whole of

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the Araxes as a boundary, and at the same time place in her hands the key to the Turkish provinces in Asia Minor, together with possession of the important fortress of Erivan in Armenia;—and with all these advantages, she will be enabled, at any time, to assemble an army in Georgia of sufficient magnitude to undertake an expedition through Persia towards the Indian frontier. This army, with the consent of Persia, might make its way through Khorassan, by Herat, Candahar, Moultan, Hissar, and so on to Delhi, without having suffered any great privation from crossing that small part only of the salt and sandy deserts of Cohistan, which, by taking such a route, it would have occasion to pass; or, it might take the southern route, by the sea-coast, along which Alexander returned, proceed up the Indus to Tatta, cross the desert to Jesselmere, or Nagpore, and thence to Agra; or descend the Indus, and pass the level country of Cutch and Guzzerat. Any of these routes might, perhaps, be feasible, while in a country not unfriendly to such an undertaking, at the sacrifice of a certain number of men. But if such an army were required to force its way through *hostile* Persia, though it might not fight a single battle, its march would be so perpetually harassed and annoyed by the irregular parties of cavalry hovering about its flanks and rear, especially on the upper or northern route by the Turcoman horse which would undoubtedly be called into play, that its numbers and its supplies would daily be so diminished, that it would arrive at the Sind, if it ever reached that point, in any other state than that of an efficient army. The King of Persia and his conceited and feeble-minded son have, by this time, we should suppose, seen the folly of meeting the Russians in a pitched battle, and satisfied themselves that the smattering of European tactics and discipline (in which the French and we ran a race which of the two should instruct them) is not calculated for such a country and people as theirs. The old eunuch, who set Futteh-Ali Shah on the throne, had juster notions of what the real arm of their strength was composed, their irregular cavalry:—he knew better, as he expressed himself, than to run his head against their (the Russians') walls of steel, or expose his irregular army to be destroyed by their cannon.—'I know better,' says he; 'their shot shall never reach me, but they shall possess no country beyond its range. They shall not know sleep; and let them march where they choose, I will surround them with a desert.'

Let us suppose, however, that the army in question, with all the privations and impediments it would have to encounter in such a march as that from the banks of the Araxes to the Indus, should arrive at the latter in tolerable numbers, it could hardly be expected to enter India in such an efficient state as to face a British

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British army, equipped at all points ready to receive it. Let it be admitted even that the native rajpoots would be ready to receive and assist the invaders, which is not improbable—for there is no want of freebooters in any part of Hindostan, always ready to join in any expedition that has plunder for its object;—yet we think it is equally probable that, when these new allies found they had a regular army to contend with, whose prowess was well known to them, and on which they could not hope to make the least impression, they would unceremoniously turn their arms against their new friends, and plunder them without mercy.

It might perhaps have entered into the calculation, that the invasion of India would probably be followed by the defection of the native army, and that the deposed rajahs and nabobs would everywhere be ready to excite their dependants to rise up in rebellion against us. This, too, is not altogether improbable. The upper classes of the natives of India can have no particular affection for us, nor even the community at large, in the central and northern parts, where we are least known: Bishop Heber had some little experience of this in his tour through the northern provinces, during the siege of Bhurtpore, when the shout of the mob in the streets of Delhi, he tells us, was, 'The rule of the Company is at an end.' The Mussulman part of the population reproach us as infidels, and the Hindûs despise us as filthy and unclean animals; but then, it may be asked, would not the Russians (taking even the humblest view of ourselves) be precisely in as bad a case: would either Hindûs or Mussulmen put to hazard the peaceable and we may add, prosperous condition they now enjoy under the mild sway of their English rulers, merely for the sake of changing one set of infidel and unclean foreigners for another? or, would they not rather wish 'to bear the (supposed) ills they have, than fly to others that they know not of?'

Persia, however, is probably the last route which Russia would take if disposed to try her hand at threatening and creating an alarm in our Indian territories. Georgia and the Caucasian provinces would be required to furnish the expeditionary army for such a purpose; but as these provinces are not in a state to be left without an army of eighty or one hundred thousand men, it may fairly be doubted whether the financial resources of Russia would enable her to put in motion one great army to wage a distant war, and replace that army by another of equal magnitude. There are, however, at least three other routes:—first, that taken by Captain Mouraviev, from the gulph of Balkan, on the eastern coast of the Caspian, across the desert to Khiva; secondly, that of the Baron de Meyendorff, from Orenbourg to Bokhara; and

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the third, that of M. Nazaroff, from Petropavlosk, on the river Issim, to Khokan, described in a former Number.*

Whichsoever of these three routes might be attempted, a desert of considerable extent is to be crossed, over which every article of provisions, and even water, must be carried, for the subsistence both of man and horse. The route to Khiva might be crossed in the space of fifteen to twenty days; but a second desert, between it and Bokhara, must also be provided for, ere that before anything of this kind could be accomplished, Khiva must either be conquered or pacified, and so must Bokhara; but between Bokhara and Khiva a deadly feud has always existed, which is followed up by no less animosity between the wandering tribes of Kherghis, the occupiers of the desert leading to the former, and the Turcoman tribes of the desert which covers the latter. Such allies are not to be trusted. If, again, a Russian army, say of fifty thousand men, (and fewer could not be thought of,) should set out from Orenbourg, it would require, according to the progress made by the Baron de Meyendorff, seventy or eighty days, at the very least, to reach Bokhara, and, with the heavy artillery, might probably exceed one hundred. On the same scale of preparation, and it could not be less, there would be required 41,600 camels, 46,500 horses, and 3000 waggons. How these camels, horses, and waggons could be collected from wandering tribes, scattered in little clusters of fifty or sixty over a country of more than a million square miles, it is not easy to devise—even supposing the numbers mentioned to exist at all, which may very well be doubted. We leave out of consideration the grand moving power and sinew of all wars—the money requisite for the supplies of the commissariat, and for replenishing the military chest. The extreme cold of one season, and the oppressive heat of the other, might perhaps be surmounted by the hardy Russians at a certain expense of life and health; but there would occur a great many other annoyances, as, for example, the clouds of fine sand which fill the air and penetrate the ears, the mouth, and the eyes, causing a greater degree of distress than can well be imagined. We are told, indeed, that a very large portion of the army of Nadir Shah was destroyed by ophthalmia in crossing these very deserts. Lastly, who can doubt that the Kherghis tribes on the one hand, and the Turcomans on the other, would be too happy to suspend their hostilities for a time, and to join in the plunder of a third party, wealthier than either of them, making booty of all the unfortunate stragglers in the rear of the army?

* Quarterly Review, No. LIII.

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The towns of Bokhara, with their mud walls, without cannon, are not calculated to offer any formidable resistance to a well-equipped European army; yet the hostility of an active population, whether of two millions or one million, in a distant country, surrounded by deserts, might prove an insurmountable obstacle to a progressive movement; *that* could only be with safety commenced under a friendly co-operation of the natives. We will suppose, however, this desirable point to be carried:—still the necessary preparations must here be made for one of two routes, either of them presenting a long, difficult, and fatiguing march to an army which, we apprehend, would have met with very scanty supplies at Bokhara. The first is along the course of the Oxus by Carchi, across a sandy desert to Balk; from thence to Gaur, at which place camels would cease to be of use, and horses and mules must be supplied in their stead, to carry the provisions and baggage over the mountains of Hindoo Kush, into Cabul. Having once gained this point, the route to Hindostan is fairly open to an invading army. The high lands that surround this confined country, and in which the several branches of the Sinde take their rise, are, in truth, the key to Hindostan. The emperor Akbar was so convinced of the importance of this elevated region, that he caused a strong fortress to be built at Attock, near the confluence of the river of that name with the Indus, satisfied that by this route, across the Punjaub by Lahore, there was nothing to impede a large army in its advance upon Delhi and Agra. It was, in fact, by this route that Timour invaded India; that Baber made five different incursions into Hindostan; and that Nadir Shah, in later times, made himself master of that country.

The second route is by Maroo, on a branch of the Oxus, to Herat, Candahar, Moultan, across the Sind, Hissar, Delhi, thus avoiding almost the whole of the mountainous countries.

The most probable route, however, that an expedition against Hindostan would be likely to take, in starting from the confines of Russia, is that of setting out from Petropovlosk, on the Issim, crossing the steppe of that name, and a small portion of the Kirghis desert to Otrar, on the Sir-deria or Jaxartes, proceeding up this stream, and parallel to it, to Tounkat, Taskkend, Khodjend, and thence to Khokan. The greater portion of this route lies over a well-inhabited country, that would afford very considerable supplies for a large army. If the present powerful sultan of Khokan, under whose sway are the celebrated city and territory of Samarcand, should be favourably inclined towards the views of the invaders of India, he could afford very material assistance to an army in its progress across the Belut Tag, or misty mountains, into Affganistan, or over the Hindoo Cush into Caubul, where,

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where, from holding out the prospect of plunder, the invaders would probably have but little difficulty in prevailing on the warlike mountaineers to embark in their cause.—A race of men so ready to join in any expedition, whether against friends or enemies, where pillage and booty are held out as the promised reward, could hardly hesitate when the object set before them was to sack the once splendid cities of Delhi and Agra, which their fathers so frequently succeeded in plundering. Here then, in all probability, the casualties of the invading army, from sickness, starvation, and deaths, would be amply made up, in numerical force at least, to its original establishment, not however by disciplined troops, but by a savage rabble, who, like their marauding ancestors, would spare neither friend nor foe in their foraging parties as they marched along.

Any deficiency that there might be in point of numbers in leaving Cabul, would easily be made good on the march. A victorious army of Tartars has generally commenced its ravages in small numbers, which increase in magnitude like a rolling snow-ball. Athman, the founder of the Ottoman empire, set out from the plains of Charism with no greater force than could be raised among four hundred families. Intelligence of an extraordinary instance of this kind has reached us at the moment we are writing. (April 24.) It is that of a Mahomedan chief having left Cashgar in Toorkistan with a very small force of Tartar horsemen, and proceeded to the borders of China: he is said to have collected in his march an army of two hundred thousand horsemen, and with these to have actually entered the province of Shensee, his object being that of driving out the family of Manchoos, who wield the sceptre of this populous but feeble empire, and of placing a new dynasty on the throne. We have not the smallest doubt that one-half of the number of Usbecks, or Toorkies,* would with ease sweep all before them, from Pekin to Canton, and from Shensee to the Yellow Sea. It would be an extraordinary revolution, if this adventurer should be the means of planting the standard of the prophet on the battlements of Pekin. It is thus that Tartars, of whatsoever tribe, will always be found ready for any expedition which promises booty. Such an army, therefore, as we are supposing the Rus-

* Extract of a letter from Canton, November, 1826:—'The officers of government now acknowledge with great alarm that a most serious rebellion has broken out in the Tatar dependencies in the west; that it commenced by a white-turbaned Mahomedan, the object being to drive from the throne the Manchoo Tatar family. The neighbourhood of Cashgar, in Toorkistan, is the seat of the rebellion, and the Eleuths have joined the rebel confederacy. The grand army of his imperial majesty has moved to the westward to meet the rebels, and levies of money are making in every province. The Russians have been applied to not to afford any assistance to the rebels.'

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sians to consist of, might not only be joined by the mountaineers of Affganistan, but have a fair chance of enlisting into their ranks the notorious Runjeet Sing, and his warlike Seiks, on reaching the plains of the Punjaub, were it only for the sake of assisting to drive us out of India. As, however, the movements of such an army as we have been speaking of, would necessarily be a subject of notoriety long before it could approach its destination, our force in India would, no doubt, be concentrated, and well prepared to meet it; that force, we believe, falls not far short, in the whole, of three hundred thousand men. Supposing one-third only to be spared to oppose the invading enemy, well appointed as it would be in every arm, and no defection in the native troops, no apprehension could possibly be entertained for the result, whatever might be the amount of the discordant masses brought against us. Alarm and confusion would no doubt be created among the inhabitants, a number of disturbances and petty risings might take place, but one decisive battle would soon restore order again. But how would it fare with the Russians, if they sustained defeat? Fatally enough we may safely predict; their new allies would be the very first to turn against them; in all probability not a man of them would escape to his own country to tell the melancholy story.

The event we have here been considering and discussing is one which we do not contemplate as by any means likely to happen. We think, on the contrary, that all those missions and excursions of Russians to the eastern tribes, have had no other object than that of establishing friendly and commercial relations between them, without any ulterior views; and our reason for thinking so is, that no views of sound policy could induce Russia to disturb, much less to hazard the vain attempt to deprive us of, our possessions in the East, however desirous she may naturally enough feel to turn the current of our commerce into her own channels. Indeed, even if the result of such an enterprise were not dubious, it may be asked what national advantage she could hope to gain from it? She could not possibly flatter herself with the delusive expectation of being able to add the peninsula of India to the tenth part of the globe which she already possesses; and we will not suppose that any idea of gratifying the wishes of a hungry army by *plunder* can have been taken up. Alas! Delhi and Agra, which have so often excited the cupidity of the invaders of Hindostan, have nothing left worth plundering *now*. If the mere object were that of inflicting an injury on Great Britain, by distressing and unsettling her eastern possessions, that would be the worst policy Russia could pursue, considering the means we possess of retaliation. Russia, with all the vast extent of her dominions,

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nions, is neither independent nor regardless of her foreign commerce. Her subjects would be but ill disposed to sit down quietly under the loss of the Baltic and Black Sea trade, the balance of which is so greatly in their favour; and they know very well that we can, at any time, seal up these two, the chief, and almost the only, outlets for her productions. In her present contest with Persia, the undisguised manner in which she is pressing on Turkey, especially on the side of Armenia, the key to the Asiatic possessions of the Porte, cannot but afford serious uneasiness to the Divan, who, in the event of a rupture, would not be disposed to refuse admittance to our navy into the Black Sea, the result of which to Russia we need not stop to mention. The only cause that could induce Russia to undertake the quixotic enterprise we have been treating of—and it is one at which humanity shudders—would be that of getting rid of a certain portion of an army out of all proportion numerous, in which a long-continued idleness and inactivity had induced a state of discontent and insubordination.

Under the bare possibility, however, of an irruption by any power, from the only remaining point where our eastern possessions are open to such a scourge, and from which all successful irruptions have invariably proceeded—the mountainous regions in the north-west—it behoves us to have a jealous eye towards that quarter. It is a quarter, we must say, that has hitherto been singularly neglected. Our great armies and our splendid establishments are mostly confined to the sea-coasts, where they are the least necessary; the lower extremities of the great Indian body are well clothed, and fringed with costly garniture, while the head and trunk are left naked and exposed. On the south-eastern frontier, where no danger can now be apprehended, we keep up a large army to sicken and die in the swamps and jungles of the Ganges, the Hoogley, and the Burrampooter; while on the north-western frontier, where everything is to be apprehended, and where the mountain air breathes health and vigour into the human frame, we have no army at all.* It must strike every one who travels northerly,

* From some statements recently published (by Capt. Badenach, of the Bengal army), a frightful picture is drawn of the mortality of British officers in the Bengal army; and he ensures us they are, to the best of his belief, strictly correct. The result is, that out of three thousand, six hundred, and thirty-three officers, two hundred and one only—that is to say, about five and a half per cent.—have retired to Europe on the pension of their rank, after *twenty-two* years' service in India. The remaining ninety-four and a half per cent. have either died, been killed, invalided in India, or resigned the service without any emolument from the Company, or remained in India for want of means of returning to Europe to retire. Such a melancholy result could not happen if the army were stationed in the hilly country of Central or Northern India.—Captain Badenach's work deserves more than an incidental notice; and we hope ere long to do it something like justice.

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as it did the intelligent Heber, how impossible it is to govern the remote provinces in that quarter from Calcutta, and how desirable to establish a separate presidency for Northern and Central India, either at Agra, Delhi, Meerut, or Singur, and to occupy military positions on the extreme northern frontier. The distance from Calcutta to this extreme frontier is twelve or thirteen hundred miles, and would require some months for the march of an army. What mischief, then, might occur from a sudden inroad of the neighbouring tribes, before a sufficient force could be marched thither from head-quarters for their expulsion! We doubt even if a line of telegraphs, so essentially necessary for speedy communication, has yet been thought of from the north-western frontier to the chief seat of government.

As it is admitted that we retain India solely by the sword, it behoves us to take especial care that it be administered by the sword of justice, to our own people as well as to the natives. But is this the case? We have an army of 300,000 men in India, 280,000 of which are mostly native troops belonging to the East India Company, and commanded by British officers; the remaining 22,000 are king's troops; that is to say, the former are to the latter as more than twelve to one: yet the advantages of the former are every way inferior to those of the latter, in rank, in pay, in their retirement. This degradation of so great a majority cannot fail to create a feeling of dissatisfaction, and the consciousness of a grievance, which must one day break forth into remonstrance and insubordination, unless checked by a nearer assimilation of the native forces with those of his Majesty. The feeling and the recent conduct of the Sepoys are anything but that which ought to inspire a continued confidence in their allegiance. The affair at Barrackpore, their behaviour in the Burmese war and at Burtpoor, are symptoms either of some change in their sentiments and conduct, or of some want of management in the officers who command them. We should not forget that these native corps can have no strong attachment to us, who have nothing in common with them; and that their allegiance can only be purchased with what they consider as an advantage to themselves and families; and what do these advantages, or their future prospects, amount to? Why, even this,—that the very highest rank, which a Brahmin sepoy of the highest caste can arrive at in our army, is that of ensign (or rather something between a sergeant and an ensign), beyond which he cannot proceed, in order that he may never be in a situation to command a British officer. This may be, and is considered to be, policy; but is it justice? If this arrangement be incapable of change, at least whatever other indulgences can be, ought to be, granted to them, and great care taken not to offend their prejudices;

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judices; for, under the present system, we may be well assured, that by their attachment and fidelity alone can India be preserved.

We have no intention to enter, at present, into any further detail of those improvements which we deem it our bounden duty to encourage, for the advantage of the millions that have submitted to our rule, as well as for the security of our eastern empire—a territory from which the Company draws a revenue exceeding, we believe, twenty millions sterling! The making of good roads, and opening canals, where they can easily be done, will suggest themselves as points of the utmost importance. The civilisation and prosperity of a country mainly depend on rapidity of communication and facility of intercourse. A revision of the courts of justice, a more efficient police, the establishment of schools for the native children, where they may be instructed in the English language, perhaps military schools for the numerous half-caste children who at present hang loose on society, and whose increasing numbers have, of late years, created some uneasiness as to their disposal, are among the improvements that may be undertaken with advantage. It is high time, also, that an adequate church-establishment should be maintained on a respectable footing, whose branches should extend to every part of our dominions, in order that our holy religion may be rescued from that contempt which is but too apt to be excited among the natives, from observing the inefficient labours of certain well-meaning enthusiasts, who profess themselves teachers of the gospel, but who have failed to inspire any respect even among the few hearers who, chiefly from interested motives, are sometimes induced to attend their places of worship. Besides, it must be owned, the governing powers have taken but little trouble to satisfy the natives that they have any religion at all. 'Let me,' says the amiable Heber, 'in the first place, express my sorrow that so little pains have been taken to bring Protestant christianity before the attention of the heathen in its most comely and attractive form—in that form which blends decency of ornament with perfect purity of worship.'

We merely throw out these few hints, which, with many others, will require the most serious consideration before the question be finally decided, as it must be some five years hence, as to the safest and best method of governing a hundred millions of people, dwelling at the distance of twelve thousand miles from the source of power, accustomed from immemorial ages to certain laws, religions, institutions, languages, and manners, all of them totally different from those of their rulers, and many of them differing no less among themselves: in short, whether they shall be transferred to the immediate government and protection of the king of England and his ministers, or remain in the present anomalous

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mains condition of owing allegiance to a company of private merchants, whose servants on the spot are, in point of fact, and necessarily must be, the real rulers of this gigantic empire. We have often expressed our high sense of the very extraordinary merits of the Company's servants as a body;—and our strong suspicion that the abolition of the Company's government would be attended with heavy evils. But there is much to be said on the other side of the question; and the directors cannot be too solemnly warned how serious are the interests involved in their conduct and administration during the five years for which they must still be lords of India.

ART. VI.—1. *Report upon Weights and Measures.* By John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States. Prepared in obedience to a Resolution of the Senate of the 3rd March, 1817. Washington. 1821.

2. *An Account of the Construction and Adjustment of the new Standards of Weights and Measures of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.* By Captain Henry Kater, F.R.S. Phil. Trans. for 1826.

THE subject of weights and measures has, for some years past, excited a more than usual degree of interest in the public mind; and we think we cannot do better than devote a few of our pages to giving a sketch of what has been done, in this matter, in former times, and then furnishing our readers with a distinct idea of the basis upon which the present system of weights and measures is founded.

All nations, in proportion to their degree of civilisation, appear to have been impressed with the necessity of obtaining a uniform system of weights and measures; and we may form some idea of the importance which has been attached to this object in England, from the numerous acts for effecting it that crowd our statute books, from the earliest times to the present day. The difficulties that have been experienced, have arisen, principally, from the want of some invariable standard, to which measures of length might be referred.

If two accessible points could be determined, the linear distance between which was unalterable, we should possess the object required—an invariable standard of length, which might be referred to at pleasure, and from which measures of capacity and weight might readily be derived. But the determination of such points requires all the resources of modern science; and we find that, in ruder

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rder times, standards of linear measure appear to have been derived from the human body. Thus we have a cubit, a foot, a palm or handsbreath, a digit; but it must be evident that these are subject to vary with the individual, and, consequently, a measure derived from such a source, if lost, could never be recovered with accuracy.

In the 51st year of the reign of Henry III. A.D. 1266, we have the first attempt upon record to define measures of capacity and weight, by referring them to a natural standard:—

'An English penny, called a sterling, round and without clipping, shall weigh thirty-two wheat corns in the midst of the ear, and twenty pence to make an ounce, and twelve ounces one pound, and eight pounds do make a gallon of wine; and eight gallons of wine do make a London bushel, which is the eighth part of a quarter.'

In the 17th year of Edward II.'s reign, A.D. 1324, linear measures also were referred to a natural standard.

'It is ordained that three barleycorns, round and dry, make an inch, twelve inches a foot, three feet a yard, five and a half yards a perch, and forty perches in length, and four in breadth, an acre.'

In the year 1496,* Henry VII. declared—

'That the bushel should contain eight gallons, each of eight pounds troy, of wheat, each of twelve ounces, each of twenty sterlings or pennyweights, each of the weight of thirty-two corns of wheat, that grew in the middle of the ear.'

These are, we believe, the earliest instances upon record in this country of attempts to refer weights and measures to natural standards.

In 1696, upon the occasion of a bill for laying a duty upon malt, it was found necessary to ascertain with accuracy the content of the bushel of Henry VII., called the 'Winchester bushel.' This was accordingly done by Thomas Everard, Esq., by filling it with spring water; and having measured the water by means of a regular parallelopipedon, the base of which was four inches square, and depth fourteen inches, he found that this bushel contained 2145.6 cubic inches, and the weight of the water was 1131 ounces and 14 pennyweights troy. We are inclined to prefer the weight to the measurement, as being more susceptible of accuracy; and we may thence infer that the capacity of the Winchester bushel must have been 2151.7 cubic inches.

In the year 1742, some members of the Royal Society of London, and of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, agreed upon an interchange of copies of the standards of weights and measures of each nation. Two brass rods about forty-two inches

* 12th Henry VII.

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long were, therefore, prepared by Mr. Sisson, upon each of which Mr. Graham laid off the length of three English feet, from a standard yard kept in the Tower of London. Both rods were sent to Paris, and one of them was returned, having the Paris half-toise, containing three Paris feet, marked upon it. Copies of the avoirdupois and troy pounds were, at the same time, sent to Paris, and a standard of two marcs, or sixteen Paris ounces, was returned.

In 1758 a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed, 'to inquire into the original standards of weights and measures in this kingdom, and to consider the laws relating thereto.' The committee were assisted by several scientific men, among whom were Mr. Bird, and the King's assay-master of the mint, Mr. Harris. The Report * of this committee justly ranks very

* A part of this Report proves so forcibly the confusion and inconvenience which have resulted from the state of the English measures of capacity, that we are tempted to give it at length:—'Your committee observing, that, by the evidence of the gaugers, the ale and beer gallon contained 282 cubical inches, and finding that, by all the statutes down to the fifth of Queen Anne, wherever wine measure is mentioned, the legal standard gallon of the exchequer is referred to, or understood, endeavoured to discover for what reason the wine gallon was reduced fifty-one cubical inches, viz., *from* 282 *to* 231; and upon inquiry of the commissioners of excise, they communicated to your committee copies from their books of a memorial from the commissioners of excise and hearth money, to the commissioners of the treasury, dated 15th May, 1688, setting forth, that all beer and ale had been gauged at 282 cubical inches for the gallon; and other excisable liquors according to the supposed wine gallon, at 231 *cubical inches*; but being informed, that the true standard wine gallon ought to contain only 224 cubical inches, they had applied to the auditor and chamberlains of the exchequer to examine the standard measures in their custody, and, upon examination, they found three standard gallons,—one of Henry VII. and two of 1601,—which an able artist, employed by them, had found to contain each 272 *cubical inches*; that finding no wine gallon at the exchequer, they had applied to the Guildhall of the city of London, where they were informed the true standard of the wine gallon was: and they had found, by the said artist, that the same contained 224 *cubical inches* only: and they further represent, that the gallons of other parts of the kingdom, used for wine, had been made and taken from the said Guildhall gallon.—In consequence of this memorial, the lords of the treasury, the 21st May, 1688, directed an authority to be drawn, for gauging according to the Guildhall gallon, which was accordingly done; but it does not appear that such authority was ever signed.—After this direction, it appears that several merchants applied, that his majesty would be pleased to empower the merchants to sell as they were gauged, that is, according to 282 cubical inches to the gallon. And the commissioners of the customs, not following the new-proposed method of gauging, upon the 12th of June, 1688, Sir Thomas Powis his opinion is taken upon it, in which he says, that having considered the proposal of the commissioners of excise, concerning the gauging of excisable liquors, and perused the acts of parliament relating thereto, he cannot advise prosecuting the proposal in regard of the hazard attending it; for if the usage of gauging is departed from, he knows not where we shall be, because resort cannot be had to the exchequer for a standard, to which almost all the statutes refer, for there is none there but what the king will be vastly a loser by.—Secondly, Guildhall cannot be resorted to for a standard, for no law or statute refers to it.—He then, in the third place, observes, that by the ancient statutes, eight pounds made a gallon; and the twelfth of Henry VII. chap. 5. mentions the pounds to be pounds of wheat; and as there was to be one measure throughout the kingdom, which could not be, unless it was adjusted by some one thing, and that seemed to be intended wheat, therefore he did not know how 231 cubical inches came to be taken up, but did not think it safe to depart from the usage; and therefore the proposal dropt. But your committee

very high, both from the extent of information which it presents, and the care with which the experiments it details were conducted. It contains a description of the standards in use at the exchequer, and an account of the number of cubical inches which they respectively contain, as determined by Mr. Bird. The various standards of linear dimension at the exchequer were also compared with the Royal Society's standard, which we have stated had been laid off by Mr. Graham from a yard kept at the Tower. The committee caused a copy of the Royal Society's standard to be made by Mr. Bird, and laid before the house, having engraved upon it 'Standard Yard, 1758,' and also another yard with cheeks, which they proposed should be kept at the exchequer for common use.—A second report was made by this Committee the following year, which contains many excellent suggestions for enforcing uniformity of weights and measures.

In the volume by Mr. Adams, named at the head of this Article,

committee have been informed, that in 1700, there was still a dispute in respect of the contents of the wine gallon, and that an information of *Devenerunt* was tried in the court of exchequer, between the king's attorney-general and one Thomas Barker, for the duty of 1417 gallons of wine, imported from Alicant, in Spain. A manuscript account of that trial has been communicated to your committee, the substance of which is as follows:—The defendant, Barker, having imported in January, 1699, sixty butts of Alicant wine, he paid the duty for them as sixty butts. The officers of the customs contended, that as by law the pipe or butt of wine was to contain 126 gallons, and these butts contained more by the gauge, as they said, than that number of gallons, the information was brought to recover the duty for that supposed overplus. The evidence on the part of the king, after showing that by the statute of the second of Henry VI. chap. 11., confirmed by subsequent laws, the tun of wine was to contain 252 gallons, and the pipe or butt 126, was, that Mr. Leader, the city gauger, Mr. Flamstead, and several other artists skilled in gauging, all agreed that a wine gallon ought to contain 231 cubical inches, and no more; that there was such a gallon, containing so many cubical inches, kept from time out of mind at Guildhall, as a standard of that measure; that the wine gallon was less than the ale gallon, or corn gallon, the ale gallon being of 282 cubical inches, and the corn 272; and, therefore, reckoning the wine gallon at 231 cubical inches, the defendant had imported a greater number of butts, at 126 such gallons each, than he had paid duty for.

'On the part of the defendant, it was insisted, that the laws having directed a standard gallon to be kept in the treasury, and there being one there, which, on measuring, was found to contain 282 cubical inches, that gallon was the standard for the kingdom, and not the Guildhall gallon, and, by that measure, the defendant had paid the full duty: and it was proved by a great number of merchants, masters of ships, and vintners, who had been in business forty, thirty, and twenty years, that the butts and hogsheads which came from Spain had always been of the same contents, viz. from 140 to 150 gallons, and upwards.

'Upon this trial, which lasted about five hours, it was agreed by the attorney-general to withdraw a juror; and he was of opinion, that no further proceeding should be had in the matter, but that it should be left to be remedied by parliament; and accordingly, Sir Edward Northey, in 1703, having perused a state of all the laws relative to this subject, advised, that as the contents of a wine gallon was uncertain, being to be fixed by wheat corns, an application should be made to parliament to have a standard of a gallon made.—These proceedings produced the act of the fifth of Queen Anne, whereby the wine gallon now in the receipt of the exchequer was made the legal wine measure, and the standard

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we find great pains and ingenuity bestowed in investigating the history of our ancient weights and measures; and the author appears to have arrived at conclusions which we think so curious and interesting, that we are tempted to lay them somewhat at large before our readers. He remarks, that one of the principal objects of the great charter was,

'a uniformity of *existing* weights and measures, and a uniformity not of identity but of proportion. The words of the charter are, "One measure of wine shall be through our realm, and one measure of ale, and one measure of corn, that is to say, the *quarter* of London; and one breadth of dyed cloth, that is to say, two yards (ulna) within the lists; and it shall be of weights as it is of measures." The London quarter, therefore, and the *yard*, or *ulna*, were existing, known established measures, and the one measure of corn was the London quarter. The one measure of ale was a gallon, of the same contents for liquid measure as the half-peck was for dry. But the one measure of wine, was a gallon, *not* of the same cubical contents as the half-peck and ale gallon; but which, when filled with wine, was of the same weight as the half-peck, or corn gallon, when filled with wheat. And the expression, "It shall be of weights, as it is of measures,"—means, that there shall be the same proportion between the money weight and the merchant's weight, as between the wine measure and the corn measure.'

Mr. Adams asserts, that in subsequent confirmations of this charter the object of the 25th chapter appears to have been misunderstood; for that, instead of prescribing the *same* measure of capacity for liquid and dry substances, and *one* unit of weight, its intention was, 'to provide, that the measure of corn, of ale, and of wine, should *not* be the same; that is, that the wine measure should *not* be used for ale and corn, nor the ale measure for wine.' He then quotes the act of the 51st of Henry III., 1266, which we have before noticed, and remarks of this act,—

'It shows, first, that the money weight was identical with the silver coins; and it establishes a uniformity of proportion between the money weight and the merchant's weight, exactly corresponding to that between the measure of wine and the measure of grain.'

Some observations follow upon the excellence of this system, and Mr. Adams then proceeds to say,—

'But neither the present avoirdupois nor troy weights were then the standard weights of England. The key-stone to the whole fabric of the system of 1266, was the *weight* of the silver penny *sterling*. This penny was the two hundred and fortieth part of the Tower pound; the sterling, or easterling pound, which had been used at the mint, for centuries before the conquest, and which continued to be used for the coinage of money, till the eighteenth year of Henry VIII. 1527, when the troy pound was substituted in its stead. The Tower, or easterling

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easterling pound, weighed three quarters of an ounce troy less than the troy pound, and was, consequently, in the proportion to it of 15 to 16. Its penny, or two hundred and fortieth part, weighed, therefore, 22½ grains troy. The commercial pound, by which wine and most other articles were weighed, was then of fifteen ounces.'

In proof of this, Mr. Adams refers to the 'treatise of weights and measures of 1304,' which repeats a part of the statute of 1266, with a variation of expressions, entirely decisive of its meaning. It says, that

'by the ordinance of the whole realm of England, the measure of the king was made, that is to say, that the penny, called sterling, round, and without clipping, shall weigh thirty-two grains of wheat in the middle of the ear. And the ounce shall weigh twenty pence; and twelve ounces make the *London* pound; and eight pounds of *wheat* make a gallon; and eight gallons make the London bushel.'

It finally adds,—

'It is to be known, that every pound of money and of medicines, consists only of twenty shillings weight; but the pound of *all other things* consists of twenty-five shillings. The ounce of medicines consists of twenty pence, and the pound contains twelve ounces; but in other things the pound contains fifteen ounces, and in both cases the ounce is of the weight of twenty pence. . . . . Wine and wheat, therefore, were both, among the articles of which the pound consisted, of fifteen ounces. By the statute of 1266, the gallon of wine contained eight such pounds of wine. By the statute of 1304, the gallon (for ale) contained eight such pounds of wheat: and the weight of wine, contained in eight such wine gallons, and the weight of wheat, contained in eight such corn or ale gallons, was equally the measure of the bushel.'

A little further explanation of this curious statute of Henry III. may not be unnecessary. The English penny was to weigh thirty-two wheat corns, in the midst of the ear; and twenty pence to make 'an ounce, and twelve ounces one pound.' This, therefore, by its connexion with wheat, defines the composition of the silver pound, the pound sterling, or the easterling pound. A quantity of wheat was next taken which would counterpoise eight of these money or easterling pounds; and the vessel which would just contain this wheat was the wine gallon. Eight such gallons of wine were then counterpoised with wheat, and the vessel which when full would hold this wheat was the bushel. As wine and all articles, excepting money and medicines, were sold by the commercial pound, the act may be taken thus;—'Eight pounds (commercial) do make a gallon of wine.' In either case the capacity of the wine gallon would be the same, because the proportion of the money pound to the commercial pound is the same as that of the weight of wheat to the weight of wine.

A vessel,

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A vessel, therefore, which would contain eight commercial pounds of wine was the wine gallon; and the vessel which would hold a quantity of wheat equal in weight to eight such gallons of wine, or which would contain ten such gallons of wine, was the London bushel. So that, as Mr. Adams has observed, the half-peck measure, or the eighth part of the bushel when filled with wheat, exactly counterpoised the gallon of wine. It is, therefore, evident, that these two measures must be of different capacities, the cubical inches of the one being to the cubical inches of the other as the weight of wheat is to the weight of wine, their bulks being equal.

'The wine to which the statute of 1266, and many subsequent English statutes, exclusively refer, was the wine of Gascoign, a province at that time, and for a long period, under the dominion of the English kings; the same sort of wine which now goes under the denomination of claret, or Bordeaux. Its specific gravity is to that of distilled water as 9935 to 10000, and its weight is of 250 grains, troy weight, to the cubic inch.'

From these data, Mr. Adams deduces the capacity of the wine gallon. The pound sterling

'was equivalent to 5400 grains troy. The pound of fifteen ounces was equal to 6750 grains troy. Eight such pounds were equal to 54000 grains troy, which, divided by 250, the number of grains troy weighed by a cubic inch of Bordeaux wine, gives a wine gallon of 216 cubic inches.'

The accuracy of these conclusions must depend upon the truth of the data. We know at present of no claret so weak as to be of the specific gravity of 9935; and were it so, the weight of a cubic inch of such wine would be 250.8 not 250 grains. Taking the specific gravity at 9843,* the weight of a cubic inch would be 248.49 grains, and the capacity of the resulting wine gallon 217.30 inches.

Mr. Adams remarks that there is no standard wine gallon of that age extant in England, but that the standard Irish wine gallon at this day is of 217.6 cubic inches.

As the weight of eight gallons of wine was to counterpoise a bushel of wheat, and as the weight of wheat to that of wine was taken as the money pound to the commercial pound, or as four to five, the corn or ale gallon will be one fourth part larger than the wine gallon, and we have therefore 271.625 cubic inches for the capacity of the corn or ale gallon, and 2173 inches for that of the bushel.

* The specific gravity of claret must vary much. In the Philosophical Transactions it is stated at 994. It will be seen that we have derived it from the contents of the hogshead of wine.

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A statute of 1423 (the 2d of Henry VI.) is quoted by Mr. Adams, which declares that '*in old time* it was ordained and lawfully used that tuns, pipes, tertians, hogsheads of Gascoign wine, should be of certain measure, that is to say, the tun of wine 252 gallons,* the pipe 126 gallons, the tertian 84 gallons, the hogshead 63 gallons,' &c.*

'The ordinance of *old time*, referred to in this act, is not (says Mr. Adams) among the statutes at large, and is, therefore, probably of more ancient date than the Magna Charta of 1225.'

We shall pass over Mr. Adams's remarks upon the similarity of system of the English weights and measures to that of the Romans, as it would extend this Article beyond our limits.

From the dimensions of the tun, (thirty-two cubic feet,) and its containing 252 wine gallons, Mr. Adams finds the capacity of the wine gallon to be 219.43 cubic inches, agreeing very nearly with the previous determination obtained by a totally different process.

Mr. Adams conceives that the hogshead of wine (*we* think the hogshead of *water*, and in other parts of his work Mr. Adams seems to agree with us) was the measure corresponding in weight to the quarter of wheat, in which case the wine gallon (*we* should say the *water* gallon) of 216 cubic inches, was the exact eighth part of a cubic foot.

If our conjecture be well founded, the hogshead would contain 64 water gallons; but, the wine gallon being the larger vessel, the hogshead would hold only 63 such *wine* gallons, and the ton 252 *wine* gallons, instead of 256 water gallons. From these data we find the specific gravity of the wine to have been 9843.

There seems then to have existed at some very remote period, an unit for the measure of wheat, which contained a quantity of wheat equal in weight to a ton of water. The London quarter was, as its name imports, the fourth part of this unit, and seems to have contained a quantity of wheat equal in weight to a hogshead of water.

From what has been advanced, we have seen that the capacity of the wine gallon was determined by the weight of eight money pounds of wheat, or of eight commercial pounds of wine, which it was to contain; and as the capacity of the bushel was precisely ten times that of the wine gallon, it might with the greatest

* A copy of the original may not be uninteresting:—'Plese it to your wise discretions tendirly to consider how that of ald tyme ordined and trewly used, Tunnes, Pipes, Tertians, Hoggeshedes of wyn of Gascoign, barrell' of Heryng' and Eles, and buttes of Samon, comyng be wey of merchandise into this lond out of straunge countrees, and also in this land ymade, shulden be of certein mesure; that is to sey, the Tonne of Wyn $\frac{xx}{xii}$xii galons, the Pipe $\frac{xx}{vi}$vi galons, the Tertian $\frac{xx}{iiii}$iiii galons, the Hoggeshede $\frac{xx}{iii}$iii galons,' &c. [2d Henry VI. anno 1423, Rolls of Parliament, vol. iv. 256.]

facility

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facility have been verified, by means of the wine gallon, either by weight or by measure.

In 1496, Henry VII. destroyed the whole of this fabric. In the tenth year of his reign, he caused new copies of all the standard weights and measures then in the Exchequer to be made for forty-three of the principal cities of the kingdom; but it was soon discovered that these copies were—

'all defective, and not made according to the laws of the land. From what cause does not appear, but that the laws of the land, namely, the statutes of 1266 and 1604, were, and continued to be, entirely misunderstood, is abundantly apparent from the statute which was made the very next session of Parliament, to remedy the evil.

'This act, after reciting the extraordinary attention of the king, in having made, at his great charge and cost, and having distributed those county standards of weights and measures, according to the old standards in the treasury, and after stating the disappointment which had ensued upon the discovery that they were all defective, and not made according to the old laws and statutes, proceeds to ordain, that the measure of a bushel contain eight gallons of wheat; that every gallon contain eight pounds of wheat, *troy* weight; and every pound contain twelve ounces of troy weight, and every ounce contain twenty *sterlings*, and every sterling be of the weight of thirty-two corns of wheat, that grew in the midst of the ear of wheat, *according to the old laws of the land*; and the new standard gallon, after the said assize, was to be made to remain in the king's treasury for ever.'

The weights and measures which had been issued were recalled.

We differ from Mr. Adams in the opinion expressed in the passages quoted, that 'the statutes of 1266 and 1904 were, and continued to be, entirely misunderstood' by the succeeding legislatures, and on the following grounds. The troy and avoirdupois pounds having, from some unknown cause, gradually superseded the use of the old Tower pound, and of the commercial pound, Henry VII. appears to have been desirous of making a change in the measures of capacity, corresponding to that which had taken place in the weights. He therefore made the act, which has been noticed, and which we conceive to be nothing more than a repetition of the statute of 1266, with the substitution of the *troy* pound for the *Tower* or *money pound*, and the omission of the word '*wine*' before that of '*gallon*.' He directs, that 'the measure of a bushel contain eight gallons (*corn* gallons, of course) of wheat, and that every (*wine*) gallon contain eight pounds of wheat, troy weight,' &c. We think we can even explain the manner in which the wine gallon at Guildhall, containing 224.4 cubic inches, and that at the Exchequer, containing 230.85 cubic inches, were actually constructed.

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The old Tower pound was to the troy pound in the proportion of 15 to 16; and the avoirdupois pound was to the old commercial pound, as 27 to 28. The eighth part of the cubic foot, or 216 inches, was the old fluid gallon; and the cubic foot was supposed to contain exactly 1000 ounces avoirdupois of water. This is not now precisely the fact; the weight of a cubic inch of distilled water being 252.458 grains. The readiest way, therefore, that would occur of constructing a gallon would probably be, to make a vessel which, when exactly filled, should contain the weight of 125 avoirdupois ounces of water.* But the capacity of this vessel would really be 216.63, and not 216 cubic inches. As the new wine gallon was to contain eight troy pounds of wheat, instead of eight Tower pounds, it was only necessary to increase the capacity of this gallon in the proportion of the troy to the Tower pound, that is, one-fifteenth part: we thus obtain 231.07 cubic inches for the capacity of the new wine gallon, and this agrees very nearly with the standard gallon at the Exchequer.

We may recollect, that the wine gallon of 1266 contained eight *commercial* pounds of wine, and consequently, to meet the intentions of Henry the Seventh, his wine gallon *ought* to contain eight *avoirdupois* pounds of wine; but the proportion of the troy to the avoirdupois pound, 144 to 175, was not precisely that of the *Tower* to the *commercial* pound. The avoirdupois pound was to the commercial pound as 28 to 27, and if we increase the ancient wine gallon, which we have taken at 216.63 cubic inches, in that proportion, we shall obtain 224.65 cubic inches for the wine gallon of Henry the Seventh, which is very nearly the same as the oldest wine gallon at Guildhall.

The corn or ale gallon of that period we conceive to have been formed from the wine gallon, in the manner which has been before described, in speaking of the measures of 1266; but the weight of wine to that of wheat was taken in the proportion of the avoirdupois to the troy pound, instead of that of the Tower pound to the commercial pound, and thus two corn gallons were produced, one of 280.81, and the other of 273 cubic inches; the former from the wine gallon of 231.07, and the latter from the wine gallon of 224.65 cubic inches.

The *bushel* of Henry the Seventh seems to have been copied from some ancient standard, as the bushel made from eight of his wine gallons in the manner we have supposed would have been of a much greater capacity.

We shall now give a table of such ancient standards as have

* For the purpose of constructing a standard wine gallon, most probably water, and not wine, was employed.

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come to our knowledge, and explain what appears to us to be the manner in which they were constructed:—

	Pint Cubic Inches.	Quart Cubic Inches.	Gallon Cubic Inches.	Bushel Cubic Inches.
Leath Iron Gallon	..	..	217.6	..
Oldest Wine Gallon at Guildhall	..	..	224.4	..
Exchequer Wine Gallon of 1707	..	..	230.85	..
A Standard Gallon of Henry VII., and two of 1601, said, by the Commissioners of Excise, in a memorial of 1688, to contain	..	..	272.	..
An Exchequer Gallon, mentioned on a trial in 1700, said to contain	..	..	282.	..
Exchequer Pint of 1602	34.6	..	.....	..
——— Quart 1601	..	69.2	.....	..
——— Gallon 1601	..	..	270.4 Inferred from the Bushel.	..
Bushel (Winchester) of Henry VII.	..	..	266.1	2128.9
Winchester Bushel of Henry VII., measured in 1696	..	..	268.96	2151.7
——— prescribed by William III.	..	..	268.8	2150.42
A Bushel at Aberdeen, of Queen Anne, 1707	..	..	266.56	2132.5
——— in the County of Aberdeen	..	..	263.2	2105.5

SUPPOSED DERIVATION OF THE ABOVE STANDARD MEASURES.

Winchester Gallon. $1236 \times \frac{5}{4} =$	270	and $270 \times 8 = 2160$. The supposed original Bushel, afterwards called the Winchester Bushel.
Wine Gallon of Henry VII. $224.65 \times \frac{175}{144} =$	273.01	Gallon mentioned in 1688. Perhaps the Exchequer Gallon.
Wine Gallon of Henry VII. $234.07 \times \frac{175}{144} =$	Gallon 1700 280.81	and $\frac{\text{Exchequer Pint. } 280.81}{8} = 35.10$ and $\frac{\text{Exchequer Quart. } 280.81}{4} = 70.20$.
Supposed Ancient Wine Gallon. $217.3 \times \frac{5}{4} =$	Exchequer Gallon. 271.625	and $271.625 \times 8 = 2173$. Perhaps the Winchester Bushel.
Wine Gallon from the Tun. $219.49 \times \frac{175}{144} =$	266.87	and $266.87 \times 8 = 2135$. Henry VII. and Aberdeen Bushel.
Supposed Ancient Wine Gallon. $217.3 \times \frac{175}{144} =$	264.07	and $264.07 \times 8 = 2113$. County of Aberdeen Bushel.

We have thus been enabled, with the aid of Mr. Adams, to account for the variety of existing standards of capacity; and we may perceive that the great differences among them are not to be attributed to errors in copying, as it has been supposed, but to the introduction of the troy and avoirdupois pounds, in place of the old Tower and commercial pounds,—a change which necessarily occasioned an increase in the capacity both of the wine and of the corn or ale gallon.

Our readers are now aware of the mass of confusion and inconsistency which has been allowed, for some centuries past, to perplex the country, and which it is full time to clear away. Of the weights and measures of ancient times, nothing remains but the Winchester

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Winchester bushel: and this, standing alone, possesses no advantage over any other measure of capacity, not differing from it considerably in dimensions. It may, therefore, with great and decided benefit, be removed, to make way for a more perfect and indestructible system.

The length of the pendulum vibrating seconds was first proposed, as an invariable standard of length, by Huygens; but Derham appears to have been the earliest who made experiments to determine this length. Desaguliers and Graham also pursued the subject. The numerous difficulties, however, which attended the inquiry, caused it to be for some time abandoned.

In the year 1774, the Society (in London) for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, offered a reward of one hundred guineas for a mode of ascertaining invariable standards for weights and measures, communicable at all times, to all nations; and this offer, having been continued for three successive years, Mr. John Hatton, a watchmaker of London, proposed, in March, 1779, to obtain a measure by applying to a pendulum a moveable point of suspension, in order to ascertain the difference of length between two portions successively made to vibrate, and measure different known portions of time. Mr. Hatton's attempt, from some cause which does not appear, was not considered by the Society of Arts as entitled to the reward which they had offered; but they presented the inventor with thirty guineas. Some years elapsed without anything further being done; but, in 1786, Mr. Hatton's plan was taken up by Mr. John Whitehurst, and a machine was constructed by him, an account of which he published in a pamphlet, entitled, 'An Attempt towards obtaining invariable Measures of Length, Capacity, and Weight, from the Mensuration of Time, independent of the Mechanical Operations requisite to ascertain the Centre of Oscillation, or the true Length of Pendulums.'

Whitehurst's apparatus consisted of a ball, suspended by a fine flatted steel wire, forming a pendulum, the length of which could be varied by means of an adjustable clip, attached to a clock which gave motion to the pendulum.

The pendulum was adjusted to vibrate forty-two, and eighty-four times in a minute; and the distance between the two positions of the clip was marked upon a brass rule, which distance was afterwards determined by Sir G. Shuckburgh to be 59.89358 inches of his standard scale. We may here add, that the height of the apparatus above the level of the sea, was 113 feet, the arc of (semi-)vibration 3° 20′, and that during the experiment, the barometer was at thirty inches, and the thermometer at 60°.

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In the year 1790 we find the French nation directing its attention to a reform of its system of weights and measures. It appears that much diversity had prevailed, and that several plans of reform had been presented to the government, but not acted upon. A decree was therefore made by the National Assembly to the following effect:—

'Le roi étoit supplié d'écrire à S. M. Britannique, et de la prier d'engager le parlement d'Angleterre à concourir avec l'Assemblée Nationale à la fixation de l'unité naturelle des mesures et des poids, afin que, sous les auspices des deux nations, des commissionaires de l'académie des sciences pussent se réunir en nombre égal avec des membres choisis de la Société Royale de Londres, dans le lieu qui seroit jugé respectivement le plus convenable, pour déterminer, à la latitude de 45 dégrés, ou toute autre latitude qui pourroit être préférée, la longueur du pendule, et en déduire un modèle invariable pour toutes les mesures, et pour tous les poids.'*

In pursuance of this decree, a commission was named, consisting of Messrs. Borda, Lagrange, Monge, and Condorcet, and their report, delivered in 1788, was published in the 'Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences' for 1791.

Three fundamental units were considered by the French commissioners;—1. The length of the pendulum vibrating seconds; 2. A quadrant of the equator; and 3. A quadrant of the terrestrial meridian.

The length of the pendulum vibrating seconds was rejected, on the ground of its depending upon an arbitrary division of the day into 86400 seconds. It was stated that the regularity of the terrestrial equator was not more certain than the regularity of meridians; and that the extent of the celestial arc, corresponding to that measured upon the earth, is less susceptible of being determined with precision on the equator than upon a meridian;—finally, that every country has a meridian passing through it, but not an equator.

Without discussing the correctness of these opinions, we shall merely state, that a quadrant of the terrestrial meridian was preferred; and the ten-millionth part of it was to be taken, under the name of metre, as the unit of linear measure. For this purpose it was proposed to measure an arc of the meridian from Dunkirk to Barcelona, comprising more than nine degrees and a half, and this arc was supposed to be of sufficient length for the purpose.

At the same time that this resolution was adopted, it was determined to make, under the forty-fifth degree of latitude, such experiments as might serve to deduce the number of vibrations which

* Base du Système Métrique, Tome I. Discours Préliminaire, p. 14.

would

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would be made by a pendulum, the length of which should be equal to the ten-millionth part of the quadrant of the meridian, in order that, this being once known, the length of the metre might be recovered by observations of the pendulum.

This grand work was commenced in 1792, by Méchain and Delambre, and carried on, amidst the horrors of the French revolution, with a perseverance, zeal, and science, which reflect the highest honour upon those engaged in it. Messrs. Biot and Arago were occupied at the same time in experiments on the pendulum; and a few years afterwards these eminent philosophers were directed to extend the meridional observations southward to Formentara, one of the Balearic Isles; and having, by means of General Roy's triangles, extended the arc to Greenwich, the whole comprised an extent of nearly thirteen degrees.

But however valuable we may consider this work in a scientific point of view, we cannot give it a preference as a standard of measure to the length of the pendulum; and, indeed, the French themselves, though they nominally rejected the pendulum, did, in fact, virtually adopt it, as the readiest means by which the metre, if lost, might be recovered. It is true, that if two points be determined upon a terrestrial meridian, by means of their latitudes, these points might, if lost, be recovered by repeating the observations. But, as this depends upon the precise determination of latitude, any circumstance which interferes with this element will materially affect the accuracy of the result. Now, it is well known that the plumb-line will be drawn from its perpendicular position by the attraction of any neighbouring mountain, or by inequality in the density of the surrounding strata. As long as the observations are confined to the same points on the same meridian, we may expect to obtain results differing only by the unavoidable errors of observation; but on any other portion of the same, or under a different meridian, we are liable to errors from local attraction, the amount of which cannot be accurately appreciated. This will sufficiently appear by an examination of the French arc, in the middle of which the length of the degree appears to decrease instead of increasing; and a similar irregularity exists in the arc measured in our own country by Lieutenant-colonel Mudge, in the course of the trigonometrical survey, the degrees appearing to decrease in length in proceeding northward, instead of progressively becoming longer. This anomaly is now known to have been occasioned by a deflection of the plumb-line of the zenith sector, either at Arbury Hill or at Clifton, amounting to more than five seconds.

The length of the pendulum also is in some degree influenced by

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by irregularity of density, but the error to be apprehended in the case of the pendulum, is much less than in the determination of the length of an arc of the meridian.

In the Philosophical Transactions for 1798, we find a very valuable communication, by Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn, under the title of 'An Account of some endeavours to ascertain a Standard of Weight and Measure.' The author states that he had, as early as the year 1780, taken up the idea of a universal measure, from which all the rest might be derived, by a method similar to that employed by Whitehurst, and by which all the difficulties arising in determining the actual centre of motion and of oscillation, which had so much embarrassed these experiments, would be got over.

After the death of Mr. Whitehurst, Sir George Shuckburgh obtained the apparatus with which the experiments had actually been made; but upon attempting to repeat them, the wire by which the ball was suspended (either from rust or some unknown cause) repeatedly broke, after the pendulum had been in action fifteen or twenty hours; and having tried other stronger wire with no better success, Sir George Shuckburgh was obliged to relinquish the attempt, and to content himself with the accurate measurement of the distance between the marks left by Mr. Whitehurst, indicating the difference of length of the two pendulums, and which was found, as we have before stated, to be equal to 59.89358 inches of his standard scale.

This standard scale was made for Sir George Shuckburgh by Mr. Troughton, and we have reason to believe it to be a facsimile of a scale belonging to that eminent artist, which he had prepared for his own use. Mr. Troughton had recently invented his new method of dividing, and advantage was taken of this in the construction of these scales. It is important here to state, that another copy of the same scale was made by Mr. Troughton, for Professor Pictet, and that this (which, for the present, we may consider as identical with Troughton's, or Sir George Shuckburgh's) is the standard which has been taken by all Europe, as indicating the linear measure of Great Britain.

Until the period at which we have now arrived, the most accurate method known of comparing two standard scales, was by means of the beam compass; the points of which being made to comprise the distance upon the one scale, the instrument was transferred to the other, and the difference, if any, was measured by means of a micrometer screw, which gave motion to one of the points. This comparatively rude method was now superseded by the employment of microscopes, two of which might be fixed upon a rod at nearly the required distance, and the given divisions upon the

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the scale made to bisect the angles formed by cross wires movable in the focus of the eye-glass by a micrometer screw. By this admirable contrivance, a difference of one ten-thousandth part of an inch was distinctly appreciable; and the use of the microscopes was attended with the further very great advantage, that the divisions of the scale were no longer liable to be destroyed, as heretofore, by the points of the beam compass.

In addition to this apparatus, Sir George Shuckburgh caused Mr. Troughton to construct for him a hydrostatic balance of great delicacy, with three series of weights; and also a cube of brass, whose sides were five inches; a cylinder, four inches in diameter and six high; and a sphere, six inches in diameter. These were for the purpose of obtaining the weight of a cubic inch of distilled water, and we have thus particularized them, because the English unit of weight depends in a great degree upon the data furnished by Sir George Shuckburgh's experiments.

The dimensions of the cube, sphere, and cylinder were measured by Sir George Shuckburgh, and their weights in air and in water ascertained, by numerous experiments, with a degree of care which leaves no doubt of the accuracy of the determination. It will, however, be seen, that it was thought advisable, at a subsequent period, to repeat Sir George Shuckburgh's measurements, and though the results differed somewhat in detail, the cubical dimensions were very little altered.

Sir George Shuckburgh, in the course of his inquiry, examined various standards of high authority, and among these the standard yard, which we have stated to have been made by Bird, for the committee of 1758, and which was found in the safe custody of the clerk of the journals of the house of commons. The distance of the points upon this bar he found to be 36.00028 inches of his scale. A yard, in every respect of similar form, bearing the date of 1760, was found at the same time; and Sir George Shuckburgh remarks, that this standard 'did not differ from the last more than two ten-thousandths of an inch,' a remark which, we shall see, was of some importance.

The principal result of these very extensive and valuable experiments was, the weight of a cubic inch of distilled water, expressed in grains, derived from the mean of several troy weights kept at the house of commons.

In the year 1814 we find another committee of the house of commons appointed, to consider the subject of weights and measures.

The report of this committee derives additional interest from its containing the examinations of Professor Playfair and Dr. W. Hyde

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Hyde Wollaston, who were called upon by the committee for their opinions as to the best means of comparing the standards of length with some invariable natural standard.

These gentlemen were decidedly of opinion, that the length of the pendulum was the best standard by which a measure to be kept as a standard of length could be defined by comparison; and Professor Playfair recommended that a cube of a given linear measure should be assumed as the unit of capacity; and the same, when filled with distilled water of a given temperature, as the unit of weight. And he stated that great convenience would result from taking, as the standard measure of capacity, a vessel containing a given weight of distilled water, expressed in integers.

Dr. Wollaston recommended that the gallon measure be defined to be that which contains ten pounds of water at 56½°, as this would bear simple proportions to the measures then in use.

In consequence of these examinations, the committee made, among others, the following statements:—

That the length of the pendulum vibrating seconds is 39.13047 inches, of which the yard contains 36.

That the standard metre has been compared with the English standard yard by Professor Pictet of Geneva, and found to exceed it at the temperature of 32° by 3.3709 inches, and at the temperature of 55° by 3.3898 inches.

That therefore the standard yard may at any time be ascertained by a comparison either with an arc of the meridian, or the length of the pendulum.

That the standard of linear measure being thus established, the measures of capacity are easily deduced from it, by determining the number of cubical inches which they should contain. The standard of weight must be derived from the measures of capacity, by ascertaining the weight of a given bulk of some substance of which the specific gravity is invariable. That the specific gravity of pure water has been found to be invariable at the same temperature, and that a cubic foot of pure water (or 1728 cubical inches) at the temperature of 56½° of Fahrenheit's thermometer, has been ascertained to weigh exactly 1000 ounces avoirdupois; and therefore the weight of 27.048 inches, is equal to one pound avoirdupois.

That, although in theory the standard of weight is derived from the measure of capacity, yet in practice it will be found more convenient to reverse this order.

That the weight of water contained by any vessel affords the best measure of its capacity, and is more easily ascertained than the number of cubical inches by gauging.

That

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That the measures of capacity should be ascertained by the weight of pure or distilled water contained in them, rather than by the number of cubical inches.

That the standard gallon, from which all the other measures of capacity should be derived, should contain such a weight of pure water, at $56\frac{1}{2}°$, as should be expressed in a whole number of pounds avoirdupois,—and such also as would admit of the quart and pint containing integer numbers of ounces, without any fractional parts.

That, as the weight of water appears to afford the best and most simple method of checking measures of capacity, it is desirable that all minute fractions of weight should be avoided.

That the most accurate mode of ascertaining the standard pound, is to immerse in water a solid cylinder of brass containing 27.648 cubical inches, and to ascertain the difference between its weight in water and its weight in air; the difference between its weight in water and its weight in air, or the weight of the volume of water occupying the same space, is the pound avoirdupois.

This method is recommended, as it has been found to be much more easy to ascertain the solid contents of any body by taking its external dimensions, than to find the exact contents of any measure by gauging.

In the manner recommended, the standard of length is kept invariable by means of the pendulum, the standard of weight by the standard of length, and the standard of capacity by that of weight.

There is also a recommendation that the avoirdupois pound should be adopted in preference to the troy pound, except by goldsmiths and apothecaries.

The above report contains a proposal, the most important of any that had hitherto been suggested, for obtaining uniformity in measures of capacity; and the recommendation that the gallon shall contain ten pounds avoirdupois of water, presents a measure of capacity of such simplicity, accuracy, and facility of execution, as cannot, we conceive, fail to ensure its general adoption throughout the kingdom from the moment its advantages are well understood.

We must not, however, quit this report without noticing some inaccuracies which it contains, and which have been already pointed out, we believe, by Dr. Young. The length of the pendulum vibrating seconds is stated, according to the best information of that time; but it is erroneous, the method of finding the length now adopted not being then known. The length of the metre of platina, measured at the temperature of 55°, is stated to be 39.3828 English inches; but this is an error arising from an omission

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omission of the necessary correction for temperature, and Dr. Young had long before remarked this omission, both in the Journal of the Royal Institution and elsewhere, and had computed the true length of the metre, according to the operations of Prof. Pictet, to be 39.37.10 English inches; and again, the weight of a cubic foot of water is stated, from a mistake in computation, to be 1000 ounces at 56½° of Fahrenheit,—while, in fact, it is less than this even at 39°, the maximum of density.

A bill founded upon this report was brought into parliament, and having passed the Commons, was thrown out of the House of Lords on the motion of the late Lord Stanhope.

In consequence of the rejection of this bill, and the doubts which existed respecting the true length of the seconds pendulum, which had been proposed as an invariable standard for measures of length, Mr. Davies Gilbert, in the year 1816, moved in the House of Commons the following resolution:—

'That an humble address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions for ascertaining the length of the pendulum vibrating seconds of time in the latitude of London, as compared with the standard measure in the possession of this House, and for determining the variations in length of the said pendulum at the principal stations of the trigonometrical survey extended through Great Britain; and also for comparing the said standard measure with the ten-millionth part of the quadrant of the meridian now used as the basis of linear measure on (a part of) the continent of Europe.'

In consequence of his Royal Highness's compliance with the prayer of this address, we believe, the astronomer royal was, in the first instance, directed to perform the necessary operations; but on his requiring further aid, an application was made by his majesty's ministers to the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, requesting that the Royal Society would be pleased to afford all the assistance in their power for the accomplishment of the desired objects. A committee of the Royal Society was in consequence named, consisting, in addition to the President and Secretaries, of the late Sir Charles Blagden, Mr. Davies Gilbert, Dr. Wollaston, Dr. Young, Capt. Henry Kater, the late Gen. Mudge, Mr. Henry Browne, the late Mr. Rennie, and Mr. Troughton. These gentlemen began by discussing the various modes which occurred to them of obtaining the objects sought. The astronomer royal made some experiments on the French plan for determining the length of the pendulum; Dr. Young proposed a method derived from that of Whitehurst, which appeared unexceptionable, but which, from some difficulties in the execution, was not put in practice; Capt. Kater availed himself of a property of the pendulum demonstrated by

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by Huygens, and after nearly two years passed in experiments, and in contriving a proper apparatus, and methods of observing, succeeded in obtaining the length of the pendulum vibrating seconds by a method free from all objection but the unavoidable and unimportant errors of observation.

But before we proceed, we must endeavour to make our readers understand what is meant by the length of the pendulum, and how it furnishes an invariable standard of measure. And here we must observe, that we are not writing for mathematicians, but for the purpose of rendering the subject generally intelligible.

A rod or any substance suspended by a certain point, and made to vibrate, is called, in common language, a pendulum; but the length of this rod, or body, is not the length of the pendulum. Suppose a cylindrical rod, or thick wire, fifty-two inches long, to be suspended by one end, and made to vibrate; and suppose a small bullet, attached to a very fine thread, to be hung up and also made to vibrate, the distance from the centre of the bullet to the point of suspension being thirty-nine inches. This thread and bullet, and the rod, will make the same number of vibrations in the same time, though the one is fifty-two inches long and the other only thirty-nine. These two pendulums, because they perform the same number of vibrations in the same time, are said to be equal, and the length of *the pendulum* in both cases is nearly thirty-nine inches.

We perceive, then, that in the case of the rod, the length of the pendulum is measured from the point of suspension to another point which is distant from it about two-thirds of the length of the rod; and this point is called the centre of oscillation.

The length of the pendulum, then, means the distance from the point of suspension to another point, called the centre of oscillation.

Now the place of the centre of oscillation is dependant upon the figure of the body, or upon the arrangement of the parts of which it is composed.

Suppose the rod of which we have spoken, to be furnished with a sliding weight, which may be moved upon it. By shifting this weight, the figure of the body, and consequently the place of the centre of oscillation, would be changed, and the rod would no longer vibrate in the same time as before; *the length of the pendulum*, therefore, would be different, though the length of the rod remains the same.

To compute the place of the centre of oscillation, and to find in that way the length of the pendulum, is known to be a problem of extreme difficulty, if not of impossibility.

The computation requires, that the body employed as a pendulum, be of regular known figure, and of uniform density throughout;

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out; desiderata which, in the strict sense of the terms, we know to be unattainable. It is not, therefore, surprising, that the experiments which were formerly made for determining the length of the pendulum, should have led to erroneous results.

Captain Kater's method is free from the embarrassments which arise from irregular density and figure. Let a pendulum be made to vibrate upon a certain point of suspension, and suppose it possible to find its corresponding centre of oscillation. Now, let the pendulum be inverted, and suppose it to vibrate upon its centre of oscillation; the former point of suspension will, under this new arrangement, become the centre of oscillation, and the number of vibrations in equal times will be the same in either position. This property of the pendulum was first demonstrated by Huygens.

But of what use, it may be asked, is this theorem, when the centre of oscillation cannot be found? True: but in the method which we are describing, the centre of oscillation is brought to a point, which it is previously decided that it shall occupy. Let the rod of fifty-two inches long have a knife-edge at one end, to serve as a point of suspension, and let another knife-edge, facing it, be fixed in the rod, at about two-thirds of its length from the first; let the rod also be furnished with a sliding weight. Now suspend the rod upon the knife-edge which is at its end, and determine the number of vibrations made by it in twenty-four hours. Next, cause the rod to vibrate upon the other knife-edge, and determine also the number of vibrations made during the same period. This will probably differ from the number in the first position. Shift the weight upon the rod until the number of vibrations, in either position, becomes the same. Having effected this, the one knife-edge being the point of suspension, it is evident from what we have said, that the centre of oscillation has been brought to coincide with the other knife-edge; and the distance between the knife-edges in inches and parts, is the length of the pendulum due to the observed number of vibrations; from which the length of the pendulum vibrating seconds may be calculated without difficulty.

The length of the pendulum, therefore, may now be determined at pleasure, with little more trouble than is requisite for the comparison of two standard scales.

Captain Kater's experiments were made in Portland-place, the latitude being 51° 31′ 8″,4. They are minutely detailed in the Philosophical Transactions for 1818; and we shall merely state, that their result gave, for the length of the pendulum vibrating seconds in vacuo and reduced to the level of the sea, 39.13929 inches of Sir George Shuckburgh's scale.

Now,

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Now, let us suppose that, five hundred years hence, it may be desirable to discover what was the precise length of the standard yard, or thirty-six inches, of the present day.

For this purpose, a scale of equal parts (no matter of what value) must be prepared, and the length of the pendulum vibrating seconds, in London, be determined in parts of this scale. Let us suppose the length so found to be 100 parts of the scale; then, as it would be upon record, that the seconds pendulum (which is an invariable standard) is equal to 39.13929 inches of the present day, we should have, by simple proportion, 39.13929 to 100, as 36 to 91.978 nearly;—the length upon the scale which would be equal to our present standard yard.

Having determined the length of the pendulum, Captain Kater proceeded to compare the French metre with Sir George Shuckburgh's scale. For this purpose, two bars of platina were sent from France, the one being precisely the length of the metre, and the other having this length marked upon it by two fine lines. These had been verified with the utmost care by M. Arago; and the metre was found to be equal in length to 39.37079 inches of Sir George Shuckburgh's scale.

The next object was, to determine the variation in length of the seconds pendulum, at the principal stations of the trigonometrical survey. For this purpose Captain Kater employed an apparatus which gave the *relative* lengths of the pendulum at the different stations; and knowing the absolute length of the seconds pendulum at London, he was enabled readily to deduce its length at each station where the experiments were made, with the same certainty as if it had actually been measured there. Several stations were visited, from Unst, the most northern of the Shetland isles, to Dunnose, in the Isle of Wight; and an account of these operations forms the third part of the Philosophical Transactions for 1819.

The French scavans had employed an apparatus contrived by Borda for determining the length of the pendulum. It consists of a ball of platina, most carefully made, and suspended from a knife-edge by a very fine wire. This mode requires the place of the centre of oscillation to be found; but the great care with which the ball was figured, and the trying it in various positions, enabled these gentlemen to attain an accuracy of result which, from theory, might have been supposed impracticable.

In the year 1817, M. Biot made experiments at the same stations at Unst and Leith, which, during the following year, were visited by Captain Kater; and he there determined, by means of Borda's apparatus, the length of the seconds pendulum, by actual measurement in parts of the metre. This being converted into English

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English inches, we find that M. Biot's measurement of the pendulum exceeds Captain Kater's determination not quite two ten-thousandths of an inch at Unst, and at Leith falls short of it rather more than that quantity; the mean difference being absolutely inconsiderable. This very near agreement of results, obtained by methods totally dissimilar, authorises the conclusion, that the determination of the length of the pendulum vibrating seconds, at London, cannot be far distant from the truth,—a fact which it is of considerable importance to establish.

The objects contemplated in the address of the House of Commons to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, having been thus attained, it was thought advisable by his majesty's ministers, that the whole subject should be submitted to the deliberate consideration of commissioners, to be appointed by a writ under the privy seal, before any legislative measures should take place on the subject. The commissioners nominated in 1818, were the late Sir Joseph Banks, Sir George Clerk, Bart., Mr. Davies Gilbert, Dr. William Hyde Wollaston, Dr. Thomas Young, and Captain Henry Kater.

The first report of the commissioners is dated the 24th June, 1819, and contains, among other matters, their reasons for preferring the duodecimal to the decimal system. It also recommends—

That the standard yard be a copy of that which was employed by General Roy in the measurement of a base, on Hounslow Heath, as a foundation for the trigonometrical operations since carried on by the Ordnance throughout the country.

That this standard yard, if lost, should be recovered by means of the length of the seconds pendulum.

That the measures of capacity should be determined from the weight of the water they are capable of containing, rather than from their solid content in space.

The Report also states:—

That the legal standards of the highest authority are considerably at variance with each other.

That, on account of the great convenience which would be derived from the facility of determining a gallon, and its parts, by the operation of weighing a certain quantity of water, amounting to an entire number of pounds and ounces, without fractions, the commissioners strongly recommend, that the standard ale and corn gallon should contain exactly ten pounds avoirdupois of distilled water, at 62° of Fahrenheit,—being nearly equal to 277.2 cubic inches, and agreeing with the standard pint in the Exchequer, which contains exactly twenty ounces of water.

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Upon the propriety of abolishing altogether the use of the wine-gallon, and establishing the new gallon of ten pounds, as the only standard for all purposes, the commissioners had not obtained sufficient grounds for a conclusive determination; they, therefore, only suggest, that there would be a manifest advantage in the identification of all measures of the same name, provided that the change could be made without practical inconvenience.

The appendix to this first report contains a great mass of valuable information. The standard measures of capacity, at the Exchequer and Guildhall, are given, as they were determined by Sir George Clerk and Dr. Wollaston, by means of the weight of water they contained. In the preceding part of this article, we have given a table, containing the results of this examination. We also find in the appendix, a copious abstract, made by Dr. Young, of all the statutes relating to English weights and measures.

The base on Hounslow Heath was measured with a chain, which had been compared with a triangular iron bar, on which points had been marked off from a scale, said to be equal to General Roy's standard scale. To obtain the standard yard, therefore, directly from this bar, was considered preferable to taking it from Roy's scale. Captain Kater undertook to compare the bar with the standard scale, and, instead of finding that they agreed, a considerable difference was discovered to exist between them. In consequence of which, he resolved upon the comparison of all the British standards of linear measure which he could procure, an account of which was published in the Philosophical Transactions for 1821.

Our readers may recollect our remark, that Professor Pictet's scale, which was a fac-simile of that of Sir George Shuckburgh, was considered throughout Europe to indicate the English standard of linear measure. It became, therefore, exceedingly desirable to find a national standard which might precisely agree with that scale. The standard yard, of 1760, had been said, by Sir George Shuckburgh, as we have stated, not to differ more than two ten-thousandths of an inch from the standard yard of 1758; and as this last was found, by Sir George Shuckburgh, to differ from his scale about two ten-thousandths of an inch, there was a chance that the yard of 1760 might coincide with Sir George Shuckburgh's scale. Most fortunately this proved to be the fact; the two standards agreeing so very nearly, that, for all purposes, they may be considered as identical.

These experiments were followed by a second report of the commissioners, dated the 13th July, 1820, in which they state the error

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error that had been discovered, and that they had found reason to prefer the parliamentary standard, executed by Bird, in 1760, which they had not before received, both as being laid down in the most accurate manner, and as the best agreeing with the most extensive comparisons, which have been hitherto executed by various observers, and circulated throughout Europe,—and, in particular, with the scale employed by the late Sir George Shuckburgh.

They, therefore, proposed, that this standard should be considered as the foundation of all legal weights and measures; and that it be declared that the length of the pendulum, vibrating seconds in a vacuum at the level of the sea, in London, is 39.13929 inches, and that of the French metre 39.37079 inches; the English standard being at 62° of Fahrenheit.

To this report, also, is added an appendix, by Dr. Young, containing a comparison of different customary weights and measures, &c.

We have already given an account of the important experiments of Sir George Shuckburgh, for the determination of the weight of a cubic inch of distilled water. Upon a question, however, of such importance, as the establishment of the basis of a national system of weights and measures, it was thought advisable to repeat the measurement of Sir George Shuckburgh's cube, sphere, and cylinder. This was done, and the result rendered some slight correction of the supposed weight of the cubic inch of distilled water necessary.

The third and last report of the commissioners is dated the 31st March, 1821.

It declares, that the weight of a cubic inch of distilled water, in a vacuum at 62° of Fahrenheit, is 252.72 grains of the Parliamentary standard pound of 1758; and states in the appendix the weight of the cubic inch of distilled water, in the atmosphere, when weights of brass are employed, to be 252.458 grains.

It again recommends the adoption of the standard yard of 1760, and its identification by means of the seconds pendulum.

That the troy pound of 1758 remain unaltered, and that 7000 troy grains be declared to constitute an avoirdupois pound.

That the ale and corn gallon be restored to their original equality, by taking for the statutable gallon of the British empire, a mean value, such, that a gallon of common water may weigh ten pounds avoirdupois, in ordinary circumstances, its content being nearly 277.3 cubic inches;—and that correct standards of this IMPERIAL GALLON, &c. be procured, without delay, for the Exchequer, &c.

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The appendix to this report contains a detail of Captain Kater's measurements of the sphere, cube, and cylinder, and the weight hence deduced of a cubic inch of distilled water.

The three reports of the commissioners of weights and measures were followed by a report of a select committee of the House of Commons, from which our limits will allow us to extract little more than the following statement of the various deduced values of the gallon:—

	Cubic Inches.
From the Bushel (at the Exchequer)	266.1
From the definition, by King William	268.8
From the Gallon measure	270.4
From the Pint	276.9
From the Quart	279.3
By an Act of Parliament, made for Revenue purposes, (the Beer Gallon)	282.0
By an Act of the 42d of Geo. III. the Winchester Gallon is estimated at	272.4

The report remarks, that

'The wine gallon is supposed to have continued gradually shrinking in dimensions, till its progress was arrested by a fiscal definition at 231 inches.'

We think, however, that we have satisfactorily proved this idea to be erroneous.

The bill for establishing uniformity of weights and measures, which was passed by parliament, in consequence of this report, must be well known to most of our readers. It ordains,

That the standard yard of 1760 be taken as the measure of length.

That in case the said yard be lost, defaced, destroyed, or otherwise injured, it be restored by means of the length of the pendulum vibrating seconds of mean time in the latitude of London.

That the standard troy pound, made in 1758, be the original standard unit, or measure of weight, under the denomination of the imperial standard troy pound; and that it consist of 5760 grains, and the avoirdupois pound of 7000 such grains.

That should the said standard troy pound be lost, destroyed, defaced, or otherwise injured, it be restored by means of the known weight of a cubic inch of distilled water, which, when weighed in air by brass weights, at the temperature of 62° of Fahrenheit, the barometer being 30 inches, is equal to 252.458 grains, of which the troy pound contains 5760.

That the standard measure of capacity be the gallon, under the name of the *Imperial standard gallon*; and that it contain ten pounds,

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pounds, avoirdupois weight, of distilled water, weighed in air, at the temperature of 62°, the barometer being at 30 inches, and that this be the unit, and only standard measure of capacity.

That a quart be the fourth part, and a pint, one eighth part of such standard gallon. That two such gallons be a peck, eight such gallons a bushel, and eight such bushels a quarter of corn, or other dry goods, not measured by heaped measure.

That the bushel, for heaped measure, be made round, with a plain and even bottom, nineteen inches and a half from outside to outside, and that it contain eighty pounds avoirdupois of distilled water.

That, in using this bushel, the goods, commonly sold by heaped measure, shall be heaped up to the height of at least six inches. That three such bushels shall be a sack, and twelve sacks a chaldron.

That in all cases of dispute respecting the correctness of any measures of capacity, where recourse cannot be conveniently had to any of the standard measures of capacity, or to parts or multiples of the same, it be lawful for any justice of the peace, or magistrate, to ascertain the content of such measure of capacity, by direct reference to the weight of pure, or rain water, which such measure is capable of containing;—ten pounds avoirdupois weight of such water, at 62° Fahrenheit, being the standard gallon.

The act also ordains, that copies and models be provided of the standard yard, standard pound, standard gallon, and standard for heaped measure, and of such parts and multiples thereof as the lord high treasurer, or the commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, shall judge expedient to be deposited at the Exchequer; and other copies sent to the lord mayor of London, and to the chief magistrates of Edinburgh and Dublin.

This act contains other clauses which it would be superfluous to notice.

We have already explained to our readers the manner in which the standard yard, if lost, might be regained, by means of the pendulum; and we shall now make them acquainted with the mode to be pursued in recovering the troy pound, and the imperial gallon, if lost or defaced.

When any substance is immersed in water, it evidently displaces a quantity of water equal to its own bulk; and if a body be weighed in air, and afterwards weighed while suspended in water, its weight will be less in the latter than in the former case, by the weight of water (equal to its own bulk) which it has displaced. Suppose a cylinder to be carefully measured by the standard scale, verified, as we have explained, by means of the pendulum, and

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that its bulk is found equal to 64 cubic inches. Now take any brass weights, (the value being indifferent, provided that they are equal to one another,) and weigh the cylinder in air, suspending it from the bottom of the scale-pan. Place a vessel of distilled water, at the temperature of 62°, under the scale-pan from which the cylinder is suspended, and take out weights from the other scale, until the cylinder sinks into the water, and the scale-beam becomes again horizontal. The weights so taken out, which we will suppose to be 1000, will be equal to the weight of 64 cubic inches of distilled water. Now, we know that one cubic inch of water weighs 252.248 troy grains; therefore, 64 cubic inches weigh 16144 grains nearly, and consequently the 1000 weights, which were taken out of the scale, are equal to 16144 troy grains, whence the avoirdupois pound may be readily determined; and the vessel which will contain, when full, ten such pounds of water, is the imperial gallon.

The bill having been passed, the lords commissioners of his Majesty's treasury requested the further assistance of the commissioners of weights and measures in constructing the new standards. This work was also intrusted to Captain Kater, and in a little more than a year the required standards were completed, and lodged in the Treasury, in order to be sent to the Exchequer, Guildhall, Edinburgh, and Dublin.

To give our readers an idea of the care with which these standards were adjusted, we must refer them to the 'Philosophical Transactions' for 1826.

We have now brought down our account of the weights and measures of England, from the earliest times to the present period; and we think that, if we have succeeded in making ourselves intelligible, our readers will agree with us that a system more simple, accurate, and convenient, than that now established, could hardly have been devised. No change has been made in the standards of length or of weight, and very little in those of capacity. Every body either has, or can readily procure avoirdupois weights, and any vessel which, when filled, will hold ten avoirdupois pounds of water, is the legal imperial gallon; the vessel which holds two and a half pounds, the quart; that containing one and a quarter pounds, the pint; and any vessel which, when full, will contain eighty such pounds of water, is the corn bushel.

The present corn bushel exceeds the Winchester bushel, as defined by King William, by $\frac{3}{31}$ part of its capacity; and we have heard an objection to its adoption founded upon this trifling difference, which our readers, we have no doubt, will regard as puerile, when they are informed of what we know, by careful experiment,

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pertinent, to be the fact, that the quantity of wheat contained in the bushel may be made to vary not less than *a ninth part of the whole*, according to the manner in which it is put into the measure!

It appears that the decimal system was carefully considered by the commissioners, and rejected, we think upon good grounds, in favour of the binary division. The decimal system certainly has the advantage in arithmetical operations; but, for all the purposes of common life, the binary is infinitely to be preferred. Ten is capable of bisection only once, but every milliner who wishes to subdivide a yard of ribbon, obtains, merely by putting the ends together, a half, a quarter, an eighth, and a sixteenth or nail. This is the method in common use; and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to banish it for a system wanting this great practical convenience.

Before we conclude, we wish to make a remark, which appears to us to be of the utmost importance. One of the clauses of the recent act directs, that in cases of dispute respecting the correctness of any measure of capacity, in places where recourse cannot be had to verified copies of the standard measures, it may be lawful for magistrates to ascertain the content of such measure, by direct reference to the weight of water which it is capable of containing.

Now, as it appears to have been the intention of the commissioners, that the capacity of every measure should be determined solely by the weight of water which it would contain, and not by comparison with any similar measure of capacity; and as the imperial gallon is accordingly defined by the act to contain ten pounds avoirdupois weight of water, we cannot but think that this clause, by directing a comparison, in the first instance, with a standard measure of capacity, has departed in some degree from the simplicity and accuracy contemplated by the commissioners, and, perhaps, rendered that ambiguous which would otherwise have been perfectly clear, and generally understood.

ART. VIII.—*The Works of John Home, Esq.; now first collected: to which is prefixed an Account of his Life and Writings.* By Henry Mackenzie, Esq. F. R. S. E. 3 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1822.

THE memory of Mr. Home, as an author, depends, in England, almost entirely upon his celebrated tragedy of Douglas, which not only retains the most indisputable possession of the stage, but produces a stronger effect on the feelings of the audience,

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dience, when the parts of Douglas and Lady Randolph are well filled, than almost any tragedy since the days of Otway. There may be something of chance in having hit upon a plot of such general interest; and no author has been more fortunate in seeing the creatures of his imagination personified by the best performers which England could produce. But it is certain, that to be a favourite with those whose business it is to please the public, a tragedy must possess, in a peculiar degree, the means of displaying their powers to advantage; and it is equally clear, that the subject of Douglas, however felicitous in itself, was well suited to the talents of the writer, who treated it so as to enable them to accomplish a powerful effect on the feelings of successive generations of men.

It must be interesting, therefore, to the public, to know the history and character of that rarest of all writers in the present age—a successful tragic author; by which we understand, one whose piece has not only received ephemeral success, but has established itself on the stage as one of the best acting plays in the language. There is also much of interest about Home himself, as his character is drawn, and his habits described, in the essay prefixed to these volumes, by the venerable author of the Man of Feeling, who, himself very far advanced in life, still cherishes the love of letters, and condescends to please at once and instruct those of the present day, who are attached to such pursuits, by placing before them a lively picture of those predecessors at whose feet he was brought up.

Neither is it only to Scotland that these annals are interesting. There were men of literature in Edinburgh before she was renowned for romances, reviews, and magazines—

'Vixerunt fortes ante Agamemnona;'

and a single glance at the authors and men of science who dignified the last generation, will serve to show that, in those days, there were giants in the North. The names of Hume, Robertson, Fergusson, stand high in the list of British historians. Adam Smith was the father of the economical system in Britain, and his standard work will long continue the text-book of that science. Dr. Black, as a chemist, opened that path of discovery which has since been prosecuted with such splendid success. Of metaphysicians, Scotland boasted, perhaps, but too many: to Hume and Fergusson we must add Reid, and, though younger, yet of the same school, Mr. Dugald Stewart. In natural philosophy, Scotland could present Professor Robeson, James Watt whose inventions have led the way to the triumphs of human skill over the elements, and Clerk, of Eldin, who taught the British seaman the

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the road to assured conquest. Others we could mention, but these form a phalanx, whose reputation was neither confined to their narrow, poor, and rugged native country, nor to England and the British dominions, but known and respected wherever learning, philosophy, and science were honoured.

It is to this distinguished circle, or, at least, to the greater part of its members, that Mr. Mackenzie introduces his readers; and they must indeed be void of curiosity who do not desire to know something more of such men than can be found in their works, and especially when the communication is made by a contemporary so well entitled to ask, and so well qualified to command, attention. We will endeavour, in the first place, to give some account of Mr. Home's life and times, as we find them detailed by this excellent biographer, and afterwards more briefly advert to his character as an author.

Mr. John Home was the son of Mr. Alexander Home, town-clerk of Leith. His grandfather was a son of Mr. Home, of Floss, a lineal descendant of Sir James Home, of Coldingknowes, ancestor of the present Earl of Home. The poet, as is natural to a man of imagination, was tenacious of being descended from a family of rank, whose representatives were formerly possessed of power scarcely inferior to that of the great Douglases, and well nigh as fatal both to the crown and to themselves. We have seen a copy of verses addressed by Home to Lady Kinloch, of Gilmerton, in which he contrasts his actual situation with his ancient descent. They begin nearly thus,—for it must be noticed we quote from memory:—

> 'Sprung from the ancient nobles of the land,
> Upon the ladder's lowest round I stand.'

and the general tone and spirit are those of one who feels himself by birth and spirit placed above a situation of dependence to which for the time he was condemned. The same family pride glances out in our author's History of the Rebellion of 1745, in the following passage:—

'At Dunbar the Earl of Home joined Sir John Cope. He was then an officer in the Guards, and thought it a duty to offer his service, when the king's troops were in the field. He came to Dunbar, attended by one or two servants. There were not wanting persons upon this occasion to make their remarks, and observe the mighty change which little more than a century had produced in Scotland.

'It was known to everybody, who knew anything of the history of their country, that the ancestors of this noble lord (once the most powerful peers in the south of Scotland) could, at a short warning, have raised in their own territories a body of men, whose approach that highland army, which had got possession of the capital of Scotland (and

(and was preparing to fight the whole military force in that kingdom) would not have dared to wait.'—vol. iii. pp. 76, 77.

This love or pride of family was the source of another peculiarity in Mr. Home. Aristotle mentions the mispronouncing of a man's name as one of the most disagreeable of insults; and nobody, we believe, is very fond of having his name misspelled; but Home was peculiarly sensible on this point. The word is uniformly, in Scotland, pronounced *Hume*, and in ancient documents we have seen it written *Heume*, *Hewme*, and *Houme*; but the principal branch of the family have long used the present orthography of *Home*. To *Home* the poet rigidly stuck fast and firm; and *Home* he on all occasions defended as the only legitimate shape, to the great entertainment of his friend David (the historian), whose branch of the family (that of Ninewells) had for some, or for no reason, preferred the orthography of *Hume*, to which the philosopher, though caring, as may be supposed, very little about the matter, naturally adhered. On one occasion, when the poet was high in assertion on this important subject, the historian proposed to settle the question by casting dice which should adopt the other's mode of spelling their name:—

"'Nay,' says John, 'this is a most extraordinary proposal indeed, Mr. Philosopher—for if you lose, you take your own name, and if I lose, I take another man's name.'"—vol. i. p. 164.

Before we leave this subject, we may mention to our readers, that the family pride which is often among the Scotch found descending to those who are in such humble situations as to render it ridiculous, has, perhaps, more of worldly prudence in it than might at first be suspected. A Clifford, or a Percy, reduced in circumstances, feels a claim of long descent unsuitable to his condition, unavailing in assisting his views in life, and ridiculous as contrasted with them. He therefore sinks, and endeavours to forget, pretensions which his son or grandson altogether loses sight of. On the contrary, the system of entails in Scotland, their extent, and their perpetual endurance, naturally recommend to a Home, or a Douglas, to preserve an account of his genealogy, in case of some event occurring which may make him *heir of tailzie* to a good estate. And while this attention to pedigree may conduce to serve contingent advantage, it influences naturally the feelings of the young *Hidalgos* upon whom it is inculcated, and who soon learn to prize the *genus et proavos*, as being flattering to their vanity, as well as what may, by possibility, tend to advance their fortune. A certain number of calculable chances would have made the author of Douglas the Earl of Home; and, indeed, an epidemic among the Scottish peerage (which Heaven forefend!) would make wild changes when the great roll is next called in Holyrood.

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Holyrood. Like everything, in short, in this motley world, the family pride of the north country has its effects of good and of evil. It often leads to a degree of care being bestowed on the education of those juvenile *gentillatres*, which might otherwise have been neglected; and forms, at the same time, an excitement to honourable struggles for independence, and to manly resolutions of adopting the behaviour and sentiments of men of honour, though fortune has denied the means of supporting the figure of gentlemen otherwise. On the other hand, and with less happy dispositions, it sometimes occasions an incongruous alliance of pride and poverty, and exhibits the national character in a point of view equally arrogant and ridiculous.

To return to our subject:—John Home, educated for the Scots presbyterian church, soon distinguished himself among his contemporaries at college, and ranked with Robertson, Hugh Blair, Adam Ferguson, who attended the same seminary, and others mentioned by Mr. Mackenzie, distinguished by their sense, learning, and talents, although they did not attain, or contend for, literary celebrity. Our author obtained his license to preach the gospel, as a probationer for the ministry, (which is equivalent to taking deacon's orders in England,) in the eventful year, still emphatically distinguished in Scotland as THE FORTY-FIVE. The character of the times, however, furnished our young poet with employment more congenial to his temper than the peaceful and retired duties of the profession he had chosen. 'The land was burning;' the young Chevalier had landed in the highlands, with only seven followers, and came to try a desperate cast for the crown, which his ancestors had lost. The character of Home at this period is thus described by his elegant biographer:—

'His temper was of that warm susceptible kind which is caught with the heroic and the tender, and which is more fitted to delight in the world of sentiment than to succeed in the bustle of ordinary life. This is a disposition of mind well suited to the poetical character, and, accordingly, all his earliest companions agree that Mr. Home was from his childhood delighted with the lofty and heroic ideas which embody themselves in the description or narrative of poetry. One of them, nearly a coeval of Mr. Home's, Dr. A. Ferguson, says, in a letter to me, that Mr. Home's favourite model of a character, on which, indeed, his own was formed, was that of Young Norval, in his tragedy of Douglas, one endowed with chivalrous valour and romantic generosity, eager for glory beyond every other object, and, in the contemplation of future fame, entirely regardless of the present objects of interest or ambition.'—vol. i. pp. 6, 7.

For such a character as this to sit inactive when arms were clashing around him, was impossible. John Home's profession,

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as a presbyterian clergyman, his political opinions, and those of his family, decided the cause which he was to espouse, and he became one of the most active and eager members of a corps of volunteers, formed for the purpose of defending Edinburgh against the expected assault of the highlanders. Under less strong influence of education and profession, which was indeed irresistible, it is possible he might have made a less happy option; for the feeling, the adventure, the romance, the poetry, all that was likely to interest the imagination of a youthful poet,—all, in short, save the common sense, prudence, and sound reason of the national dispute,—must be allowed to have lain on the side of the Jacobites. Indeed, although mortally engaged against them, Mr. Home could not, in the latter part of his life, refrain from tears when mentioning the gallantry and misfortunes of some of the unfortunate leaders in the highland army; and we have ourselves seen his feelings and principles divide him strangely when he came to speak upon such topics.

The body of the corps of volunteers, with which Mr. Home was associated, consisted of about from four to five hundred; many, doubtless, were gallant young men, students from the university and so forth—but by far the greater part were citizens, at an age unfit to take up arms, without previous habit and experience. They had religious zeal and political enthusiasm to animate them; but these, though they make a prodigious addition to the effect of discipline cannot supply its place. Cromwell's enthusiasts beat all the nobility and gentry of England; but the same class of men, not having the advantage of similar training, fled at Bothwell Bridge, without even waiting to see their enemy. Many of the Edinburgh corps were moreover *Oneyers* and *Moneyers*, as Falstaff says, men whose words upon 'Change would go much farther than their blows in battle. Most had shops to be plundered, houses to be burned, children to be brained with Lochaber axes, and wives, daughters, and favourite handmaidens to be treated according to the rules of war. When, therefore, it was proposed to the volunteers to march out of the city together with what was called the *Edinburgh Regiment*,—a very indifferent body of men, who had been levied and embodied for the nonce,—and supported by two regular regiments of dragoons, called Gardener's and Hamilton's, which were expected to bear the brunt of the battle,—we are informed by a contemporary author,* that—

'The provost had no power to order the volunteers out of town:

* We quote from a pamphlet entitled 'A True Account of the Behaviour and Conduct of Archibald Stewart, Esq. late Lord Provost of Edinburgh, in a Letter to a Friend; London, 1748:' a production which there is strong evidence, both external and internal, for attributing to the pen of David Hume.

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he only *connived*, that as many as pleased should be allowed to march out. But it seems they had as little inclination to go as he had power to order them. A few of them made a faint effort, but, 'tis said, met with opposition from some of the *zealously affected*, who represented to them the infinite value of their lives in comparison of those ruffians, the highlanders!—this opposition they were never able to overcome.

The arrangement, however, was made; the dragoons were paraded on the *High-street*, and the fire-bell rang for the volunteers to assemble, a signal for which the provost was afterwards highly censured, perhaps because, instead of rousing the hearts of the volunteers like the sound of a trumpet, it rather reminded them of a passing-knell. They did assemble, however; but their relations (according to our poet's account) assembled also, mixed in their ranks, and while the men reasoned and endeavoured to dissuade their friends from so rash an adventure, the women expostulated, complained, and wept, embracing their husbands, sons, and brothers, and by the force of their tears and entreaties, melting down the fervour of their resolutions. At last the battalion was ordered to move towards *the Westport*, when, behold the officers complained that their men would not follow, while the men declared that their officers would not lead the way. The bravest hearts were cast down by the general consternation. We remember an instance of a stout whig and a very worthy man, a writing-master by occupation, who had ensconced his bosom beneath a professional cuirass, consisting of two quires of long foolscap writing paper; and doubtful that even this defence might be unable to protect his valiant heart from the claymores, amongst which its impulses might carry him, had written on the outside, in his best flourish, 'This is the body of J— M—; pray give it Christian burial.' Even this hero, prepared as one practised how to die, could not find it in his heart to accompany the devoted battalion farther than the door of his own house, which stood conveniently open about the head of *the Lawn Market*. The descent of *The Bow* presented localities and facilities equally convenient for desertion; and the pamphleteer, whom we have already quoted, assures us that a friend of his, who had made a poetical description of the march of the volunteers from the Lawn Market to the Westport, when they went out, or, more properly, seemed to be about to go out, to meet the ruthless rebels, had invented a very magnificent simile to illustrate his subject. 'He compared it to the course of the Rhine, which, rolling pompously its waves through fertile fields, instead of augmenting in its course, is continually drawn off by a thousand canals, and at last becomes a small rivulet, which loses itself in the sands before it reaches the ocean.'

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The behaviour of the doughty dragoons themselves, 'whose business it was to die,' was even less edifying than that of the citizen volunteers, whose business it was, as Fluellen says to Pistol, 'to live and eat their victuals;' and though it leads us something off our course, yet, as Mr. Home's history of the *forty-five* forms a part of the work now before us, the following lively description (from the pen, it is believed, of his distinguished friend David) will not be altogether impertinent to the subject, and may probably amuse the reader. After remarking that cavalry ought to have the same advantage over irregular infantry, which veteran infantry possess over cavalry, and that particularly in the case of Highlanders, whom they encounter with their own weapon, the broad-sword, and who neither formed platoons, nor had bayonets, or any other long weapon to withstand a charge—after noticing, moreover, that if it were too sanguine to expect a victory, Brigadier Fowke, who commanded two regiments of cavalry, might, at least, have made a leisurely and regular retreat, though he had advanced within a musket-shot of his enemy, before a column that could not turn out five mounted horsemen, he proceeds thus:—

'Before the rebels came within sight of the King's forces, before they came within three miles distance of them, orders were issued to the dragoons to wheel, which they immediately did with the greatest order and regularity imaginable. As it is known that nothing is more beautiful than the evolutions and movements of cavalry, the spectators stood in expectation what fine warlike manœuvre they might terminate in; when new orders were immediately issued to retreat, they immediately obeyed and began to march in the usual pace of cavalry. Orders were repeated every furlong to quicken their pace, and both precept and example concurring, they quickened it so well that, before they reached Edinburgh, they had quickened it to a pretty smart gallop. They passed in inexpressible hurry and confusion through the narrow lanes at Barefoot's parks, in the sight of all the north part of the town, to the infinite joy of the disaffected, and equal grief and consternation of all the other inhabitants. They rushed liked a torrent down to Leith, where they endeavoured to draw breath; but some unlucky boy (I suppose a Jacobite in his heart) calling to them that the highlanders were approaching, they immediately took to their heels again and galloped to Prestonpans, about six miles farther. There, in a literal sense, *timor addidit alas*, there fear added wings, I mean to the rebels. For, otherwise, they could not possibly have imagined that these formidable enemies could be within several miles of them. But at Prestonpans the same alarm was repeated. The Philistines be upon thee, Sampson! They galloped to North Berwick, and being now about twenty miles on the other side of Edinburgh, they thought they might safely dismount from their horses and look out for victuals. Accordingly, like the ancient Grecian heroes, each began to kill and dress his provisions:

provisions: *egit amor dapis atque pugnæ*; they were actuated by the desire of supper and of battle. The sheep and turkies of North Berwick paid for this warlike disposition. But behold the uncertainty of human happiness! When the mutton was just ready to be put upon the table, they heard, or thought they heard, the same cry of the highlanders. Their fear proved stronger than their hunger, they again got on horseback, but were informed time enough of the falseness of the alarm to prevent the spoiling of their meal. By such rudiments as these the dragoons were, till at last they became so perfect at their lesson, that at the battle of Preston they could practise it of themselves, though even there the same good example was not wanting. I have seen an Italian opera, called *Cesare in Egitto*, or Cæsar in Egypt, where, in the first scene, Cæsar is introduced in a great hurry, giving orders to his soldiers, *fugge, fugge, a'llo scampo*—fly, fly, to your heels. This is a proof that the commander at the Coltbridge is not the first hero that gave such orders to his troops.'*

While the regular troops were thus in hasty retreat, John Home and some few others of his more zealous brethren among the volunteers, were trying to overcome apprehensions in the corps at large, similar to those which drove the dragoons eastward, but which had the contrary effect of detaining the citizens within the circuit of their walls. Poets being 'of imagination all compact,' are supposed to be more accessible than other men to the passion of fear; but there are numerous exceptions, and one scarcely wonders that the author of Douglas should have resembled, in that part of his character, the father of Grecian tragedy, thus described by Home's friend, Collins, in the Ode to Fear:—

'Yet he the bard, who first invoked thy name,
Disdained at Marathon thy power to feel,
For not alone he nursed the poet's flame,
But reached from virtue's hand the patriot steel.'

In spite, however, of exhortation and example, the volunteers gave up their arms, and it only remained for Home, and the few who retained spirit enough for such an enterprise, to sally out and unite themselves with Sir John Cope, who had, as the song says, just—

'landed at Dunbar
Right early in the morning.'

John Home determined, however, to carry some intelligence, at least, which might be useful, and, for this purpose, he ventured to visit the bivouac of Prince Charles's army, which was in what is called the King's park, in a hollow, lying betwixt the two hills—Arthur's seat and Salisbury Craigs. Food had been just served out, and, as they were sitting in ranks on the ground, he had an

* Account of the Behaviour, &c. of Archibald Stewart, Esq.

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opportunity of counting this handful of half-armed mountaineers, who came to overturn an established government, and to change the destinies of a mighty empire. They did not exceed two thousand men; and Home's description of their appearance, as he gave it to Sir John Cope, is no unfavourable example of his prose style of composition.

'The General asked what sort of appearance they made, and how they were armed. The volunteer (*i. e.* Home himself) answered, that most of them seemed to be strong, active, and hardy men; that many of them were of a very ordinary size, and, if clothed like Lowcountry men, would (in his opinion) appear inferior to the King's troops; but the Highland garb favoured them much, as it showed their naked limbs, which were strong and muscular: that their stern countenances, and bushy uncombed hair, gave them a fierce, barbarous, and imposing aspect. As to their arms, he said that they had no cannon nor artillery of any sort, but one small iron gun which he had seen without a carriage, lying upon a cart, drawn by a little Highland horse; that about 1400 or 1500 of them were armed with firelocks and broadswords; that their firelocks were not similar nor uniform, but of all sorts and sizes, muskets, fusees, and fowling-pieces; that some of the rest had firelocks without swords, and some of them swords without firelocks; that many of their swords were not Highland broadswords, but French; that a company or two (about 100 men) had each of them in his hand the shaft of a pitchfork, with the blade of a scythe fastened to it, somewhat like the weapon called the Lochaber axe, which the town-guard soldiers carry: but all of them, he added, would be soon provided with firelocks, as the arms belonging to the Trained Bands of Edinburgh had fallen into their hands. Sir John Cope dismissed the volunteer, with many compliments for bringing him such certain and accurate intelligence.'—vol. iii. pp. 75, 76.

Of the zealous services of the few but faithful volunteers who did leave Edinburgh, Mr. Home gives us a slight account; but we cannot help rendering it a little more particular, having heard it more than once from the lips of a man of equal worth and humour, and a particular intimate of the author of Douglas. We firmly believe, though we cannot say it with absolute certainty, that Mr. Home was of the party now reduced to five or six, whose proceedings we are about to describe.

We will not be quite so particular as our venerable informer, in describing the marchings, and countermarchings, which the determined squad made through East Lothian, calling at every ale-house of reputation, to drink success to the Protestant cause, and endeavouring to collect news of Sir John Cope and his army. Indeed it would be rather tedious, as our authority, though very entertaining, was something minute in the narrative, and spared us not

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not a single *rizard* haddock, which went to recruit their bodily strength, or a single chopin of twopenny, or mutchkin of brandy, which served to support their manly spirit for the approaching conflict. At length, they joined Sir John Cope and offered their service. Poor Johnnie, the object of so much satire and ridicule, was, in fact, by no means either a coward or a bad soldier, or even a contemptible general upon ordinary occasions. He was a pudding-headed, thick-brained sort of person, who could act well enough in circumstances with which he was conversant, especially as he was perfectly acquainted with the routine of his profession, and had been often engaged in action, without ever, until the fatal field of Preston, having shown sense enough to run away. On the present occasion, he was, as sportsmen say, at fault. He well knew that the high road from Edinburgh to the south lies along the coast, and it seems never to have occurred to him that it was possible the highlanders might choose, even by preference, to cross the country and occupy the heights, at the bottom of which the public road takes its course, and thus have him and his army in so far at their mercy, that they might avoid, or bring on battle at their sole pleasure. On the contrary, Sir John trusted that their highland courtesy would induce them, if they moved from Edinburgh, to come by the very road on which he was advancing towards that city, and thus meet him on equal terms. Under this impression, the General sent two of the volunteers, who chanced to be mounted, and knew the country, to observe the coast road, especially towards Musselburgh. They rode on their exploratory expedition, and coming to that village, which is about six miles from Edinburgh, avoided the bridge, to escape detection, and crossed the Eske, it being then low water, at a place nigh its junction with the sea. Unluckily there was, at the opposite side, a snug, thatched tavern, kept by a cleanly old woman, called Luckie F——, who was eminent for the excellence of her oysters, and sherry. The patrole were both *bon vivants*—one of them, whom we remember in the situation of a senator, as it is called, of the college of justice, was unusually so, and a gay, witty, agreeable companion besides. Luckie's sign, and the heap of oyster-shells deposited near her door, proved as great a temptation to this vigilant forlorn-hope as the wine-house to the Abbess of Andouillet's muleteer. They had scarcely got settled at some right *pandores*, with a bottle of sherry as an accompaniment, when, as some Jacobite devil would have it, an unlucky North Country lad, a writer's (i. e. attorney's) apprentice, who had given his indentures the slip, and taken the white cockade, chanced to pass by on his errand to join Prince Charlie. He saw the two volunteers through the window, knew them, and guessed their business;

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business; he saw the tide would make it impossible for them to return along the sands as they had come. He, therefore, placed himself in ambush upon the steep, narrow, impracticable bridge, which was then, and for many years afterwards, the only place of crossing the Eske: 'and how he contrived it,' our narrator used to proceed, 'I never could learn; but the courage and assurance of the province from which he came, are proverbial. In short, the Norland whipper-snapper surrounded and made prisoners of my two poor friends, before they could draw a trigger.' Here our excellent friend was apt to make a pause, and hurry to the scene of slaughter which the field exhibited in the afternoon. A little cross-examination, however, easily brought out the termination of the campaign, so far as concerned our faithful remnant of volunteers now reduced to five or six.

When the party which marched with Cope's army had arrived at the spot where the battle took place on the next morning, it was natural that they should quarter themselves in the house of the father of our narrator (a clergyman), which was in the immediate vicinity of the destined field. Our friend, as was no less natural, recollected a small scantling of Madeira, and it was judged prudent to anticipate the order of the next day by drinking it up themselves. They then went to bed, desiring the maid-servant to call them at sun-rise, or how much sooner the battle should begin. But, alas! the first edge of the sun's disk that rose above the ocean saw both the beginning and the end of the fray, and the volunteers had just dreamed that they heard a cannon shot or two, when the mother of our friend burst into his room, imploring him to hide his arms, for the King's army was totally routed. 'We bustled up in a hurry,' said our friend, 'scarcely thinking the tidings possible; when, from the window, I could see the dragoons, whose nerves had never recovered the Canter of Coltbrigg, as that retreat was called, in full rout, pursued by the whole cavalry of the highland army, consisting of Lord Elcho, Sir Peter Threipland, and two or three gentlemen, with their grooms.'—'In short,' as our friend expressed himself, 'the dragoons and highlanders divided the honours of the day, and on that occasion, at least, the race *was* to the swift, and the battle to the strong.' The sleepers, thus unpleasantly alarmed, were now obliged to conceal or surrender their arms, and employ what remained of their zeal in attending to the wounded, who were brought into the clergyman's house in great numbers, dreadfully mangled by the broad-swords. One of the volunteers (for *two* of the corps actually were in the battle, after all the impediments which oysters, sherry, and old madeira had thrown in their way) received thirty wounds, yet recovered. His name was Myrie, a Creolian by birth, and a student

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student of medicine at the college of Edinburgh. His comrade, Campbell, escaped by speed of horse. Hence, the verses on the volunteers, in the satiric ballad which old Skirving (father of Skirving the artist) wrote upon this memorable conflict:—

'Of a' the gang nane stood the bane,
But twa and ane was ta'en man,
For Campbell rade, but Myrie staid,
And sure he paid the kain* man.
Fell skelps he got, was worse than shot,
From the sharp-edged claymore man.'

If the author of Douglas was, as we believe, one of the party of sleepers thus unpleasantly awakened, the unexpected issue of the combat, and the ghastly spectacle of the wounded, did not prevent him from again engaging—and that scarcely under more fortunate auspices—in the same service.

The town of Glasgow raised a body of volunteers, in which Home obtained the situation of lieutenant. This regiment joined general Hawley on the 13th of January, 1746, and our author was present in the action near Falkirk, which seems to have been as confused an affair as can well be imagined. Hawley had not a better head, and certainly a much worse heart than Sir John Cope, who was a humane, good-tempered man. The new general ridiculed severely the conduct of his predecessor, and remembering that he had seen, in 1715, the left wing of the highlanders broken by a charge of the Duke of Argyle's horse, which came upon them across a morass, he resolved to manœuvre in the same manner. He forgot, however, a material circumstance—that the morass at Sheriffmuir was hard frozen, which made some difference in favour of the cavalry. Hawley's manœuvre, as commanded and executed, plunged a great part of his dragoons up to the saddle-laps in a bog, where the highlanders cut them to pieces with so little trouble, that, as one of the performers assured us, the feat was as easy as slicing *baacon*. The gallantry of some of the English regiments beat off the highland charge on another point, and, amid a tempest of wind and rain which has been seldom equalled, the field presented the singular prospect of two armies flying different ways at the same moment. The king's troops, however, ran fastest and farthest, and were the last to recover their courage; indeed, they retreated that night to Falkirk, leaving their guns, burning their tents, and striking a new panic into the British nation, which was but just recovering from the flutter excited by what, in olden times, would have been

* Literally, 'paid the rent;' equivalent to the English phrase of 'paid the reckoning.'

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called the Raid of Derby. In the drawing-room which took place at Saint James's on the day the news arrived, all countenances were marked with doubt and apprehension, excepting those of George the Second, the Earl of Stair, and Sir John Cope, who was radiant with joy at Hawley's discomfiture. Indeed, the idea of the two generals was so closely connected, that a noble peer of Scotland, upon the same day, addressed Sir John Cope by the title of General Hawley, to the no small amusement of those who heard the qui pro quo.

Mr. Home had some share in this action. The Glasgow regiment being newly levied was not honoured with a place in the line, though it certainly could not have behaved worse than some who held that station: they were drawn up beside some cottages on the left of the dragoons, and seem to have stood fast when the others went off. Presently afterwards General Hawley rode past them, in the midst of a disorderly crowd of horse and foot, and he himself apparently considerably discomposed; for he could give no answer to Mr. Home, who asked him for orders, and was solicitous to know whether any regiments were standing, and where they were; but, pointing to a fold for cattle, he desired the volunteers to get in there, and so rode down the hill, the confusion becoming general. After remaining where they had been imprisoned, rather than posted, and behaving with considerable spirit,* lieutenant Home, his captain, and a few of his men, were taken upon their retreat: they were used with little courtesy by the highlanders, who made allowances for the opposition which they experienced from the red-coats, but could not see what interest the militia or volunteers had in the matter. Accordingly, when the prisoners, being lodged in gaol at Falkirk, and neglected in the general hurry, became clamorous for provisions—the sergeant of their guard very soberly asked them 'what occasion they could possibly have for supper, since they were to be hanged in the morning.'

* Home, in his own History, is silent on the behaviour of the Glasgow regiment, but not so a metrical chronicler, who wrote a history of the insurrection in doggrel verse indeed, but sufficiently accurate. This author, who is, indeed, no other than Dugald Graham, bellman of Glasgow, says that the highlanders, having beaten the horse—

'The south side being fairly won,
They faced north, as had been done;
Where next stood, to bide the crush,
The volunteers, who zealous,
Kept firing close, till near surrounded,
And by the flying horse confounded:
They suffered sair into this place,
No highlander pitied their case:
You cursed militia, they did swear,
What a devil did bring you here.'

History of the Rebellion in 1745-1746.

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Their doom, however, was milder: they were imprisoned in the old castle of Doune, on the north side of the Forth, built by one of the dukes of Albany, and their place of confinement was near the top of that very lofty building. Nevertheless, five or six of the prisoners, Home being of the number, proposed the hazardous experiment of an attempt to escape by descending from the battlements, a height of seventy feet, by means of a rope constructed out of slips of their blankets, which they tore up for that purpose. The issue of the attempt vindicates what we have said of Home's courage and spirit: we will, therefore, give it in his own words:—

'When everything was adjusted, they went up to the battlements, fastened the rope, and about one o'clock in the morning began to descend. The two officers, with Robert Douglas, and one of the men taken up as spies, got down very well; but the fifth man, one of the spies, who was very tall and big, coming down in a hurry, the rope broke with him just as his feet touched the ground. The lieutenant (Home himself) standing by the wall of the castle, called to the volunteer, whose turn it was to come down next, not to attempt it; for that twenty or thirty feet were broken off from the rope. Notwithstanding this warning, which he heard distinctly, he put himself upon the rope, and coming down as far as it lasted, let go his hold: his friend Douglas and the lieutenant, (who were both of them above the middle size,) as soon as they saw him upon the rope (for it was moonlight) put themselves under him, to break his fall, which in part they did; but falling from so great a height, he brought them both to the ground, dislocated one of his ankles, and broke several of his ribs. In this extremity the lieutenant raised him from the ground, and taking him upon his back, for he was slender and not very tall, carried him towards the road which led to Alloa. When the lieutenant was not able to go any farther with his burthen, other two of the company holding each of them one of Mr. Barrow's arms, helped him to hop along upon one leg. In this manner they went on very slowly, a mile or so; but thinking that, at the rate they proceeded, they would certainly be overtaken, they resolved to call at the first house they should come to. When they came to a house, they found a friend; for the landlord, who rented a small farm, was a whig, and as soon as he knew who they were, ordered one of his sons to bring a horse from the stable, take the lame gentleman behind him, and go as far as his assistance was necessary. Thus equipped, they went on by Alloa to Tullyallan, a village near the sea, where they hired a boat to carry them off to the Vulture sloop-of-war, which was lying at anchor in the Frith of Forth. Captain Falconer of the Vulture received them very kindly, and gave them his barge to carry them to Queensferry.'—vol. iii. pp. 172—4.

The volunteer who suffered on this occasion was Thomas Barrow. This is the mutual friend of Home and Collins, 'the cordial youth' referred to in the ode on the highland superstitions, addressed

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addressed by the latter to the former poet. When Mr. Home's connexion with the great enabled him to serve his friends, Barrow was not forgotten; and Barrow repaid the obligation by making Home acquainted with Collins, who, in consequence, delighted with the legends of mystery which Home repeated to him, composed that beautiful ode, which is certainly one of the most pleasing and poetical of his compositions.

We are now done with Mr. Home's military exploits and hazards, on which we have, perhaps, dwelt too long, though it must be remembered that our author was the historiographer of that period. His studies were resumed, 'and chiefly,' says his biographer, were 'such as to lead his mind to that lofty and martial sentiment, the swell of which is one of the nurses of poetry.'

'Amidst his classical and poetical reading, however, Mr. Home occupied himself not only in the studies of ethics and divinity, but also in the composition of sermons. But even at these moments, it would seem as if his mind was constrained, not changed, from its favourite bent; for, on the backs, or blank interstices of the papers containing some of his earliest composed sermons, there are passages of poetry, written in a more or less perfect state, as the inspiration or leisure of the moment prompted or allowed.'—vol. i. p. 33.

Mr. Home was appointed in the year 1746 minister of Athelstaneford, in East Lothian, a locality which he has not forgotten in his celebrated tragedy, having fixed the apprehended descent of the Danes

'——— near to that place where the sea-rock immense,
Amazing Bass, looks o'er a fertile land.'

Mr. Home's leisure, although his clerical duties were not only regularly, but strictly attended to, naturally induced him to indulge his poetical taste, and without, perhaps, suspecting the scandal the choice might occasion, to direct it towards dramatic composition. Admiring Plutarch, as that biographer must be admired by all who have the least pretension to poetical imagination, and being, as Mr. Mackenzie informs us, attached, like most other young men of ardent minds, to the republican form of government, he selected from the storehouse of the old Grecian the story of Agis, without, perhaps, minutely inquiring whether the subject had enough of general interest in itself to support the dialogue through five acts, or was likely to be much improved by the ordinary receipt of a love-intrigue, awkwardly dovetailed into the general plot.

About the end of 1749 he went to London, and tendered his play to Garrick; but the author at that time was an unknown Scottish clergyman, and the manager, whose interest was always best secured by distinction, patronage, or literary reputation at least,

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least, declined bringing the piece forward. Under the feelings of mortification to find neglect

'his only meed,
(And heavy falls it on so proud a head,')

the unsuccessful tragedian made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Shakspeare, and there wrote a copy of verses, imploring the deceased bard to transmute him into a marble image, and fix him beside his monument, since he had not obtained the opportunity of fascinating the public by tragic powers resembling his own.

On Home's return to Scotland, he continued his dramatic labours under better auspices. The old ballad of Gil Morrice supplied him with a plot of simple, yet engrossing and general interest, upon which the tragedy of 'Douglas' was composed, amidst the universal applause of the literary associates of the author, which circle already comprehended the first order of Edinburgh literati—Lord Elibank, David Hume, Mr. Wedderburn, Dr. Adam Ferguson, &c. A second journey to London—a second application to Garrick, met with a similar rebuff as in the case of 'Agis:' the manager pronounced the play totally unfit for the stage. There might, indeed, be another reason for this rejection: Garrick was naturally partial to those pieces in which he himself could appear to advantage, and, though not more than forty years of age, he was scarcely, in 1746, the natural representative of the stripling Douglas.

The friends of the author were of a different opinion from the English manager, and determined to try the experiment of a play written by a Scottish man, and produced, for the first time, on a provincial stage—so that of Edinburgh was now to be termed. Its reception of Douglas, as appears from the following account by Mr. Mackenzie, was as brilliant as the author's friends, nay, the author himself, could have desired:—

'Dr. Carlyle, who sometimes witnessed the rehearsals, expresses, in his Memoirs,* his surprise and admiration at the acting of Mrs. Ward, who performed Lady Randolph. Digges was the Douglas of the piece, his supposed father was played by Hayman, and Glenalvon, by Love; actors of very considerable merit, and afterwards of established reputation on the London stage. But Mrs. Ward's beauty (for she was very beautiful) and feeling, tutored with the most zealous anxiety by the author and his friends, charmed and affected the audience as much, perhaps, as has ever been accomplished by the very superior actresses of after-times. I was then a boy, but of an age to be sometimes admitted as a sort of page to the tea-drinking parties of Edinburgh. I have a perfect recollection of the strong sensation which Douglas excited among its inhabitants. The men talked of the re-

* Unfortunately, we believe, for the public, these Memoirs are still in MS. From what we have heard, they abound in very curious matter.

hearsals;

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heareals; the ladies repeated what they had heard of the story; some had procured, as a great favour, copies of the most striking passages, which they recited at the earnest request of the company. I was present at the representation; the applause was enthusiastic; but a better criterion of its merits was the tears of the audience, which the tender part of the drama drew forth unsparingly. "The town," says Dr. Carlyle, (and I can vouch how truly,) "was in an uproar of exultation, that a Scotsman should write a tragedy of the first rate, and that its merits were first submitted to them."'—vol. i. pp. 37—40.

But, with the voice of praise arose, in startling disunion, a loud note of censure. Betwixt the two parties which divide the church of Scotland, one (to which it may be easily believed John Home did *not* belong) was, and in some degree still is, distinguished by a certain shade of puritanism, which, when arising from a sincerely scrupulous conscience, and combined with a Christian charity towards those who may differ in opinion, merits, not merely pardon, but profound respect—but is not entitled to the same indulgence when it assumes to itself an intolerant character. These zealous professors, above all other men abhorring the doctrines of Rome nominally, did not, perhaps, very far depart from them in principle, when they affirmed it was the duty of a sincere Christian to abstain from certain harmless pleasures, indifferent, nay, moral in themselves. They allowed their followers to gorge upon beef and pudding on fast-days, as well as holidays; but dancing, music, dramatic representation, and other lighter amusements, though as harmless, when practised with moderation, as food to the palate, were sternly interdicted.

'It must be, indeed, admitted that the practice of the stage had been, during the preceding century, such as gave the censors much room to argue, from the abuse, against even the use of the theatre. It is not, however, our purpose here to enter into a controversy, which has, in a manner, died away of itself, but which existed, at the time we treat of, in all the gall of bitterness. In such a temper of the public mind, it was not wonderful that the appearance of a tragedy, written by a Presbyterian clergyman, and attended and applauded by many of his brethren, and those of great reputation for learning and talents, should appear to many like a 'waxing dim of the fine gold,'—an innovation on the strictness of principle and purity of manners esteemed essential to the church of Scotland.

'The Presbytery of Edinburgh published a solemn admonition on the subject, beginning with expressions of deep regret at the growing irreligion of the times, particularly the neglect of the *Sabbath*;* but calculated

* 'Yet at that time in Edinburgh there was much more regard to the sacredness of Sunday than now. I was then a boy, and I well remember the reverential silence of the streets,

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calculated chiefly to warn all persons within their bounds, especially the young, and those who had the charge of youth, against the danger of frequenting stage-plays and theatrical entertainments, of which the Presbytery set forth the immoral and pernicious tendency, at considerable length.

'This step of the Presbytery, like all other overstrained proceedings of that nature, provoked resistance and ridicule on the part of the public. The wags poured forth parodies, epigrams, and songs. These were, in general, not remarkable for their wit or pleasantry, though some of them were the productions of young men, afterwards eminent in letters or in station.'—vol. i. p. 42.

We have a collection of these productions on our table at this moment; and it must be owned that it contains more trash and nonsense than could have been expected to have been produced by a general controversy in the eighteenth century. Here follows a specimen, taken where the book chanced to open:—

'It is agreed upon, by sober pagans themselves, that play-actors are the most profligate wretches, and vilest vermin, that hell ever vomited out; that they are the filth and garbage of the earth, the scum and stain of human nature, the excrements and refuse of all mankind, the pests and plagues of human society; the debauchers of men's minds and morals; unclean beasts, idolatrous papists or atheists, and the most horrid and abandoned villains that ever the sun shone upon.'

Truly these are very bitter words; the zeal of such a controversialist is like that imputed by Dryden to Jeremy Collier, which if it had not eaten the disputants up must be allowed to have devoured all sense of decency and good manners. Of course there were other censures, expressed in a decent and moderate tone; yet it is astonishing how many circumstances were unfairly brought in. The general accusation of a clergyman's having written the death of Lady Randolph,—a catastrophe which may be fairly imputed to insanity, produced by extreme grief,—was said to imply a vindication of suicide; and some other passages were wiredrawn in the same way to produce inferences, which no man of candour can suppose were within the thoughts of the writer. Among these instances of want of candour and misconstruction, we do not include the objections made to a solemn prayer addressed to the Deity by one of the personages in the piece. The act of adoration is highly unfitted for mimic representation, and Mr. Home's error—however remote any notion of irreverence may have

streets, and the tip-toe kind of fear with which, when any accident prevented my attendance on church, I used to pass through them. What would the Presbytery have said now, when, in the time of public worship on a Sunday, not only are the public walks crowded, but idle and blackguard boys bawl through the streets, and splash us with their games there?—an indecency of which, though no friend to puritanical preciseness, and still less to religious persecution, I rather think the police ought to take cognizance.'—*Note by Mr. Mackenzie.*

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been from his mind,—was visited with, we think, deserved reprehension.

Upon the whole, the high Calvinistical party prevailed so far, that the author had no chance of escaping the highest censures of his church, if not the sentence of deprivation, save by voluntarily resigning his charge. His parishioners at Athelstaneford parted with their pastor with such regret, that, when he preached his farewell sermon, there was not a dry eye in the church. And, 'at a subsequent period,' says Mr. Mackenzie, 'when he retired from active life, and built a house in East-Lothian, near the parish where he had once been minister, his former parishioners, as Lord Haddington informed me, insisted on leading the stones for the building, and would not yield to his earnest importunity to pay them any compensation for their labour.'—vol. i. p. 34.

Home's professional friends and companions did not escape the censures of the church, for the encouragement they had given his dramatic labours. The chief among these was Dr. Carlyle, long clergyman at Mussellburgh, whose character was as excellent as his conversation was amusing and instructive, and whose person and countenance, even at a very advanced age, were so lofty and commanding as to strike every artist with his resemblance to the Jupiter Tonans of the Pantheon. It was stated in aggravation of this reverend gentleman's crime in attending the theatre, that two rude or intoxicated young men having entered the box, and behaved uncivilly to some ladies, the doctor took the trouble of turning them out, which his great personal strength enabled him to do with little resistance or disturbance. He underwent a rebuke which did not sit very heavy on him. Similar measures of punishment were dealt out to other *play-haunters*, as those clergymen were termed who had ventured, however unfrequently, into the precincts of a theatre. But the effect on the public mind was, like all proceedings in which the punishment is disproportioned to the offence, more unfavourable to the judges than to the accused. The public, considering the whole dialogue and tendency of Mr. Home's play of Douglas as favourable to virtuous and honourable feeling, did not sympathise with the extreme horror expressed at what the presbytery of Glasgow called 'the *melancholy fact* that there should have been a tragedy written by a minister of the church of Scotland;' and the ultimate consequence of the whole debate was a considerable increase of liberality on the part of the churchmen, many of whom now attend the theatre, though rarely, and when the entertainment is suited to their character; and it is to be hoped that the discussion may have produced on the other side an increased sense of decency respecting the representations on the stage. When Mrs. Siddons first acted in Edinburgh in 1784, the General Assembly,

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Assembly, or Convocation of the Church of Scotland, which was then sitting, had some difficulty in procuring a full attendance of its members on the nights when she performed. And wherefore should this be matter either of scandal or of censure, if the sentiments of Dr. Adam Ferguson are just, as expressed in a letter to Mr. Mackenzie, on the subject of Home's dramatic composition—

'Theatrical compositions, like every other human production, are, in the abstract, not more laudable or censurable than any other species of composition, but are either good or bad, moral or immoral, according to the management or the effect of the individual tragedy or comedy we are to see represented, or to peruse.'—vol. i. pp. 75, 76.

Driven from his own profession by the fanaticism of his brethren, Home had no difficulty, such was his extended reputation, in obtaining one in the world's eye more distinguished, which placed him contiguous to greatness, rendered him intimate with state-affairs, and might, had that been the object of his ambition, have been the means of accumulating wealth. He was warmly patronized by Lord Bute, then prime minister, and, notwithstanding his unpopularity, possessed of considerable learning and taste. The access to the London stage was now open to the favourite of the favourite. Garrick, indeed, persisted in not bringing out Douglas, but that play appeared with great success upon the rival stage of Covent Garden, where the silver-tongued Barry presented the hero of the piece; and soon after, the manager of Drury Lane, with many protestations of his admiration of the merits of the piece and genius of the author, brought out the play of Agis, which he had formerly neglected. The manager, however, had made the worse choice. Inferior to Douglas, especially in having no point of predominant interest, no grappling-iron to secure the attention of the audience—even the talents of Garrick could not give to Agis much vitality. Its stately declamation was heard with cold inattention, and, contrary to the hopes of the author, and prognostication of the experienced manager, after a flash of success it was withdrawn from the stage. Several other tragedies of Mr. Home's were afterwards exhibited, but none, save Douglas, with remarkable applause, and one or two with marked disapprobation. The cause of such repeated failures, after such splendid success, we may afterwards advert to.

Mr. Home was now formally installed in Lord Bute's family as private secretary, and his biographer hints that his lordship's choice was determined more by the desire of enjoying the poet's agreeable conversation, than by any expectation of deriving assistance from him in transacting public business. Home was indeed, like many other bards, in every respect the reverse of a man of method, indifferent to loss of time, and averse from all regularity and

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and form, which are necessary to the management of affairs. When, on some occasion, he had lent his friend Adam Fergusson 200*l.* upon a note of hand, and could not redeliver the voucher on receiving payment of the money, he gave an acknowledgment in terms too poetical to be very good in law: 'If ever the note appears,' said the letter of acknowledgment, 'it will be of no use but to show what a foolish, thoughtless, inattentive fellow I am.' On the other hand, his conversation, while in the prime of life, must have been highly entertaining. When those of the present generation knew him, age had brought its usual infirmities of repetition and prolixity, but still his discourse was charming. 'He came into a company,' says one of his contemporaries, 'like a sunbeam into a darkened room; his excellent temper and unaffected cheerfulness, his absence from every thing like reserve or formality, giving light to every eye and colour to every cheek. Yet Home's conversation could neither be termed sprightly nor witty. In his comic humour it was characterized by a flow of easy pleasantry, of that species which indicates the speaker willing to please or be pleased at the lightest rate; and in his higher mood his thoughts, naturally turned to such subjects, were without affectation, formed on the sublime and beautiful in poetry, the dignified and the virtuous in history, the romantic and interesting in tradition, upon whatever is elevating and inspiring in humanity.' Such conversation, flowing naturally and unaffectedly from a high imagination and extensive reading, is found to carry along with its tide and influence even the men of phlegmatic minds, who might, *à priori*, be regarded as incapable to appreciate and enjoy it. The late excellent King George III. was then under the charge of the Earl of Bute as his chief preceptor. The turn of his understanding was towards strong sense and useful information—the gods had not made him poetical;—nevertheless, he loved the person and conversation of Home, of whom he naturally saw much. On his accession to the throne, that sovereign, of his own free motion, settled upon the poet a pension of 300*l.*: an office connected with Scotland, called Conservator of Scots Privileges at Campvere added as much more to his income, and that was all the fortune with which he returned to Scotland when Lord Bute retired from office. He had also a lease of a farm on very advantageous terms from his former patron and friend Sir David Kinloch of Gilmerton, where he built a house, as has been already mentioned. In 1770 he married the daughter of Mr. Home, a friend and relative of his own, whose delicate health gave his affectionate disposition frequent cause of apprehension, but who nevertheless survived him. They had no family.

In 1778 Mr. Home again indulged his passion for military affairs

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affairs by entering into the South Fencibles, a regiment raised by Henry, Duke of Buccleuch, in which he had for comrades the present Earl of Haddington, William Adam, M. P., (now lord high commissioner of the jury court of Scotland,) and others who were well qualified to approve his merit and delight in his society. A fall from horseback, the second severe accident of the kind, interrupted his military career, and the contusion which he received in his head had a material influence on his future life. This accident was accompanied by something resembling a concussion of the brain. 'He recovered the accident as far as his bodily health was concerned,' says Mr. Mackenzie, 'but his mind was never restored to its former vigour, nor regained its former vivacity.' We may add that his subsequent compositions, though displaying flashes of his genius, never showed it in a continued and sustained flight.

It was, however, only the pressing remonstrances of his friends which could induce Mr. Home, after this accident, to resign the *military* mode of life to which he had been so much attached, and to retire into a quiet and settled privacy of life. After the year 1779 he settled in Edinburgh, where he was the object of general respect and veneration. He mingled in society to the last, and, though his memory was impaired respecting late events, it seemed strong and vigorous when his conversation turned on those which had occupied his attention at an early period. The following account of an entertainment at his house in Edinburgh, we received from a literary gentleman of Scotland, who was then beginning to attract the attention of the public. He was honoured with the notice of Mr. Home from some family circumstances, but chiefly from the kindly feeling which the veteran still preserved towards all who seemed disposed to turn their attention to Scottish literature. There were seven male guests at table, of whom five were coeval with the landlord—then upwards of eighty-four. A bachelor gentleman of fifty was treated as what is called the *Boots*, and went through the duty of ringing the bell, carving the joint, and discharging the other functions usually imposed on the youngest member of the company. Our friend, who was not much above thirty, was considered too much of a boy to be trusted with any such charge of the ceremonial, and, in fact, his very presence in this venerable assembly seemed to be altogether forgotten, while, it may be supposed, he was much more anxious to listen to their conversation than to interrupt it by talking himself. The very entertainment seemed antediluvian, though excellent. There were dishes of ancient renown, and liquors unknown almost to the present day. A capper-caelzie, or cock of the wood, which has been extinct in Scotland for more than a century, was presented on the board as a homage to the genius of Mr. Home, sent from the

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the pine-forests of Norway. The *cup*, or cold tankard, which he recommended particularly, was after an ancient Scottish receipt. The claret, still the favourite beverage of the poet, was excellent, and, like himself, of venerable antiquity, but preserving its spirit and flavour. The subjects of their conversation might be compared to that held by ghosts, who, sitting on their midnight tombs, talk over the deeds they have done and witnessed while in the body. The *forty-five* was a remarkable epoch, and called forth remarks and anecdotes without number. The former civil turmoils of the years 1715 and 1718 were familiar to some of those present. The conversation of these hale ancients had nothing of the weakness of age, though a little of its garrulity. They seemed the Nestors of their age; men whose gray hairs only served

To mark the heroes born in better days.

Mr. Home, from the consequences of his accident, was, perhaps, the most broken of the party. But, on his own ground, his memory was entire, his conversation full both of spirit and feeling. One story of the evening our correspondent recollects. Mr. Home, beginning it in a voice somewhat feeble, rose into strength of articulation with the interest of the story. The names of the parties concerned, and the place where the incident took place, our informer has unhappily forgotten. What he does remember we shall give in his own words:—

'A person of high Scottish descent, the son of one of Caledonia's most eminent nobility, exiled on account of his taking part with the house of Stuart, had entered into foreign service, and risen to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was stationed in the advanced post destined to protect the trenches which the army to which he was attached had opened before a large and well-garrisoned town. Some appearances in the besieged place induced the Scottish officer to conjecture that a strong sortie would be made in the course of the night. He went to the tent of Prince ——, commander-in-chief of the army, to communicate the intelligence, and to request that a support to the advance might be held in readiness. The prince, engaged in writing dispatches, did not even raise his head from the paper, but answered, in a haughty tone, "Je suis fâché."—The Scotchman, whose sense of his own consequence did not permit him to believe that this answer could be addressed to him, advanced nearer to the prince, and began to repeat what he had said. The prince then raised his head, looked scornfully at the officer, and reiterated, "Je suis fâché de vous et de vos petites affaires."—"De moi et de mes petites affaires!"—said the colonel, completely roused by the insult—"petit prince que vous êtes!" The prince, as brave as insolent, readily agreed to wave his privilege as commander-in-chief, and give the officer so gratuitously insulted the satisfaction his honour required. But (continued Mr. Home, his large light eyes suffused with tears, which flowed involuntarily as he told the conclusion) the brave gentleman lived not to receive the promised atonement. He returned

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returned to his post—the expected sortie took place, the advanced guard were cut to pieces, and among them, in the morning, was found the body of our unfortunate and gallant countryman, who had spent his last breath in the unequal combat to which the arrogance of his general had exposed him.'

Mr. Mackenzie has, we think, omitted to give some description of Mr. Home's person and countenance, about which, nevertheless, our readers may entertain a rational curiosity. We ourselves only remember what a Scottish poet of eminence has called

'Home's pale ghost just gliding from the stage.'

But his picture by Raeburn* enables us to say that his exterior, in his younger years, must have been impressive, if not handsome. His features are happily animated with the expression of a poet, whose eye, overlooking the uninteresting and every-day objects around, is bent to pursue the flight of his imagination through the dim region of past events, or the yet more mysterious anticipations of futurity.

Respecting his personal habits we can add little to what has been told by his elegant and affectionate biographer. We remember only, that, with the natural vanity of an author, he was regular, while his strength permitted, in attendance upon the theatre when any actor of eminence represented Douglas. He had his own favourite seat beside the scenes, and, willing to be pleased by those who were desirous to give pleasure, his approbation was consequently rather measured out according to the kindness of his feelings than the accuracy of his critical judgment.

Undisturbed by pain, and after a long and lingering decay, he late and slowly approached the conclusion of life's drama. His esteemed friend Lord Haddington was one of the last friends whom he was able to receive. After looking at his lordship wistfully for some time, the kindness of his heart seemed to awaken his slumbering powers of recollection; he smiled, and pressed the friendly hand that was extended towards him, with a silent assurance of his tender remembrance. He died the 5th September, 1808, in the 86th year of his age. It was impossible to lament the extinction of the wasted taper, yet there was a general feeling that Home's death closed an era in the literary history of Scotland, and dissolved a link which, though worn and frail, seemed to connect the present generation with that of their fathers.

We have promised to take, in the second place, some notice of the literary society of Scotland at the time when Home was so important a member of it, and which has been so interestingly treated by Mr. Mackenzie, who, in his own connection with the preceding age, must be perhaps addressed as Ultime Scotorum.

* In Miss Fergusson's collection at Huntley-burn.

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Hospitality was at that time a distinguished feature in Scottish society; Mr. Home's income was chiefly employed in it. 'His house,' according to his friend Adam Fergusson, 'was always as full of his friends as it could hold, fuller than, in modern manners, it could be made to hold.' The form and show of the entertainment were little attended to; that would have thrown a dulness upon the freedom of intercourse, for the guest took with good-will that which the landlord found most easy to present. The science of the gastronome was unknown. The Scottish manners were, indeed, emerging from the Egyptian darkness of the preceding age, when a dame of no small quality, the worshipful Lady Pumphraston, buttered a pound of green tea sent her as an exquisite delicacy, dressed it as condiment to a rump of salted beef, and complained that no degree of boiling would render these foreign greens tender. Yet the farm, with the poultry-yard and the dove-cot, added to the supplies furnished by the gun and fishing-rod, furnished a plentiful if not an elegant table. French wine and brandy were had at a cheap rate, chiefly by infractions of the revenue laws, at which the government were contented to wink rather than irritate a country in which there was little money and much disaffection. It only remained to find as many guests as the table would hold, and the social habits of the country rendered that seldom difficult. For beds many shifts were made, and the prospect of a dance in particular reconciled damsels to sleep in the proportion of half a dozen to each apartment, while their gallant partners would be sometimes contented with an out-house, a barn, or a hay-loft. It is not, however, of the general state of society which we have to speak, but of that of a more distinguished character.

Mr. Mackenzie, with a partiality natural to his age and his country, speaks highly of the literary society of Scotland at this time, and even ventures, in some respects, to give it a preference over that of the sister country. He enlarges, in his own elegant language, upon the—

'Free and cordial communication of sentiments, the natural play of fancy and good humour, which prevailed among the circle of men whom I have described. It was very different from that display of learning—that prize-fighting of wit, which distinguished a literary circle of our sister country, of which we have some authentic and curious records. There all ease of intercourse was changed for the pride of victory; and the victors, like some savage combatants, gave no quarter to the vanquished. This may, perhaps, be accounted for more from the situation than the dispositions of the principal members of that society. The literary circle of London was a sort of sect, a *caste* separate from the ordinary professions and habits of common life. They were traders in talent and learning, and brought, like other traders, samples of their goods into company, with a jealousy of competition

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competition which prevented their enjoying, as much as otherwise they might, any excellence in their competitors.'—vol. i. pp, 22, 23.

Without examining how far the Scottish literati might gain or lose by being knitted almost exclusively together in their own peculiar sect, we may take the liberty of running over the names of three or four persons, the most distinguished of the circle, with such trifling anecdotes as may throw additional light on Mr. Mackenzie's pleasing picture. We may add, that our biographer, reading his sketch of Mr. Home's life before a learned body,* many of them the relations or surviving friends of the deceased worthies of whom he spoke, was bound, by a certain natural delicacy, not to represent, except in a very mitigated view, the foibles of the distinguished persons of whom he spoke. We, on the contrary, claim a right to pourtray with a broader pencil; our information is of a popular nature; and, being so, it is rather wonderful it has furnished us with so few of the darker colours. We can only pretend to paint the northern sages in Tristram Shandy's point of view, that is, according to their hobbyhorses.

The celebrated David Hume, the philosopher and historian, was certainly the most distinguished person in the cycle. That he was most unhappy in permitting the acuteness of his talents, and the pride arising from the consciousness of possessing them, to involve him in a maze of sceptical illusions, is most undeniable; as well as that he was highly culpable in giving to the world the miserable results of his leisure. Mr. Mackenzie states in mitigation, not in exculpation, that the great Pyrrhonist—

'had, in the language which the Grecian historian applies to an illustrious Roman, two minds; one which indulged in the metaphysical scepticism which his genius could invent, but which it could not always disentangle; another, simple, natural, and playful, which made his conversation delightful to his friends, and even frequently conciliated men whose principles of belief his philosophical doubts, if they had not power to shake, had grieved and offended. During the latter period of his life, I was frequently in his company, amidst persons of genuine piety, and I never heard him venture a remark at which such men, or ladies—still more susceptible than men—could take offence. His good nature and benevolence prevented such an injury to his hearers; it was unfortunate that he often forgot what injury some of his writings might do to his readers.'—vol. i. pp. 20, 21.

Mr. David Hume's intimacy with his namesake and friend, John, was of the closest kind, and suffered no interruption. It was, indeed, an instance, among many, that friendships are formed more from a general similarity in temper and disposition, than from a turn to the same studies and pursuits. David Hume was no good judge of poetry; had little feeling for it; and examined

* The Royal Society of Edinburgh; of which Mr. Mackenzie is Secretary.

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it by the hackneyed rules of criticism; which, having crushed a hundred poets, will never, it may be prophesied, create, or assist in creating, a single one. John Home's disposition was excursive and romantic—that of David, both from nature and habit, was subtle, sceptical; and he, far from being inclined to concede a temporary degree of faith to *la douce chimère*, was disposed to reason away even the realities which were subjected to his examination. The poet's imagination tends to throw a halo on the distant objects —the sophistry of the metaphysician shrouded them with a mist which, unlike other northern mists, not only obscured but dwarfed their real dimensions. The one saw more, the other saw less, than was actually visible. Yet this very difference tended to bind the two friends, for such they were *usque ad aras*, in a more intimate union. John Home by no means spared his friend's metaphysical studies. The discourse turning one evening upon a young man, previously of irreproachable conduct, having robbed his master, and eloped with a considerable sum, John Home accounted for his unexpected turpitude, by the nature of the culprit's studies, which had chiefly lain in Boston's Fourfold State, (a treatise of deep Calvinistical divinity,) and Hume's Essays. The philosopher was somewhat nettled at the jest, probably on account of the singular conjunction of the two works.

On the other hand, John was often the butt of his friend's jests, on account of his romantic disposition for warlike enterprise, his attachment to the orthography of his name, and similar peculiarities, indicative of a warm and susceptible imagination.

Upon some occasion, when General Fletcher mentioned the inconvenience which he had experienced from the rudeness and restiveness of a postilion, John Home exclaimed, in a Drawcansir tone, 'Where were your pistols?' This created a general augh; and next day, as Mr. Home was about to set off for a visit to Dr. Carlyle, at Musselburgh, he received a letter, with a large parcel: the import bore that his friends and well-wishers could not think of his taking so dangerous a journey without being suitably armed, and the packet being opened, was found to contain a huge pair of pistols, such as are sold at stalls to be *fairings* for children, made of gingerbread, and adorned with gilding.

When David Hume was suffering under the long and lingering illness which led him inch by inch to his grave, his friend John, with the most tender and solicitous attention, attended him on a journey to Bath, which it was supposed might be of temporary service, though a cure was impossible. When his companion's travelling pistols (not those of the savoury materials above-mentioned) were handed into the carriage, the historian made an observation at once humorous and affecting. 'You shall have your humour, John, and fight with as many highwaymen as you please; for

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for I have too little of life left to be an object worth saving.' With more profound raillery he supposed that he himself, John Home, and Adam Fergusson, who studied Roman history with Roman feeling and Roman spirit, had been sovereigns of three adjacent states; and John Home thus states in one of his letters the result of his friend's reflections:—

'He knew very well,' he said, (having often disputed the point with us,) 'the great opinion we had of military virtues as essential to every state; that from these sentiments rooted in us, he was certain he would be attacked and interrupted in his projects of cultivating, improving, and civilizing mankind by the arts of peace; that he comforted himself with reflecting, that from our want of economy and order in our affairs, we should be continually in want of money; whilst he would have his finances in excellent condition, his magazines well filled, and naval stores in abundance; but that his final stroke of policy, upon which he depended, was to give one of us a large subsidy to fall upon the other, which would infallibly secure to him peace and quiet, and, after a long war, would probably terminate in his being master of all the three kingdoms.'—vol. i. pp. 181, 182.

We are disposed more to question the taste of the joke which, in David Hume's last will, alludes to two of his friend's foibles. The grave, and its appurtenances of epitaphs and testaments, are subjects, according to Samuel Johnson, on which wise men think with awe and gravity; yet there is something affecting in the concluding allusion to the undisturbed friendship of those whom death was about to part. The bequest we allude to is contained in the following codicil:—

'I leave to my friend, Mr. John Home, of Kilduff, ten dozen of my old claret, at his choice; and one single bottle of that other liquor called port. I also leave to him six dozen of port, provided that he attests under his hand, signed John *Hume*, that he has himself alone finished that bottle at two sittings. By this concession, he will at once terminate the only two differences that ever arose between us concerning temporal matters.'—vol. i. p. 163.

The subject of the name has been already mentioned. The bequest of wine alludes to John Home's partiality to claret, on which he wrote a well-known epigram, when the high duties were enforced against Scotland.* There is much more that is interesting and curious respecting David Hume in this piece of biography, which contains also several of his original letters.

* The government had long connived at a practice of importing claret into Scotland, under the mitigated duties applicable to the liquor called Southampton port. The epigram of John Home was as follows:—

'Firm and erect the Caledonian stood,
Old was his mutton, and his claret good;
"Let him drink port," an English statesman cried—
He drank the poison, and his spirit died.'

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Dr. Adam Fergusson, the author of the History of the Roman Republic, and distinguished besides as a moral philosopher, was a distinguished member of the literary society in which the poet Home, and the philosopher Hume, made such a figure. The son of a clergyman at Loggierait, in Athol, he was himself destined to the church, took orders, and went as chaplain to the Black Watch, or 42d Highland regiment, when that corps was first sent to the continent. As the regiment advanced to the battle of Fontenoy, the commanding officer, Sir Robert Monro, was astonished to see the chaplain at the head of the column, with a broadsword drawn in his hand. He desired him to go to the rear with the surgeons, a proposal which Adam Fergusson spurned. Sir Robert at length told him that his commission did not entitle him to be present in the post which he had assumed. 'D—n my commission,' said the warlike chaplain, throwing it towards his colonel. It may be easily supposed that the matter was only remembered as a good jest; but the future historian of Rome shared the honours and dangers of that dreadful day, where, according to the account of the French themselves, 'the Highland furies rushed in upon them with more violence than ever did a sea driven by a tempest.'

Professor Adam Fergusson's subsequent history is well known. He recovered from a decided shock of paralysis in the sixtieth year of his life; from which period he became a strict Pythagorean in his diet, eating nothing but vegetables, and drinking only water or milk. He survived till the year 1816, when he died in full possession of his mental faculties, at the advanced age of ninety-three. The deep interest which he took in the eventful war had long seemed to be the main tie that connected him with passing existence; and the news of Waterloo acted on the aged patriot as a *nunc* dimittis. From that hour the feeling that had almost alone given him energy decayed, and he avowedly relinquished all desire for prolonged life. It is the belief of his family that he might have remained with them much longer, had he desired to do so, and continued the exercise which had hitherto promoted his health. Long after his eightieth year he was one of the most striking old men whom it was possible to look at. His firm step and ruddy cheek contrasted agreeably and unexpectedly with his silver locks; and the dress which he usually wore, much resembling that of the Flemish peasant, gave an air of peculiarity to his whole figure. In his conversation, the mixture of original thinking with high moral feeling and extensive learning; his love of country; contempt of luxury; and, especially, the strong subjection of his passions and feelings to the dominion of his reason, made him, perhaps, the most striking example of the Stoic philosopher which could be seen in modern days. His house, while he continued to reside in Edinburgh, was a general point of re-union among his friends,

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friends, particularly of a Sunday, where there generally met, at a hospitable dinner-party, the most distinguished literati of the old time who still remained, with such young persons as were thought worthy to approach their circle, and listen to their conversation. The place of his residence was an insulated house, at some distance from the town, which its visiters (notwithstanding its internal comforts) chose to call, for that reason, Kamtschatka.

Two constant attendants on this weekly symposium were the chemical philosophers Dr. Black and Dr. Hutton. They were particular friends, though there was something extremely opposite in their external appearance and manner. They were both, indeed, tall and thin; but there all personal similarity ended. Dr. Black spoke with the English pronunciation, with punctilious accuracy of expression, both in point of manner and matter. His dress was of the same description, regulated, in some small degree, according to the rules which formerly imposed a formal and full-dress habit on the members of the medical faculty. The geologist was the very reverse of this. His dress approached to a quaker's in simplicity; and his conversation was conducted in broad phrases, expressed with a broad Scotch accent, which often heightened the humour of what he said. The difference of manner sometimes placed the two philosophers in whimsical contrast with each other. We recollect an anecdote, entertaining enough, both on that account, and as showing how difficult it is for philosophy to wage a war with prejudice.

It chanced that the two doctors had held some discourse together upon the folly of abstaining from feeding on the testaceous creatures of the land, while those of the sea were considered as delicacies. Wherefore not eat snails?—they are well known to be nutritious and wholesome—even sanative in some cases. The epicures of olden times enumerated among the richest and raciest delicacies, the snails which were fed in the marble quarries of Lucca: the Italians still hold them in esteem. In short, it was determined that a gastronomic experiment should be made at the expense of the snails. The snails were procured, dieted for a time, then stewed for the benefit of the two philosophers; who had either invited no guest to their banquet, or found none who relished in prospect the *pièce de résistance*. A huge dish of snails was placed before them; but philosophers are but men after all; and the stomachs of both doctors began to revolt against the proposed experiment. Nevertheless, if they looked with disgust on the snails, they retained their awe for each other; so that each, conceiving the symptoms of internal revolt peculiar to himself, began with infinite exertion to swallow, in very small quantities, the mess which he internally loathed. Dr. Black, at length, 'showed the white

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white feather,' but in a very delicate manner, as if to sound the opinion of his messmate:—'Doctor,' he said, in his precise and quiet manner, 'Doctor—do you not think that they taste a little—a very little, green?' 'D——d green, d——d green, indeed—tak them awa', tak them awa',' vociferated Dr. Hutton, starting up from table, and giving full vent to his feelings of abhorrence. And so ended all hopes of introducing snails into the modern *cuisine;* and thus philosophy can no more cure a nausea, than Honour can set a broken limb.

Lord Elibank (Patrick, remembered in Scotland by the name of the Clever Lord) was one of the most remarkable amongst this remarkable society. He was distinguished by the liveliness of his conversation and the acuteness of his understanding, and many of his bon-mots are still preserved. When, for example, he was first told of Johnson's celebrated definition of the word *oats,* as being the food of men in Scotland, and horses in England, he answered, with happy readiness, 'Very true; and where will you find such horses and such men?' Lord Elibank indulged greatly in paradoxes, which he was wont to defend with much ingenuity. He piqued himself, at the same time, on his worldly prudence; so much so, as to reply to some one who told him of Mr. Home's having got a pension, at the suggestion of The King himself,—'it is nobly done; but it is as impossible for The King to make John Home or Adam Fergusson rich, as it would be for His Majesty to make me poor.' Lord Elibank, with John Home, David Hume, Fergusson, and others, were members of a convivial association called the *Poker-club,* because its purpose was to stir up and encourage the public spirit of Scotland, the people of which were then much exasperated at not being permitted to raise a militia in the same manner as England. Dr. Fergusson, upon the occasion, composed a continuation of Arbuthnot's Satirical History of John Bull, which he entitled the 'History of Margaret, otherwise called Sister Peg.' The work was distinguished for humour and satire; and led to a curious jest on the part of David Hume. He had been left out of the secret, as not being supposed a good counsel-keeper, and he took his revenge by gravely writing a letter to Dr. Carlyle, claiming the work as his own, with an air of sober reality, which, had the letter been found after any lapse of time, would have appeared an indubitable proof of his being really the author. We have not room to insert this piece of literary persiflage, but refer the reader to vol. i. p. 155.

The Poker-club served its purpose; and, many years afterwards, symptoms of discontent on the subject of the militia were to be found in Scotland. Burns says of his native country—

'Lang

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'Lang time she's been in fractious mood,
Her lost militia fired her blood,
De'il nor they never mair do good,
Play'd her that pliskie.'

Most of the members of the Poker were fast friends to the Hanoverian dynasty, though opposed to the actual administration, on account of the neglect, and, as they accounted it, the affront put upon their native country. Lord Elibank, however, had, in all probability, ulterior views; for, notwithstanding his talents and his prudence, his love of paradox, perhaps, had induced him to place himself at the head of the scattered remnant of Jacobites, from which party every person else was taking the means of deserting. It is now ascertained by documents among the Stuart papers, that he carried on a correspondence with the Chevalier, which was not suspected by his most intimate friends.

We have heard of a meeting of the Poker-club, which was convoked long after it had ceased to have regular existence, when its remaining members were far advanced in years. The experiment was not successful. Those who had last met in the full vigour of health and glow of intellect, taking an eager interest in the passing events of the world, seemed now, in each other's eyes, cold, torpid, inactive, loaded with infirmities, and occupied with the selfish care of husbanding the remainder of their health and strength, rather than in the gaiety and frolic of a convivial evening. Most had renounced even the moderate worship of Bacchus, which, on former occasions, had seldom been neglected. The friends saw their own condition reflected in the persons of each other, and became sensible that the time of convivial meetings was passed. The abrupt contrast betwixt what they had been, and what they were, was too unpleasant to be endured, and the Poker-club never met again. This, it may be alleged, is a contradiction of what we have said concerning the Nestorian banquet at John Home's, formerly noticed. But the circumstances were different. The gentlemen then alluded to had kept near to each other in the decline as well as the ascent of life, met frequently, and were become accustomed to the growing infirmities of each other, as each had to his own. But the Poker-club, most of whom had been in full strength when the regular meetings were discontinued, found themselves abruptly re-assembled as old and broken men, and naturally agreed with the Gaelic bard that age 'is dark and unlovely.'

One or two gossiping paragraphs on the subject of Adam Smith, whose distinguished name may render the most trifling notices concerning him matter of some interest, and we will then release our courteous reader from our recollections, on the subject of these old Northern Lights. Dr. Smith is well known to have been one of the

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the most absent men living. It was, indeed, an attribute which, if anywhere, might have been matched in the society we speak of, of whom several, particularly John Home and General Fletcher Campbell, were extremely addicted to fits of absence. But those of the great Economist were abstraction itself. Mr. Mackenzie placed in his hand the beautiful tale of La Roche, in which he introduces Mr. David Hume, for the express purpose of knowing whether there was anything in it which Mr. Hume's surviving friends could think hurtful to his memory. Dr. Smith read and highly approved of the MS.; but, on returning it to Mr. Mackenzie, only expressed his surprise that Mr. Hume should never have mentioned *the anecdote* to him. When walking in the street, Adam had a manner of talking and laughing to himself, which often attracted the notice and excited the surprise of the passengers. He used himself to mention the ejaculation of an old market-woman, 'Hegh, Sirs!' shaking her head as she uttered it; to which her companion answered, having echoed the compassionate sigh, 'and he is well put on, too!' expressing their surprise that a decided lunatic, who, from his dress, appeared to be a gentleman, should be permitted to walk abroad.—In a private room his demeanour was equally remarkable; and we shall never forget one particular evening, when he put an elderly maiden lady, who presided at the tea-table, to sore confusion, by neglecting utterly her invitations to be seated, and walking round and round the circle, stopping ever and anon to steal a lump from the sugar-basin, which the venerable spinster was at length constrained to place on her own knee, as the only method of securing it from his most uneconomical depredations. His appearance, mumping the eternal sugar, was something indescribable.

We had the following anecdotes from a colleague of Dr. Smith, who, as is well known, was a commissioner of the board of customs. That board had in their service, as porter, a stately person, who, dressed in a huge scarlet gown or cloak, covered with frogs of worsted lace, and holding in his hand a staff about seven feet high, as an emblem of his office, used to mount guard before the custom-house when a board was to be held. It was the etiquette that, as each commissioner entered, the porter should go through a sort of salute with his staff of office, resembling that which officers used formerly to perform with their spontoon, and then marshal the dignitary to the hall of meeting. This ceremony had been performed before the great Economist perhaps five hundred times. Nevertheless one day, as he was about to enter the custom-house, the motions of this janitor seem to have attracted his eye without their character or purpose reaching his apprehension, and on a sudden he began to imitate his gestures, as a recruit does those of his drill-sergeant. The porter, having drawn up in front of the door, presented his staff

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staff as a soldier does his musket: the commissioner, raising his cane, and holding it with both hands by the middle, returned the salute with the utmost gravity. The inferior officer, much amazed, recovered his weapon, wheeled to the right, stepping a pace back to give the commissioner room to pass, lowering his staff at the same time, in token of obeisance. Dr. Smith, instead of passing on, drew up on the opposite side, and lowered his cane at the same angle. The functionary, much out of consequence, next moved up stairs with his staff advanced, while the author of the 'Wealth of Nations' followed with his bamboo in precisely the same posture, and his whole soul apparently wrapped up in the purpose of placing his foot exactly on the same spot of each step which had been occupied by the officer who preceded him. At the door of the hall, the porter again drew off, saluted with his staff, and bowed reverentially. The philosopher again imitated his motions, and returned his bow with the most profound gravity. When the Doctor entered the apartment, the spell under which he seemed to act was entirely broken, and our informant, who, very much amused, had followed him the whole way, had some difficulty to convince him that he had been doing anything extraordinary. Upon another occasion, having to sign an official minute or mandate, Adam Smith was observed to be unusually tedious, when the same person, peeping over his shoulder, discovered that he was engaged, not in writing his own name, but in imitating, as nearly as possible, the signature of his brother in office, who had held the pen before him. These instances of absence equal the abstractions of the celebrated Dr. Harvey; but whoever has read the deep theories and abstruse calculations contained in the 'Wealth of Nations,' must readily allow that a mind habitually employed in such themes, must necessarily be often rapt far above the sublunary occurrences of every-day life.

We are now approaching the third subject proposed in our review, the consideration of John Home's character as an author, founded on the present edition of his collected works. Our criticism on his poetical character need not be very minute, for his chef-d'œuvre, 'Douglas,' is known to every one, and his other dramatic labours are scarcely known at all. Upon the merits of the first, every reader has already made up his mind, and on those of the others we might, perhaps, find it difficult to procure an attentive hearing. Still, however, some mark of homage is due to, perhaps, the most popular tragic author of modern times; and we must pay suit and service, were it only with a pepper-corn.

We have said already that Douglas owes a great part of its attractions to the interest of the plot, which, however, is by no means a probable one. There is something overstrained in the twenty

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twenty years spent by Lady Randolph in deep and suppressed sorrow; nor is it natural, though useful, certainly, to the poet, that her regrets should turn less on the husband of her youth, than upon the new-born child whom she had scarcely seen. There is something awkward in her sudden confidence to Anna, as is pointed out by David Hume. 'The spectator,' says the critic, 'is apt to suspect it was done in order to instruct him—a very good end, but which might have been obtained by a careful and artificial conduct of the dialogue.' This is all unquestionably true; but the spectator should, and, indeed, must, make considerable allowances, if he expects to receive pleasure from the drama. He must get his mind, according to Tony Lumpkin's phrase, into 'a concatenation accordingly,' since he cannot reasonably expect that scenes of deep and complicated interest shall be placed before him, in close succession, without some force being put upon ordinary probability; and the question is not, how far you have sacrificed your judgment in order to accommodate the fiction, but rather what is the degree of delight you have received in return. Perhaps, in this point of view, it is scarcely possible for a spectator to make such sacrifices for greater pleasure than we have enjoyed, in seeing Lady Randolph personified by the inimitable Siddons. Great as that pleasure was on all occasions, it was increased, in a manner which can hardly be conceived, when her son (the late Mr. H. Siddons) supported his mother in the character of Douglas, and when the full overflowing of maternal tenderness was authorised, nay, authenticated and realised, by the actual existence of the relationship. There will, and must be, on other occasions, some check of the feeling, however virtuous and tender, when a woman of feeling and delicacy pours her maternal caresses on a performer who, although to be accounted her son for the night, is, in reality, a stranger. But in the scenes we allude to, that chilling obstacle was removed; and while Lady Randolph exhausted her tenderness on the supposed Douglas, the mother was, in truth, indulging the same feelings towards her actual son. It may be erroneous to judge in this way of a drama which can hardly be again illustrated by such powers, exercised under circumstances so exciting to the principal performer, and so nearly approaching to reality. Yet, even in an abstract view, we agree with Mr. Mackenzie that the chief scene between Lady Randolph and Old Norval, in which the preservation and existence of Douglas is discovered, has no equal in modern, and scarcely a superior in the ancient drama. It is certainly one of the most effective which the English stage has to boast; and we learn with pleasure, but without surprise, that, though many other parts of the play were altered before its representation, we have this masterpiece exactly as it was thrown off in the original sketch.

'Thus

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'Thus it is,' says the accomplished editor, 'that the fervid creation of genius and fancy strikes out what is so excellent as well as vivid, as not to admit of amendment, and which, indeed, correction would spoil instead of improving. This is the true inspiration of the poet, which gives to criticism, instead of borrowing from it, its model and its rule, and which it is possible, in some diffident authors, the terrors of criticism may have weakened or extinguished.'—vol. i. p. 93.

It is justly remarked by Mr. Mackenzie, that the intense interest excited by the scene of the discovery occasions some falling off in the two last acts; yet this is not so great as to injure the effect of the play when the parts are suitably supported. Mrs. Siddons, indeed, (we cannot help identifying her with Lady Randolph,) gave such terrible interest to the concluding scene, that we can truly say the decay of interest, which is certainly felt both in perusing the drama and in seeing it only moderately well performed, was quite imperceptible.

In a general point of view, the interest of Douglas is of a kind which addresses itself to the bosom of every spectator. The strength of maternal affection is a feeling which all the audience have had the advantage of experiencing, which such mothers as are present have themselves exercised, and which moves the general mind more deeply than even distresses arising from the passion of love,—one too frequently produced on the stage not to become, in some degree, hackneyed and uninteresting.

The language of the piece is beautiful. 'Mrs. Siddons told me,' says the editor, 'that she never found any study (which, in the technical language of the stage, means the getting verses by heart) so easy as that of Douglas, which is one of the best criterions of excellence in the dramatic style.'

The character of Douglas, enthusiastic, romantic, desirous of honour, careless of life and every other advantage where glory lay in the balance, flowed freely from the author's heart, to which such sentiments were the most familiar.

The structure of the story somewhat resembles that of Voltaire's 'Mérope,' but is as simple and natural as that of the French author is complicated and artificial. Mérope came out about 1743, and Mr. Home may, therefore, easily have seen it. But he has certainly derived his more simple and natural tale from the old ballad. In memory of this, the tune of 'Gil Morrice,' a simple and beautiful air, is, in Scotland at least, always played while the curtain rises.

The poetical moral of the piece is justly observed by Mr. Mackenzie to have captivated all who, before its representation in Scotland, happened to hear any part of it recited. He gives us his own authority, as bearing witness that some of the most striking passages, and particularly the opening soliloquy, were got by

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by heart and repeated by fair lips for the admiration of the tea-tables of Edinburgh.

'And you, fair dames of merry England,
As fast your tears did pour:—'

We have the evidence of the accomplished Earl of Haddington, that he remembers the celebrated Lady Hervey (the beautiful Molly Lapelle of Pope and Gay) weeping like an infant over the manuscript of 'Douglas.'

It may, perhaps, seem strange that the author, in his preceding tragedy of 'Agis,' and in his subsequent dramatic efforts, so far from attaining similar excellence, never even approached to the success of 'Douglas;' yet good reasons can be assigned for his failure without imputing it, during his best years at least, to a decay of genius.

'Agis' was a tragedy the interest of which turned, at first, exclusively upon politics, a subject which men are fiercely interested in, if connected with the party-questions agitating their own country at the time; but which, when the same refers to the forgotten revolutions of a distant country and a remote period, are always caviare to the million. Addison, indeed, succeeded in his splendid poem of Cato; but both the name and history were so generally known as to facilitate greatly its interest with the public. Besides, the author was at the head of the literature of his day, and not unskilled in the art of indoctrinating the readers of the Spectator in the knowledge necessary to understand Cato. But the history of Agis and the fortunes of Sparta were familiar only to scholars; and it was difficult to interest the audience at large in the revolutions of a country which they knew only by name. The Ephori and the double kings of Lacedæmon must have been puzzling to a common audience, even at the outset. Both 'Cato' and 'Agis,' but particularly the latter, suffered by the ingrafting of a love-intrigue, common-place and cumbersome, as well as unnecessary, upon the principal plot; which, on the contrary, it ought in either case to have been the business of the author to keep constantly under the view of the audience, and to illustrate and enhance by every subordinate aid in his power: yet 'Agis,' from the ease of the dialogue and beauty of the declamation, and being also, according to the technical phrase, *strongly cast*—for Garrick played Lysander, and Mrs. Cibber, Evanthe—was, for some representations, favourably received; and, had it been written in French, it would probably have been permanently successful on the Parisian stage. In this and other pieces the author seems to have suffered in the eyes of his countrymen by attending too much to the advice of David Hume, in such cases surely an incompetent judge, who intreats him, for heaven's sake, 'to read Shakspeare, but get Racine and Sophocles by heart.'—vol. i. p. 100. The critic had not sufficiently

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ciently considered how much the British stage differs both from the French and the Grecian in the structure and character of the entertainments there exhibited.

The 'Siege of Aquileia' was acted for the first time in 1760. Garrick expected the most unbounded success, and he himself played the principal character. It failed, however, from an objection thus stated by Mr. Mackenzie:—

'Most, or indeed almost all, the incidents are told to, not witnessed by, the spectators, who, in England beyond any other country, are swayed by the Horatian maxim, and feel very imperfectly those incidents which are not "*oculis subjecta fidelibus*." It rather languished, therefore, in the representation, though supported by such admirable acting, and did not run so many nights as the manager confidently expected.'—vol. i. p. 58.

As we have made few quotations from Mr. Home's poetry, we may observe that the description of an ominous dream in this play almost rivals in effect the celebrated vision in Sardanapalus:—

'*Æmil.* What evil omens has Cornelia seen?
Corn. 'Tis strange to tell; but, as I slumb'ring lay,
About that hour when glad Aurora springs
To chase the lagging shades, methought I was
In Rome, and full of peace the city seem'd;
My mind oblivious, too, had lost its care.
Serene I stepp'd along the lofty hall
Embellish'd with the statues of our fathers,
When suddenly an universal groan
Issued at once from every marble breast.
Aghast I gazed around! when slowly down
From their high pedestals I saw descend
The murder'd Gracchi. Hand in hand the brothers
Stalk'd towards me. As they approached more near,
They were no more the Gracchi, but my sons,
Paulus and Titus. At that dreadful change
I shriek'd and wak'd. But never from my mind
The spectacle shall part. Their rueful eyes!
Their cheeks of stone! the look of death and woe!
So strange a vision ne'er from fancy rose.
The rest, my lord, this holy priest can tell.'—vol. ii. pp. 17, 18.

The 'Fatal Discovery' was brought out in 1769; but, as the prejudice against the Scotch was then general, and John Home was obnoxious, not only as a North Briton, but as a friend and protégé of the obnoxious Earl of Bute, Garrick prudently procured an Oxford student to officiate as godfather to the play. The temporary success of the piece brought out the real author from behind his screen. When Home avowed the piece, Garrick's fears were realised, and its popularity terminated; and we believe

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believe the most zealous Scotchman would hardly demand, in this instance, a reversal of the public judgment. Mr. Mackenzie has a more favourable opinion, upon more accurate consideration, perhaps, than it has been in our power to give to the subject. The play is written in the false gallop of Ossianic composition, to which we must avow ourselves by no means partial.

Alonzo was produced in 1773, and was received with a degree of favour which, in some respects, it certainly scarce deserved. Home had, in this instance, forgotten a story belonging to his former profession, which we have heard himself narrate. It respected a country clergyman in Scotland, who, having received much applause for a sermon preached before the Synod, could never afterwards get through the service of the day without introducing some part of the discourse on which he reposed his fame, with the quotation, 'as I said in my Synod sermon.' In plain words, 'Alonzo' was almost a transcript of the situation, incidents, and plot of Douglas, and every author should especially beware of repeating the theme which has formerly been successful, or presenting a *da capo rotta* of the banquet which he has previously been fortunate enough to render acceptable.

In 1778, Mr. Home's last dramatic attempt, the tragedy of 'Alfred,' was represented, and completely failed.

Home now turned his thoughts to another walk of literature. His connexion with the civil war of 1745 had long been revolved in his mind, as a subject fit for history: he had even intended to write something on the subject soon after the broil was ended. After 1778, he seems to have resumed the purpose, and endeavoured to collect materials, by correspondence and personal communication with such personages as could afford them.

'In one or two of these journies (says Mr. Mackenzie) I happened to travel for two or three days along with him, and had occasion to hear his ideas on the subject. They were such as a man of his character and tone of mind would entertain, full of the mistaken zeal and ill-fated gallantry of the Highlanders, the self-devoted heroism of some of their chiefs, and the ill-judged severity, carried (by some subordinate officers) the length of great inhumanity, of the conquering party. A specimen of this original style of his composition still remains in his account of the gallant Lochiel. But the complexion of his history was materially changed before its publication, which, at one time, he had very frequently and positively determined should not be made till after his death, but which he was tempted, by that fondness for our literary offspring which the weakness of age produces, while it leaves less power of appreciating their merits, to hasten; and accordingly published the work at London, in 1802. It was dedicated to the king, as a mark of his gratitude for his Majesty's former gracious attention to him, a circumstance which perhaps contributed to weaken

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weaken and soften down the original composition, in compliment to the monarch whose uncle's memory was somewhat implicated in the impolitic, as well as ungenerous, use which Mr. Home conceived had been made of the victory of Culloden.'—vol. i. p. 68, 69.

It is well for us, perhaps, that we have the advantage of telling the above tale in Mr. Mackenzie's language. We have great veneration for the memory of his author, and much greater for that of his late Majesty, whose uniform generosity and kindness to the unfortunate race of Jacobites was one of the most amiable traits of his honest, benevolent, and truly English character. But since Mr. Home did assume the pen on the subject of the Forty-five, no consideration whatever ought to have made him depart from the truth, or shrink from exposing the cruelties practised, as Mr. Mackenzie delicately expresses it, by some subordinate officers, or from execrating the impolitic and ungenerous use of the victory of Culloden, in which the Duke of Cumberland was *somewhat* implicated. Mr. Home ought either never to have written his history, or to have written it without clogging himself with the dedication to the sovereign. There was no obligation on John Home to inscribe that particular book to his Majesty, and, had that ceremony been omitted, his Majesty was too just and candid a man to have resented the truth; though there might have been some affront in addressing a work, in which his uncle's memory suffered rough usage, directly to his own royal person. On the whole, we greatly prefer the conduct of Smollet, a Whig as well as Home, when he poured out his affecting lyric:—

'Mourn, hapless Caledonia, mourn
Thy banished peace, thy laurels torn.'

On being warned from making such an effusion public, the only answer he condescended to give was, by adding the concluding stanza.

The disappointed public of Scotland, to which the history should have been most interesting, was clamorous in its disapprobation. They complained of suppressed information and servile corrections; but reflection induced critics to pardon the good old man, who had been influenced in his latter years by doubts and apprehensions, which could not have assailed him in his term of active manhood. The work was, indeed, strangely mutilated, and breaks off abruptly at the battle of Culloden, without giving us any account of the manner in which that victory was used. Other faults might be pointed out, chiefly such as are indicative of advanced years. The part which the author himself played in the drama is perhaps a little too much detailed and too long dwelt upon.

The history is, nevertheless, so far as it goes, a fair and candid

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did one; for the writer, though by the manner in which he had fettered himself he was debarred from speaking the whole truth, yet was incapable of speaking anything but the truth. The narrative is fair and honourable to both sides, nor does the author join with the sordid spirits, who cannot fight their enemies without abusing them at the same time, like the bailiff in Goldsmith's 'Goodnatured Man.' The idea which he gives us of the unfortunate Charles Edward is such as we have ourselves formed: the young Chevalier was one of those whom Fortune only distinguishes for a brief period of their life, the rest of which is past in obscurity, so that they seem totally different characters when judged of by the few months which they spend in all the glare of publicity and sunshine, or when valued according to the many years which have passed away in the gloom of destroyed hopes and broken health. Other circumstances combine to render it difficult to obtain the real character of the unfortunate prince. By far the greater portion of his followers his memory was cherished as that of an idol, but the more dear to them on account of the sacrifices they had made to it. His illustrious birth, his daring enterprise, and the grace and beauty of his person, went no small length in confirming his partisans in those feelings towards their leader. There were exceptions amongst them however. Some of those who followed Charles to France, thought that he looked cold on them, and the Memoirs of Dr. King, lately published, tend to confirm the suspicion that (like others of his unhappy race) he was not warmly grateful. His courage, at least, ought to be beyond suspicion, considering the manner in which he landed on an expedition so desperate, and the opposition to his undertaking which he met with from the only friends upon whose assistance he could have counted for the chance of bringing together 1500 or 2000 men. A few sentences on this subject from Home's Narrative will probably vindicate what we have said, and at the same time give a specimen of the historian's peculiar style, which, if neither flowery nor eloquent as might have been expected from his poetical vein, is clear, simple, expressive, and not unlike the conversation of an aged man of intelligence and feeling, recalling the recollections of his earlier years.

To introduce these extracts, we must previously remark, that the chiefs of the Highland clans had come to a prudent resolution that notwithstanding their attachment to the cause of the Stuarts, they should to decline joining in any invasion which the exiled family might attempt, unless it was supported by a body of regular French troops. It was on the dominions (as they might then be called) of the Captain of Clanronald that Charles first landed. He did not find the chief himself, but he summoned on board the vessel

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vessel which he brought with him to the Hebrides, Mac Donald of Boisdale, the brother of Clanronald, a man of considerable intelligence, and who was supposed to have much interest with the chief. Boisdale declared he would advise his brother against the undertaking, remarking, that the two most powerful chieftains in the vicinity, Mac Donald of Sleate and Mac Leod of Mac Leod, were determined not to raise their men, unless the Chevalier should bring with him a sufficient foreign force.

'Charles replied in the best manner he could; and ordering the ship to be unmoored, carried Boisdale, whose boat hung at the stern, several miles onward to the main land, pressing him to relent, and give a better answer. Boisdale was inexorable; and getting into his boat, left Charles to pursue his course, which he did directly for the coast of Scotland; and coming to an anchor in the Bay of Lochnanuagh, between Moidart and Arisaig, sent a boat ashore with a letter to young Clanronald. In a very little time Clanronald, with his relation Kinloch Moidart, came aboard the Dottelle. Charles, almost reduced to despair in his interview with Boisdale, addressed the two Highlanders with great emotion, and summing up his arguments for taking arms, conjured them to assist their prince, their countryman, in his utmost need. Clanronald and his friend, though well inclined to the cause, positively refused; and told him, one after another, that, to take arms without concert or support, was to pull down certain destruction on their own heads. Charles persisted, argued, and implored. During this conversation, the parties walked backwards and forwards upon the deck; a Highlander stood near them, armed at all points, as was then the fashion of the country: he was a younger brother of Kinloch Moidart, and had come off to the ship to inquire for news, not knowing who was aboard. When he gathered from their discourse, that the stranger was the Prince of Wales; when he heard his chief and his brother refuse to take arms with their prince, his colour went and came, his eyes sparkled, he shifted his place, and grasped his sword. Charles observed his demeanour, and, turning briskly towards him, called out, "Will not you assist me?"—"I will, I will," said Ranald; "though no other man in the Highlands should draw a sword, I am ready to die for you." Charles, with a profusion of thanks and acknowledgments, extolled his champion to the skies, saying, he only wished that all the Highlanders were like him. Without further deliberation, the two Macdonalds declared that they also would join, and use their utmost endeavours to engage their countrymen to take arms. Immediately Charles with his company went ashore, and was conducted to Boradale, a farm which belonged to the estate of Clanronald.'—vol. ii. pp. 425-427.

The conversion of the *good Lochiel*, for whom some friendly Presbyterian drew up an epitaph, declaring he

'——is now a Whig in heaven,'

to this rash undertaking, shall be our last quotation from this history,

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tory, so interesting in spite of its imperfections. This model of a Highland chief and Scottish gentleman met with the Chevalier at Mac Donald of Boradale's, a very few days after he landed.

'The conversation began on the part of Charles, with bitter complaints of the treatment he had received from the ministers of France, who had so long amused him with vain hopes, and deceived him with false promises; their coldness in his cause, he said, but ill agreed with the opinion he had of his own pretensions, and with the impatience to assert them, with which the promises of his father's brave and faithful subjects had inflamed his mind. Lochiel acknowledged the engagements of the chiefs, but observed that they were no ways binding, as he had come over without the stipulated aid; and therefore, as there was not the least prospect of success, he advised his Royal Highness to return to France, and to reserve himself and his faithful friends for a more favourable opportunity. Charles refused to follow Lochiel's advice, affirming that a more favourable opportunity than the present would never come; that almost all the British troops were abroad, and kept at bay by Marshal Saxe, with a superior army; that in Scotland there were only a few new-raised regiments, that had never seen service, and could not stand before the Highlanders; that the very first advantage gained over the troops would encourage his father's friends at home to declare themselves; that his friends abroad would not fail to give their assistance; that he only wanted the Highlanders to begin the war.

'Lochiel still resisted, entreating Charles to be more temperate, and consent to remain concealed where he was, till he (Lochiel) and his other friends should meet together, and concert what was best to be done. Charles, whose mind was wound up to the utmost pitch of impatience, paid no regard to this proposal, but answered, that he was determined to put all to the hazard. "In a few days," said he, "with the few friends that I have, I will erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain, that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors, to win it, or to perish in the attempt: Lochiel, who, my father has often told me, was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince."—"No," said Lochiel, "I'll share the fate of my prince; and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune hath given me any power." Such was the singular conversation, on the result of which depended peace or war. For it is a point agreed among the Highlanders, that if Lochiel had persisted in his refusal to take arms, the other chiefs would not have joined the standard without him, and the spark of rebellion must instantly have expired.'—vol. iii. pp. 5, 6.

It is singular that we should have to exculpate the unfortunate prince, who thus persisted, at the utmost risk, to instigate his followers, and to rush himself upon an undertaking so utterly desperate, from the imputation of personal cowardice;—and yet such is the fact. The strongest evidence on this point is that of the

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the Chevalier Johnstone's 'Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745 and 1746.' These have been published under the care of a sensible and intelligent editor, who has done a great deal to throw light upon the subject, but has been occasionally misled into giving a little too much credit to the representations of his author—who wrote under the influence of disappointment and ill-humour. A great part of the work is very interesting, because Johnstone, having been a military man, and having some turn for observation, has made better professional remarks on the Highland mode of fighting, and mere tactics, than we have observed in any other work. But then we happen to know that some of his stories are altogether fictitious, such as the brutal piece of vengeance said to have been practised by Gordon of Abbachie, upon a Whig minister, [Johnstone's Memoirs, 4to, 1820, p. 183.] It will also surprise such of the few readers as might have been disposed to interest themselves in the love-affair between the Chevalier and his charming Peggy, which makes such a figure in the conclusion of his work, to learn that Chevalier Johnstone was all this while a married man—an absolute Benedict—a circumstance which he no where hints at, during his Memoirs, and that the amour, if such existed, was not of a character to be boasted of in the face of the public. There are legitimate grandchildren of the Chevalier Johnstone now alive.

James Johnstone, the father of the Chevalier, by courtesy of Scotland called '*merchant* in Edinburgh,' was a grocer in that city. Not that we mean to impeach his gentility, because we believe his father to have been of the ancient and once-powerful family of Wamphray, though, like many sons of Jacobite families, he was excluded from what are called the learned professions, by his reluctance to take the oaths to the Hanoverian dynasty. Accordingly, the heir of the noble family of Rollo, who have been before allied with the Johnstones of Wamphray, did not derogate in marrying Cecilia, daughter of James Johnstone, grocer, as before said. But when the Chevalier talks big about his fears of being disinherited, we cannot but remember that a petty shop, such as shops in the Cowgate of Edinburgh were in 1745, indifferently stocked with grocery goods,

'Was all his great estate, and like to be.'

In short, we suspect our friend the Chevalier to be somewhat of a gasconader, and we are not willing to take away the character of Charles for courage upon such suspicious authority. When we, therefore, find that this unfortunate prince is accused —1st, of having entered into this expedition without foreseeing the personal dangers to which he must be exposed—2nd, of taking care, in carrying it on, not to expose his person to the fire

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of the enemy—3d, of abandoning it when he had ten times more hope of success than when he left Paris—we are inclined to compare what the Chevalier has averred on these three points with what is elsewhere stated by himself and other authorities.

And First.—After reading the foregoing arguments used by Boisdale, Clanronald, and Lochiel, in order to deter the Chevalier, by the strongest representations in their power, from venturing on the expedition, the Chevalier may be censured for fool-hardiness, but he cannot surely be considered as a person ignorant of the dangers of the undertaking—in other words, as one too timid to venture had he known the perils he was to encounter.

Secondly.—That Charles avoided placing himself in such situations of personal danger, as became a prince and a general, is inconsistent with what has been registered by almost all authorities, and with what is narrated by Johnstone himself. Beginning with the battle of Prestonpans, Home states, and we have heard it corroborated by eye and ear witnesses, that 'Charles declared he would lead the clans on himself, and charge at their head;' and only relinquished his purpose when the general remonstrance of the chieftains deterred him from leading the van. But notwithstanding this precaution, the prince conducted the second line of the Highland army; and the Chevalier Johnstone tells us that the battle was gained with such rapidity, 'that in the second line, when I was *still* by the side of the prince, we saw no other enemy on the field of battle than those who were lying on the ground killed and wounded, though we were not more than *fifty paces* behind our first line, running as fast as we could to overtake them.' Now we submit, that a general who brought up a reserve within fifty paces of his advance, when, as Sir Lucius O'Trigger says, there was light enough for a long shot, and when the said advance was made upon a line of trained infantry and artillery, cannot be truly charged with keeping himself out of gunshot. At Falkirk, we do not know exactly where the prince was placed during the conflict, but it appears that he must have been in the advance, since at seven o'clock in the evening he led in person the troops which pursued the English army, and took possession of Falkirk at half-past seven at night, while the Chevalier Johnstone did not even know that the victory was won until half an hour later. In the whole course of this strange *levée des boucliers*, the Chevalier Johnstone accuses the prince of what he calls a childish desire of fighting battles, a propensity rather inconsistent with personal cowardice, especially in the circumstances of Prince Charles, as, according to our Chevalier's authority, orders were issued to kill him on the spot if he should fall into the hands of the government troops.

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At the battle of Culloden, the prince remained upon an eminence with a squadron of horse. But, from what Johnstone states himself, he did give the orders necessary for the occasion; in particular, when he saw the English, and the Campbells, their auxiliaries, about to force an inclosure which protected the right flank of his army, he 'immediately repeated orders to place some troops in that inclosure, and prevent the manœuvre of the English, which could not fail to prove fatal to us. Lord George paid no attention to this order,' and the English introduced both horse, musketry, and artillery into that inclosure, to attack the Highland right wing on flank and rear, and did so with such deadly effect, that they swept away whole ranks. This manœuvre completely decided the battle, and it was when the right wing was absolutely broken that Chevalier Johnstone proposes that Charles should have rushed down to renew the fight. This would, doubtless, have been the course to insure a soldier's grave, but that, as is expressed in the last stanzas of poor Byron, is more 'often found than sought,' nor are we entitled to praise the chief who rushes upon inevitable death because he has sustained a defeat. No effort of the squadron of horse, which was all that Charles had around his person, could dispossess the English cavalry, infantry, and artillery from the position they had gained; and as for rallying the Highlanders, why they *were* Highlanders, and for that very reason could not be rallied. In their advances, they fired their guns and threw them away, coming to the shock with the target and broadsword alone; if they succeeded, which they often did, no victory could be more complete, but they exhausted their strength in this effort, and it was not till they received, in the regiments drawn from amongst them, the usual discipline of the field, that Highlanders had any idea of rallying till some hill, pass, or natural fastness, gave them an advantage.* It is very true, that Johnstone is supported on this point by a better evidence than himself—Lord Elcho namely, who has left manuscript memoirs, in which it is stated that the author requested the Chevalier to charge in person at the head of the left wing, after the right was routed, and that on his not so advancing, Lord Elcho called him an Italian scoundrel, or a worse epithet, and declared he would never see his face more. We cannot believe, even on Lord Elcho's evidence, that any efforts of Charles could have retrieved the day at Culloden. The left wing, which had become sulky and refused to fight, because (to complete the blunders of the day) they had chosen to deprive the Mac Donalds

* See the 'History of the Highland Regiments,' by Major-General David Stewart (of Garth); one of the most interesting military memoirs in the world, and not the less so because the feeling of 'quorum pars magna fui' is perceptible in every page.

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of their post of honour upon the right, were not likely to have their fighting mood improved by the route and destruction amongst the right; and it is nothing new for a warm and impetuous soldier like Lord Elcho, rendered desperate by circumstances, to give counsel on a field of battle which it would be madness in any general to adopt. Besides, the common ruin which succeeds to such a rash undertaking as that of 1745 breaks all the ties of friendship, and men become severed by their passions and interests, like a fleet driven from its moorings by a tempest. It is then that mutual upbraidings arise amongst them, and such quarrels take place as that betwixt Charles and Lord Elcho, which the latter carried to such a height, that though he lived an exile for the Stuarts' cause, he would never again see Prince Charles, and used to leave Paris so soon as the Chevalier entered it. Such strong passions are apt to sway, even in the most honourable minds, the recollection of past events.

This much is certain, that except the two authorities quoted, all persons who attended Charles that day agree in stating his desire to go down and rally the Highlanders, and affirm that he was only forced from the field by the entreaties of his tutor, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and others, representing the desperation of the attempt, and the impossibility of success. The cornet of the second troop of Horse Guards left a paper, signed with his name, in which he declares that all verbal representations would have been vain, if General Sullivan had not laid hold of the rein of Charles's horse, and turned him about. 'To witness this,' says the cornet, 'I summon my eyes.' After all, the words *Qu'il mourût* are pronounced with wondrous ease and effect; but the homely proverb, 'While there is life there is hope,' is not less likely to influence an individual in the situation of Charles; and if we are to accuse of cowardice every officer who has left the field of battle when all was lost, we shall wondrously curtail the catalogue of the brave.

As for the idea of rallying after the defeat and making up a new army, it must be remembered that a Highland army differed essentially from one composed of regular troops, and as much in the mode of retreat as in other particulars. A regular army can have no retreat but upon that point where the general pitches his standard. The camp to them is country and home. If they are defeated, they are aware that their chance of safety lies in union, and all stragglers have sense enough to regain their battalions as soon as they can. The Highlanders would have been in the same situation had they been routed in the middle of England, where those who might have escaped the sword would have remained together for mutual protection. But on the skirts of their own

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own mountains, the moment the day was lost, the Highlanders, in a great measure, dispersed. The individuals had their own homes to retire to, and their own families to protect; the tribes had each its own country to defend, and, when the Highlanders were defeated at Culloden, their army in a great measure broke up into the separate clans of which it was composed, which went off in different directions to their own several glens. Many, no doubt, were thrown into such confusion that they made to Ruthven in Badenoch as a common place of rendezvous, and the Lowland troops went thither also, because it had been named as such, and because, being strangers in the country, they knew not where else to go. But Chevalier Johnstone talks widely and wildly when he speaks of five thousand Highlanders being there able and ready to resume the struggle. If the prince had not had the spirit (as Johnstone pretends) to have put himself at the head of such a body, the Highland chiefs themselves would have endeavoured to maintain themselves in arms, in order to enter upon negociation, which they had been twice able to effect in former cases. But the whole is a vision. There was never above a thousand or fifteen hundred men assembled at Ruthven, and these were many of them lowlanders. The prince's army was entirely broken up; all the foreign troops surrendered forthwith, with everything belonging to the materiel of their army; the clans had in a great measure dispersed themselves and gone home, as was their uniform custom after defeat. All the efforts of their chieftains could not bring them together again. This *was* attempted, and the principal actors entered into resolutions binding themselves to rendezvous for that purpose. But the spirit of the clans was entirely broken by the immense superiority of the king's forces, while the desire of defending each its own lonely glen from the fire and sword with which that was threatened, overcame the feelings of sounder policy which would have induced them to persevere in a system of co-operation. A full account of the attempt to re-assemble their forces, and of the causes of its being abandoned, will be found in Home's works, (vol. iii. p. 369,) and we may conclude by observing that Lochiel, by whom the affair was managed, and who saw himself, by irresistible obstacles, constrained to abandon a course which might have at least extorted some terms from the Duke of Cumberland, was as brave a man, and, to say the least, as good a judge of what the Highlanders could or could not do in the circumstances, as the Chevalier Johnstone could possibly pretend to be.

We do not, on the whole, mean to arrogate for the unhappy Chevalier the character of a great man, to which he displays few pretensions; but to deny energy to the prince who plunged into an enterprise so desperate, and where his own personal safety was

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so deeply implicated, on the word of one or two private and disappointed men, contradicted by a hundred others, seems to involve a denial of the whole history from beginning to end. He was not John of Gaunt, but yet no coward.

It is time to conclude this old-fashioned Scottish gossip, which, after all, in a literary journal of the present day, sounds as a pibroch might do in the Hanover Square concert-rooms.

ART. VIII.—1. *Outlines of Philosophical Education, &c.* By G. Jardine, A.M., F.R.S.E., Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow. Second Edition, enlarged. 1825.

2. *Observations on the Preparatory Education of Candidates for the degree of Doctor of Medicine in the Scottish Universities. Submitted to the consideration of His Majesty's Commissioners for visiting the Universities and Colleges of Scotland.* By John Thomson, M.D., late Professor of Military Surgery in the University of Edinburgh. 1826.

3. *A General View of the Present State of Public Education in France; and of the Laws, Regulations, and Courses of Study, in the different Faculties, Colleges, and Schools, which now compose the Royal University of that Kingdom; preceded by a short History of the University of Paris before the Revolution.* By David Johnston, M.D., Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons. Edinburgh. 1827. 8vo.

4. Frederich Thiersch, *ueber gelehrte Schulen mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Baiern.* Stuttgart. 1826.

5. Dr. L. F. Baumgarten, *über wissenschaftliche Freiheit an sich und in Beziehung auf die deutsche Universitäten.* Jena. 1826.

A ROYAL Visitation is now engaged in examining into the system of *education* in the Scottish universities. The appointment of this commission—so rare an event in modern times—the high rank, talents, and character of the commissioners, and the inquiries already instituted by them, have created a considerable sensation among our countrymen in the North. At several periods in the early history of the Scotch universities, royal visitations were instrumental in reforming and enlarging the course of academical studies; and Adam Smith, from a retrospect perhaps of those beneficial effects, after panegyrising the learned seminaries of his own country as the best in Europe, pronounced an opinion that a royal visitation could alone remedy several remaining defects.* The present commission accordingly arose out of a direct application to the crown from the Senatus Academicus

* Letter to Dr. Cullen.—See Dr. Thomson's Observations, &c., p. 18.

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of Edinburgh: and very little jealousy with regard to its objects has been betrayed on the occasion by any of the sister academies; a circumstance well deserving to be recorded as a rare exception to the usual sensitiveness of incorporated bodies, whether learned or unlearned, whenever the slightest interference with their internal regulations, or supposed rights and privileges, is anticipated. A rumour has, indeed, reached us, that Glasgow has not given so cordial a welcome as the rest to the present visitation; but if this be true, we are sure it cannot have arisen from the recollection of the parliamentary visitors who, in 1690, expelled from that university the principal and three professors, because, said they, they did not approve of 'their carriage towards their majesties' government since the late happy revolution.'* The commissioners, in fact, on former occasions, however much they had at heart the true interests of science, were always, more or less, biassed by political feelings, and sometimes by violent party-prejudices. But at present, there are of course no apprehensions of this kind at Glasgow; and if their system be already so perfect as scarcely to admit of improvement, this should only afford to themselves, and to the commissioners, the strongest motive for giving the utmost publicity to its details. The late Professor Jardine, in his account of the present method of teaching in Glasgow, has commended the changes introduced there on the suggestion of the royal visitors of 1727, with respect to the greater subdivision of sciences.† But without appealing to any historical proofs, it will readily be conceded, that visitations free from all suspicion of political prepossessions can rarely be without their use. The very discussion excited by their investigations is a good. But there are improvements in the discipline of the Scotch universities, for which the public mind is prepared, and which the sanction of a high authority is alone required to execute and confirm. When we consider how many causes may affect, and insensibly pervert, the original spirit and intent of academical institutions, it may safely be asserted, that a century can rarely elapse without some considerable modifications becoming indispensable. Every step in the progress of the human mind—every political change—every variation in the religious opinions of the mass of the community, or even in the manners and fashions of the age, may materially influence the practical operation of academical laws. Statutes of high antiquity may not only become inoperative, through the lapse of time, but become productive of evil consequences, the possible occurrence of which was never even dreamt of at the period of their original enactment; so that their remaining unre-

* Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh, vol. i. p. 311.
† Jardine's Outlines of Philosophical Education, second edition, p. 18.

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pealed may not merely afford no proof of consistency, but amount, in fact, to a vivid illustration of the Baconian maxim, that 'Time is the greatest innovator.'

It was our first intention to have entered into some of the questions now agitated, concerning the discipline and course of study in the Scotch universities. But upon considering these, and perusing the tracts addressed to the commissioners, we are struck with this most singular fact, that—amidst numerous differences as to minor details—several broad principles, completely at variance with the practice, and in a great degree with the speculative opinions of the learned in the English universities, are tacitly assumed by *all* as the basis of their reasoning. Our brethren of the North are not remarkable in general for lack of reasonable scepticism, nor for a dislike of argument and disputation; when, therefore, we find that on several important topics connected with education, they are in harmony with each other; nay, further, that they are at harmony on the same points with nations so widely different in laws, religion, and government, as the French, the Germans, and the Italians—and, nevertheless, observe, as it is impossible not to do, that on the same points their practice is diametrically opposed to our own, we feel it incumbent on us to examine carefully into the grounds of such an extraordinary discrepance.

There are three striking peculiarities in the system of education in England and Ireland, without parallel in any of the other nations of modern Europe: First, the length of preliminary education, and the limited extent of the subjects it embraces: Secondly, the virtual exclusion of a regular professional course of study in the faculties of theology, law, and medicine: Thirdly, the very incomplete subdivision of sciences amongst those on whom the whole burden of teaching is cast.

To trace the origin and consequences of the two last characteristics is doubly interesting, for *here* we are at variance with our own ancestors, as well as with all our contemporaries. We shall, however, proceed briefly to consider the three topics in order, beginning with *preliminary education*, by which we mean whatever precedes a professional course of study. This preparatory course occupies in every country all the years spent at school, and one or more of those passed at the university; but nowhere, in so far as our knowledge extends, except in England and Ireland alone, does it consume the whole period of academical residence. We might naturally, therefore, have expected that the range of studies would in this kingdom be proportionably more comprehensive, instead of being, as the fact is, more confined, than elsewhere. In one respect, it certainly embraces in this country an important subject

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ject often entirely omitted in others. Every student is required to learn the rudiments of the religion he professes, whatever be his future destination in life. At Oxford, he is examined in the gospels in the original Greek, in the articles of the church of England, and the evidences of religion, natural and revealed. At Cambridge, in consequence of regulations lately adopted, an examination somewhat similar has been instituted. The frequent attendance at chapel is considered by many as an additional subject of commendation in the plan of religious instruction in our universities; while others are of opinion that as this attendance is compulsory, and sometimes repeated ten times a-week, or oftener, and even occasionally inflicted in some colleges as a penalty for academical misdemeanours, its tendency upon too many dispositions is to weaken, rather than to exalt, the sentiment of true devotion. These last, perhaps, forget that religious observances, but slightly attended to at the moment, often exert a most deep and powerful influence afterwards. But, however this may be, the attention paid to the religious instruction of the laity marks, in so far as we can recollect, the only point in which our course embraces what is neglected by the rival system or systems. In other respects, branches of knowledge considered as essential to preliminary education in the schools and universities of Scotland, France, Germany, and Italy, are entirely excluded from the regular English course. Natural history, for instance, is among the number; and its total neglect is the more inexplicable, when we consider that it is at variance with the opinions of some of our greatest writers—such as Bacon and Locke.

Notwithstanding the slight impression made by such high authorities on the public mind of their own times, it may not be presumptuous at present to offer some arguments in favour of a cause espoused by them. Although a taste for examining into the works of nature is implanted in the youthful mind, and is, perhaps, more general than any other, it is comparatively feeble in many; and, if not encouraged, is soon supplanted by the more powerful excitement of topics connected with human actions and passions. But there are some who have an irresistible, and, as it were, instinctive propensity to cultivate such studies, and if no elementary knowledge be communicated in a scientific form, they will, nevertheless, follow the bent of their inclinations; and what might, under a proper direction, have led to the improvement and exercise of the mental faculties, must often degenerate into a frivolous amusement. To constitute such pursuits a prominent part of elementary education would without doubt be erroneous: it is, however, certain that none are more eminently fitted to fill the minds of youth with admiration

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admiration of the numerous contrivances and proofs of design afforded in every part of the creation, and to inspire them with exalted conceptions of the Supreme Being. Such tastes, to say the least of the matter, should not be altogether neglected. In their cultivation we provide resources which *may*, at least, be of high usefulness in future life, either for relaxation after intense study, or for refreshing and restoring the mind to a healthy state when suffering under disease or worldly disappointment. For the latter purpose, the very circumstance of their slight connexion with human affairs, which, in fact, often forms a vulgar objection to their utility, renders them peculiarly adapted,—as they may abstract the thoughts from all painful associations which even the lighter compositions of elegant literature, ever conversant with human interests, would inevitably revive. As a relief from severer studies, natural history is invaluable; for it can not only afford perpetual excitement by its variety, but possesses the attribute of exerting the mental energies exactly in the degree required, according to the vigorous or infirm state of each individual's health, or in proportion to the force of his original capacity. This accommodating quality, this wonderful capability of contributing gratification and exercise to intellects of every order, even the lowest, draws the pursuit almost unavoidably into contempt, in a country where scientific instruction has not been generally imparted, so as to enable men to estimate correctly its true rank and dignity. To many the perpetual fluctuation of systems for classifying the organic and inorganic productions of nature appears an obstacle to its adoption with profit into a regular course of study. But the use of former systems is not abrogated, when the accession of new ideas requires their enlargement; and to discriminate and judge impartially the comparative merits of different methods, some laying claim to our favour by early associations, others by the charms of novelty, affords not only a stimulus, but a wholesome discipline to the mind. A modern naturalist says, with truth, that 'persons who shall live a thousand ages hence will not want subjects for examination, and such truths as the present age shall strike out are not to be contemned because they will become more full and perfect hereafter.'* 'As to a young gentleman's studies,' says Locke, 'his tutor should remember that his business is not so much to teach him all that is knowable, as to raise in him a love and esteem of knowledge, and to put him in the right way of knowing and improving

* Fries' 'Spherical and Numerical System of Nature.' The first part of the sentence in the text is a literal translation of a passage in one of Ray's letters—'Naturæ divitiæ plane sunt inexhaustæ; nec cuiquam post mille secula nato decrit quod scrutetur, et in quo se cum laude exerceat.'—*Letter to Lister*, p. 35.——See *Philosophical Magazine*, vol. lxviii., No. 340.

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proving himself when he has a mind to it.'* The works of Aristotle have been so much honoured at Oxford, that it is remarkable how little influence his example has had in allotting some time and study to natural history.†

The elements of mathematics and natural philosophy are considered an indispensable part of preliminary education in Scotland and in all the foreign countries before mentioned, yet they form by no means a regular part of our preparatory course—a course often extended to the age of two-and-twenty. Those who study at Cambridge form, indeed, an exception to this rule; for there a knowledge of mathematics is a necessary qualification of all candidates for a degree: and they who aspire to academical distinction often sacrifice an undue share of time and labour to this department, especially as the theoretical parts of the various branches of mathematics, and not the practical application of the power to natural philosophy and astronomy, engross almost exclusively their attention. We are content, however, to rest the claim of all these studies not on their relation to the useful arts, or to future profitable employments, but on their efficiency in helping to extend and consolidate the groundwork of a liberal education: for we agree fully with those who maintain that the most important part of education consists, not so much in the things taught, as in the moral and intellectual habits instilled during the period of pupilage. Now, it has been imagined in this country that physical science, as it cannot make known to us the moral principles of our nature, nor point out to us our social duties, so it cannot, like religious instruction, or ethics, or history, or even poetry, contribute to perfect the moral character; but nothing can be more erroneous than this kind of reasoning. When we read history, we are presented with facts often distorted by political prejudices; and however distant may be the transactions from our own time, we are seldom indifferent and impartial arbitrators on the various questions brought before us. The same remark applies to ethics and politics in general: they seldom afford a neutral ground, like the problems of physical science, where conflicting evidence may be tried fairly by its own strength, and the judgment formed by an habitual practice of examining proofs with an unbiassed desire of discovering truth. If the inquiries of natural philosophy were solely conversant with

* Locke on Education, p. 232.

† The writings of the Stagyrite give us a valuable insight into the state of this department of knowledge in ancient Greece; and with such accuracy did he observe nature, that time can never render his descriptions obsolete. As a proof that his knowledge of natural history was not contemptible, we may state that some of his leading divisions of the animal kingdom, departed from by Linnæus, have recently been re-established by some of the first naturalists of Europe.

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subjects capable of exact demonstration, like the theorems of pure mathematics, it might with some reason be contended, that habits of logical accuracy, thence derived, would be inapplicable to the concerns of human life; but, as we can in the greater number of instances draw our conclusions only from probable evidence, there can be no question that such an exercise of the reasoning powers would form a most appropriate addition to a course of study in which poetry and works of the imagination occupy at present so large a place; and inconsistent as it may, at first sight, appear with our previous reasoning, the remark is no less true, that an additional argument in favour of the cultivation of the physical sciences may be derived from the very circumstance, that human passions and prejudices do occasionally mix themselves even with their inquiries. That such is the case cannot be doubted, if we consider that, however pure may be the love of truth, in which each separate investigation may originate,—however little reference it may have, when entered upon, to the desire of establishing any peculiar theory, still men can rarely proceed far in it before passions and prejudices are enlisted in the cause, in consequence of their being led to results directly opposed to established opinions. Now, when the popular notions, thus in danger of being subverted, are somewhat interwoven with opinions and sentiments on higher subjects, however widely disconnected they in reality ought to be, or when they are supposed, however absurdly, to be identified with certain interests, a determined stand is at first made against the admission of the new theories. Moral and political truths, when placed in this predicament, may be so obscured by the sophistry of casuists, so involved in the imperfection and subtleties of language, that centuries shall elapse before they are received and acted upon; but with physical science this is impossible: new facts accumulate daily—they are confirmed by experiment or elucidated by mathematical demonstrations. They collect and move onwards with resistless force, like the rising tide, until all our dogmas, which are only written upon the sands, are swept away and obliterated for ever. The undue influence usurped by authority over reason having thus been weakened from time to time, men acquire independent habits of thought, and just principles of reasoning, which are not limited in their operation to philosophical inquiries alone, but conduce both to the moral and the intellectual advancement of society.

There is then an appropriate office allotted to physical science, not merely as it enlarges our conceptions of the power and wisdom of the Creator, but as furnishing a peculiar kind of discipline for the full developement of the faculties of the human mind; and this is, doubtless, one of the final causes of that strong curiosity by which men are prompted to investigate the phenomena of nature,

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ture, independently of any immediate reference to their wants or worldly advantages. If we confine elementary knowledge on this subject to a small circle in society, two evil consequences result. In the first place, the beneficial effects above alluded to are enfeebled in energy, and retarded in their progress; and, secondly, very serious inconveniences arise from the unequal rate at which the intellectual improvement of different parts of the same community advances. They who are foremost in the career of investigation, may be so only to encounter disfavour from their contemporaries, instead of reaping the just reward of their labours and discoveries. Their opinions may be supported by evidence of the most convincing kind, but if this should be at variance with the prejudices of the age, they may suffer, like the first promulgators of the true theory of the earth's form and motion, for believing what is destined to become the nursery creed of succeeding generations.

With respect to classical literature, an acquaintance with the Greek and Latin languages has everywhere been considered as an essential part of a liberal education, and indispensable to the able prosecution of all the learned professions. But among the various branches of knowledge, the degree of importance which ought to be attached to classical erudition and the study of the Greek and Roman authors, is a point that has been much agitated of late in this country, and in regard to which high authorities are divided. The leaning of the public mind seems to be to the opinion, that as in England too considerable a portion of our time has been devoted exclusively to this one department, so in Scotland it has been most culpably slighted. To supply this deficiency in the latter country, some measures have of late years been taken in several of their universities, and others are now earnestly pressed upon the attention of the royal commissioners. It has been recently enacted in Aberdeen, that every candidate for the degree of M. D. must either be master of arts in some university, or produce evidence of his having attended certain prescribed courses of lectures, before he can be admitted to the professional examination; nay, the regulation goes even farther, for classical literature is a constituent part of this professional examination itself. Similar regulations have also been adopted of late years by the Senatus Academicus of St. Andrew's. At Edinburgh an additional *session* has lately been added to the course of medical students; and it now occupies four years. Dr. John Thomson has addressed to the patrons of that university, and to the royal visitors, 'Observations on the Preparatory Education of Candidates for Degrees in Medicine.' This pamphlet is printed only for private circulation, but the public are much indebted to the author for the disinterested

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disinterested zeal he has shown in this cause. He proposes that every student, previously to entering on his professional studies, should be examined in classics, mathematics, moral philosophy, logic, natural philosophy, and natural history. The preliminary education of medical men has in Scotland been the most neglected, and it has therefore, very properly, been selected as a primary object of attention. But there is ample room for improvement in the other professions, and particularly in that of the law.

The most effectual step, however, for securing to the rising generation in Scotland a good classical education, was taken in 1824, when a public school was established at Edinburgh for youths between the age of nine and fifteen, on a plan well calculated to unite the peculiar excellencies of the English and Scotch systems of preliminary study. The founders of this academy very judiciously conferred the situation of head master on the Reverend John Williams, an English gentleman, practically versed in the business of conducting a great public school in this country, and with the course of study pursued at Winchester and Oxford, and whose attainments in classical literature are of the highest order. One part of the organization of this school deserves notice —the elements of geometry and algebra are assigned to a separate master with two assistants, and have not been degraded, as with us, together with the art of penmanship, into the rank of a subordinate department. History, geography, and English literature also receive a larger share of attention than with us. As the number of the scholars already exceeds five hundred, and is annually increasing, this public school promises fairly to retain a great portion of the young nobility and gentry in their native land, who have hitherto been sent to England at a great expense, often precluded, even during the holidays, from enjoying the endearments of home, and the society of their parents. But we look to much higher results from this institution—it must hasten the time when private tuition in the families of the Scotch gentry shall be entirely superseded by a system of public education emulating the advantages of that in use in England, and, perhaps, free from many of its leading defects. To that system, with all its imperfections, far more than to our universities, we owe a large share of whatever is great and enlightened in the national character of our higher classes. Placed, at an early age, under the charge of masters, whose station in society and income no less, than, their literary acquirements command respect—separated from those who might humour, or flatter him, by instilling into his mind ideas of his future consequence—associated with boys of various ranks, all jealous of the natural equality of youth, and recognizing no claims to superiority but those of talent—the future magistrate or legislator

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legislator of this country grows up emulous of personal distinction, and combining with elegance of manners a high feeling of honour and a manly spirit of independence.

No system could be more opposite in character than was that of private tuition once so general in Scotland. The tutor was raised from a humble class to a society, where, whatever his personal attainments might be, he found himself placed at a humiliating distance from anything like a footing of equality. His remuneration was scanty in the extreme, and consisting (as if to fill up the measure of his dependence) not entirely of a fixed salary, but partly of the precarious prospect of future preferment in the church. In many instances he was prohibited from teaching the doctrines of his own church to his pupil,* over whose mind he had scarcely any hold, except what was derived from the ties of early association, which every year of approach toward manhood more and more weakened. The Scottish *dominie*† was assuredly one of the most pitiable of human beings; and with such an education, always resident on an estate destined by the strict fetters of a Scotch entail to become his own, the young *laird* seldom failed to imbibe an aristocratic contempt for science and literature, and a proportionately exaggerated notion of his self-importance and his family dignity—to support which last, his expenditure was too often pushed far beyond his income. The time of the mighty *Regulus* was spent between feasting and field-sports, the first usually terminating in a debauch, the latter pursued not for recreation but as the sole or chief business of life; and those who have observed nothing of Scottish society but in those elegant saloons into which travellers so easily find their way, can have formed no notion whatever of the extent to which the intensity of prejudices (political prejudices especially) nursed under such a system as we have been sketching, divided among themselves the classes *next to* the highest in that country,—and of the miserable results—to this day in many districts too perceptible—of that division.

But to return to our main business; in all these modern reforms projected or realized in the Scotch system of instruction, no idea is entertained of continuing a course of classical literature, in conjunction with other preparatory studies, beyond the age at which men ordinarily enter our own universities—certainly never beyond the period at which the first public examinations, or responsions, are now usually passed at Oxford and Cambridge. After this

* About two-thirds of the land in Scotland are supposed to be in the hands of Episcopalians.

† When the old Scots judge, Lord Auchinleck (Boswell's father), first heard of Johnson's coming to visit him at his rural *castellum*, he held up his hands in astonishment, and cried out 'Our Jeemy's clean aff the hooks now!—would ony body believe it? he's bringing down a *dominie* wi' him—an auld *dominie!*'

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age the student enters upon a *professional* course; and this brings us to the second subject of comparison between our own system and that established in other universities.

Of the newly-founded seats of learning in Europe, some, like those of Berlin and Bonn, have in a few years acquired great celebrity. But their success can, in no instance, be imputed to the slightest assimilation of their plan to the distinguishing characteristics of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin. The same may be said of the royal university of France, substituted for those destroyed during the revolution, and which has now the exclusive charge of public instruction, and forms a body ramifying over the whole of that kingdom.* It will be necessary, before examining into the origin and consequences of our departure from a system so long and so generally adopted, briefly to sketch its leading features, as still followed in Scotland and other countries.

When fair and ample encouragement is afforded to all the different branches of literary and scientific instruction, it is invariably found that the students who enter a university consist principally of men destined to the church, the legal and the medical professions, and these in not very unequal proportions. Accordingly, both in ancient and modern times, the course of study has generally been modelled with a view to providing the means of instruction for these three faculties, and we may begin by stating what are the subjects usually selected in each. The general outline of the course of lectures delivered to those intended for the church, is, notwithstanding the diversity of creeds, very similar in the various continental seats of learning, and much resembles that prescribed in Scotland. In the late Professor Jardine's Outlines of Philosophical Education we find the method of conducting *theological education* at Glasgow fully detailed.† After a four years' course of preliminary education, the clerical course commences; and this continues four years more. In the first three, lectures are delivered on the principles of evidence, with a special view to the proofs of natural and revealed religion, on the books received into the canon of Scripture and the authority on which their claims are rested, on the MSS. of the Old and New Testaments, their ancient and modern versions, their history, character, and authors. The principal controversies which have divided the Christian churches are treated of. To aid a critical study of the sacred books, Hebrew and the kindred languages of the East are taught. Frequent exercises and examinations on the topics of the lectures, and on the New Testament, are instituted. The young men from time to time compose homilies and deliver them before the professor and their fellow-students. In the fourth year,

* Dr. D. Johnston on the present State of Education in France, p. 122. † P. 476.

besides

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besides studies similar to the former, they prepare for their trials before the presbytery—with which assembly in each district the power of admitting to holy orders is lodged by the constitution of the kirk.

In Scotland, where a small minority only dissent from the established religion, the inconvenience of an uniform system of clerical education is slight; but in France, where the protestants form a considerable body, there is a protestant faculty of theology for the Lutherans at Strasburgh, and another for the Calvinists at Montauban.* In Germany, theological faculties, both catholic and protestant, are sometimes established in the same university—as at Bonn and Breslau. In the grand duchy of Baden, there is a protestant faculty at Heidelberg, and one for the catholics at Freyburg. At Vienna, although the population of the Austrian empire is almost exclusively catholic, two protestant faculties of theology have been founded of late years, one for the Lutherans, and one for the Calvinists, each with three professors.—Before we conclude this topic we may observe, that in Ireland the Royal College of St. Patrick, at Maynooth in the county of Kildare, was founded by an Irish act of parliament during the last reign,† chiefly for the priesthood of the Roman Catholic church. There are now about three hundred students there. The course requires five years. In the first, logic, metaphysics, and ethics are taught; in the second, physics; in the third, fourth, and fifth, moral and controversial divinity. If there is any just foundation for the opinion entertained by many, that this royal college has by no means raised the rank of the Roman Catholic clergy as a body, it is not attributable to defects in the plan of instruction, or to the discipline maintained there. There are frequent examinations and premiums, and an ample supply of professors. But the clergy are now entirely separated during their youth from the catholic laity, as the latter are permitted to graduate at the university of Dublin, where their number, though as yet inconsiderable, is annually on the increase. Such an entire separation of those destined to follow any particular profession from the rest of their countrymen, must always be prejudicial, and calculated to engender a narrow and illiberal turn of mind. Bad as was the education received formerly by the Irish priests at St. Omer's and Douay, it had many advantages over the present system, in enabling them sometimes to mix with the world, to enlarge their ideas, and improve their manners. But at the foreign establishments endowed for the Irish priesthood at Salamanca and Ratisbon the education was still superior. The very economy of Maynooth is, in some respects, an evil; for although it facilitates the diffusion of instruction, it very strongly

* Dr. D. Johnston on the present State of Education in France, p. 153.
† 35 G. III. c. 21.

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induces persons from the lowest classes to enter the priesthood; and, in point of fact, the rising generation of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland are drawn almost exclusively from the peasantry, and the sons of the small country shopkeepers.*

The professional course in *the faculty of law* is far more perfect and comprehensive in the universities of Germany, France, and Italy, than in Scotland. For an account of the qualifications required in France for the degree of bachelor, licentiate, and doctor of law, we refer our readers to Dr. D. Johnston's newly-published work on the present system of education in that kingdom. A concise and able statement is there given of the actual organization and discipline of the university, and all the schools of the country; and it presents a more favourable picture of the state of things than the generality of our readers would perhaps have anticipated from that quarter. The subjects of lectures and examinations, in France, consist principally of general law, natural law, law of nations, philosophical history of Roman and French law, criminal law, commercial law, administrative law, civil and criminal procedure, institutes of Roman law, three courses of French civil law, and political economy. In the Lombardo-Venetian universities,—for example, at Padua,—besides many of the above-mentioned subjects, lectures are given on ecclesiastical law, maritime law, and feudal law, on statistics and political science. The above course of studies occupies four years in Italy; and the same number of years are required for the degree of doctor in France. There has never been anything like a great law school in Scotland. In former times their lawyers were all bred in Holland; and of late years there have been no professors of splendid reputation in any of the legal chairs, except Mr. Millar, in civil law at Glasgow, and Baron Hume in the municipal law of Scotland, at Edinburgh. There is such an absence of precise regulations, and the examinations, where they exist at all, are so nugatory, that the Scotch universities have contributed but feebly to raise the science of jurisprudence to the rank which it ought to hold in a country where political institutions are so advanced as in Great Britain.

Before inscription in *the faculty of medicine* in France, a diploma of bachelor of letters, and also of bachelor of sciences, must have been obtained. The professional course for a full degree then lasts four years. It is a very complete one, certainly, and the Parisian school of medicine has of late years deservedly acquired the highest reputation. We must refer our readers to the

* This circumstance must not be overlooked in considering the influence of such men as Dr. Doyle, high-bred Salamanca doctors of the old school; but on the other hand these men are often *regulars*, and the old feud between them and the *seculars* is by no means asleep in Ireland at this time.

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publication before alluded to, for a detailed account of the lectures attended in each year;* they comprise chemistry, anatomy, physiology, botany, history of medicine, and medical jurisprudence, besides numerous subjects more immediately connected with the practice of medicine and surgery, among which clinical medicine and clinical surgery now receive, in all the best medical schools, the principal share of attention. In Padua, and several of the Italian universities, we find the course of studies for a degree of doctor in medicine or surgery comprises the greater part of the above subjects, besides zoology and mineralogy.† These last are not specifically prescribed in the professional course of the French, but they make a part of their preliminary studies.

The professorships founded at Oxford and Cambridge, in very ancient times, for the three faculties above-mentioned, clearly show that an adaptation of the course of study to the future destination of the pupil was contemplated in the original organization of our universities; and as the various sciences and departments of knowledge above enumerated are, with very few exceptions, as well calculated to enlarge the mind of all students as they are respectively appropriated to some particular profession, it is important to inquire from what motive or accident they were gradually excluded from the regular course pursued at Oxford and Cambridge, at the very time when they were making the most signal progress in all the other civilised countries in Europe.

The fact appears to have been, that our universities were at first both schools and colleges, as those in Scotland still are; and hence we may in a great measure account for the numbers of scholars who thronged thither in the early ages,—numbers which, however exaggerated by many authors, seem, undoubtedly, to have very far exceeded any estimate of those educated in the same seminaries *now*, when the population and wealth of the kingdom have so prodigiously increased. The under-graduate course seems, at first, to have corresponded precisely in point of age with that of our modern schools; and indeed many of the statutes still in force at Oxford and Cambridge, respecting the discipline of students, clearly attest the boyhood of those for whom they were enacted. Such is the statute at Oxford, directing corporal chastisement for those who neglect their lessons; and that which prohibits, at Cambridge, the under-graduates from playing marbles on the steps of the senate-house. In the course of many centuries, intelligence gradually extending throughout the country, new schools were established; and these flourished, not only from the convenience of their local situations, but from the laxity of disci-

* Dr. D. Johnston on the present State of Education in France, p. 161.
† *Ibid.* p. 162.

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pline observed in preliminary education at the universities. The age of quitting school, and of matriculating at the universities, was in this way deferred, step by step, to a later period; but no measures whatever were taken to adjust the system of academical instruction to these entirely altered circumstances. At the age of seventeen or nineteen, therefore, the student of former times might have graduated as bachelor, or even sometimes as master of arts, and forthwith have commenced a professional course; but at the same age the modern academician found himself only on the threshold of a four-years' course of term-keeping, which must be completed ere he could become a candidate for the lower of those degrees. In this manner the system of academical instruction in England became, by a strange inconsistency, more of a preliminary nature, and less conversant with matters connected with professional avocations, exactly in proportion as the undergraduates came to be composed more exclusively of young men of riper years.

But other causes co-operated with the backwardness of the universities to modify their system in compliance with the change of times, to throw impediments in the way of professional education. The most remarkable of these was the determination of the clergy, in obedience to the edicts of the see of Rome, to proscribe the municipal law, and encourage the study of the Roman, to the introduction of which the laity were as resolutely opposed. To impute to the enlightened and munificent ecclesiastics of that age the intention of exiling from their universities the cultivation of legal studies, would be to prefer against them a most unmerited charge. They took every step in their power to foster the growth of the canon and civil law. They endowed professorships with their usual liberality, instituted degrees in the faculty of law, and appointed public disputations to excite the emulation of scholars. The balance of learning, as Blackstone remarks, was so much on their side, that the common law would have been completely overrun by the civil law, if, soon after the Court of Common Pleas was fixed at Westminster, legal universities, now called the inns of court and of chancery, had not been established. In these, exercises were performed, lectures read, and degrees in common law at length conferred;* but the professional course of law at the inns of court was doomed, after many centuries, to suffer the same fate it had experienced in our national universities; and the whole discipline has at length degenerated into the mere payment of fees, and appearance at dinner (for it is not always necessary even to eat anything) on certain fixed days, at very unfashionable hours.

Our universities never flourished in ancient times, as celebrated

* Blackstone's Commentaries, Introduction, p. 24.

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schools of medicine, like some of those in Italy, and afterwards in Holland; but early in the sixteenth century professorships of medicine were founded at Oxford and Cambridge, and those of anatomy, botany, and chemistry, together with many relating to the practice of medicine, were added at later periods. There is no reason to believe that in this country we were inferior to foreign universities in general; and there are abundant proofs that no degrees were intended to be conferred without previous inquiry into the medical qualifications of the candidates: thus, at Cambridge, students must still keep acts, and produce certificates of having attended the professor's class; but the rise of the medical schools of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and afterwards that in our own metropolis, as well as in Dublin—the want of large hospitals, and the difficulty of procuring in England subjects for anatomical dissection in any but the largest towns, will account for the subsequent decline of these studies at Oxford and Cambridge during the last century. It appears by the archives of Oxford that there was a continual decrease in the number of medical graduates from the beginning to the close of the last century. Nor, in spite of the disadvantages before alluded to, could this have happened so long as superior rank and privileges were attached to these degrees, if general remissness of discipline, together with the non-adaptation of academical regulations to the important change in the age of students had not, before the commencement of the period above mentioned, completely subverted the original constitution of our universities, and necessarily caused the lectureships in the faculty of medicine, as well as in that of law, to degenerate into sinecures, and the examinations into mere form. This is the unhappy truth of the case; and we think it can scarcely be doubted, that even although the practical knowledge of the art had not been attended to, yet, if physical science, if experimental philosophy, if chemistry and comparative anatomy had been pursued with that ardour which we might have expected in the chief literary and scientific seminaries of Great Britain—if botany and zoology had been cultivated there with a view to the science of organization, the body of medical students could never have been reduced to their present insignificant numbers.

The colleges in our universities having been in so great a degree founded and endowed for ecclesiastics, it is natural to expect that the professional course of theological study cannot have declined, either at Oxford or Cambridge, in the same way as that of law or of physic. It affords, however, great confirmation of the opinions suggested by us in the former part of this article, that even this department narrowly escaped destruction; and in modern times, when, as we shall afterwards state, powerful exertions have been made

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made to revive this professional course, a return to the spirit of the ancient constitution has been made at some expense of its original forms. Although the professorship of divinity was never a sinecure, yet the chairs of Hebrew and Arabic became, as Dr. Lowth himself described them, while in the middle of the last century he adorned the Hebrew chair at Oxford, 'eximiis potius eruditionis, insignemque in litteras meritorum præmiis, quàm magni aut assidui laboris mercedis.'* For our part, we deem it matter of congratulation that our young divines should become recondite scholars in Greek and Latin rather than in Hebrew and Arabic. They would have devoted themselves with nearly as much zeal, and certainly with less profit, to the latter, had they been proposed to them as subjects for academical distinction. It must, however, be admitted, that a competent knowledge of the languages in which the sacred volume is written is a becoming accomplishment in every divine; and, consequently, that some efficient encouragement should be given to such studies in universities like ours.

To discover how *professional education* ceased to be imparted at our universities to young men between the ages of seventeen and two-and-twenty, is more easy than to explain the accidental circumstances that led to the singular contrast between the courses of reading ultimately adopted at Oxford and at Cambridge. Our historical information concerning these universities, as far as regards their literary and philosophical progress, and the various fluctuations these have undergone, is surprisingly scanty and unsatisfactory. If the materials were more complete, the task of digesting them into a clear narrative would probably have long since been undertaken by some of their distinguished members. But although the determination of precise dates of different revolutions in our academical practice may be impossible, we are not abandoned altogether to conjecture when endeavouring to fill up the broad outline of the succession of events. The liveliest interest had in the earliest times been excited by public disputations where the qualifications of candidates for degrees had been ascertained. These had become nearly obsolete in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and no fact affords a more striking exemplification of the apathy of those to whom the administration of the universities was formerly confided, than that so long a period should have elapsed before any effectual exertions were made to repair the loss of so important an institution, and to replace it by one equally capable of exciting emulation and better suited to the spirit and intelligence of the age. The mathematical *tripos* was instituted at Cambridge in the latter part of the seventeenth century, subsequently

* Crewian Oration, delivered A.D. 1751.

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to the great discoveries of Newton, who was second professor of mathematics in that university. It may readily be conceived how great a sensation the Newtonian philosophy, which spread so rapidly over Europe, must have excited at Cambridge, more especially as it appears clearly that, while considerable taste for mathematical pursuits had before arisen among some of the students, the minds of the generality were not at that time pre-occupied by any other favourite topic of interest or competition. When, therefore, so powerful an impulse had suddenly overcome their inertia, we have no reason to wonder at the peculiar direction of their subsequent studies, nor at the rapidity of their first progress.* Their continued energy in one undeviating course might have been weakened by numerous subjects of attraction, surrounding them on every side, had not a continued stimulus been supplied by the tripos, where the names of the candidates examined were inscribed in the order of merit. That the mere accident above adverted to, determined the original application of the academicians to mathematics, to the almost total exclusion of other sciences, is rendered nearly certain by the length of time during which they continued to confine themselves to the works of Newton, utterly disregarding the splendid additions made to his discoveries by later geometers. This adherence to the ancient synthetical methods in preference to those that are purely analytical was pointed out by Mr. Playfair, as the cause of the inferiority of the English mathematicians, since the time of Newton, to those of several continental nations; and that he was not mistaken we think now clear to demonstration, for no sooner was the former exclusive system greatly modified, than eminent authors, in different branches of mathematics, began to appear at Cambridge, and every succeeding year has been marked by a decided progression in the course of studies encouraged there.

For the cultivation of classical literature at Oxford we have partly accounted, when stating, that the terms required to be kept before graduating in arts, and, consequently, the course of studies

* Mr. Playfair had stated, in his 'Dissertation on the History of the Mathematical and Physical Sciences,' which accompanies the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, that in the University of Cambridge the Cartesian system kept its ground for more than thirty years after the publication of Newton's discoveries, in 1687; and a belief is further expressed in a note, that 'the Universities of St. Andrews and Edinburgh were the first in Britain where the Newtonian philosophy was made the subject of the academical prelections.' Mr. Dugald Stewart, in his Dissertation, in the same Encyclopædia, on the History of the Moral and Metaphysical Sciences, has, to a certain extent, announced a similar opinion. But Mr. Whewell, of Trinity College, Cambridge, has shown how extremely inaccurate these statements are, since Sir I. Newton himself read lectures in the public schools on his philosophy; and his successors in this professorship, Whiston and Saunderson, were as zealous promulgators of his doctrines as their contemporaries in any other place.

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originally pursued during those terms, were transferred, in the course of several centuries, to persons of more advanced age, and thereby consumed the whole period of their residence at the university. But to this it may be objected, that the *public disputations* previous to graduation having dwindled into mere form, and the internal *college-examinations* being much neglected, the young men must have been left very nearly to a free selection of subjects of study. This was, in fact, the case; and the students who were then earnestly engaged in improving their minds, did often shape out for themselves a more extended and comprehensive plan of education than can be pursued by any candidates for honours under the new system. But these were comparatively few in number.—We must not, however, forget, that the young men intended for the church, who constituted a very numerous part of the under-graduates at Oxford, were, in a great degree, prosecuting their professional studies, when acquiring a critical knowledge of ancient languages and the writers of Greece and Rome. For preliminary education in England was then, and had long been, wholly classical, and to the clergy were confided the charge of our public schools, and the whole tuition of our young nobility and gentry.

We may consider the consequences flowing from the abandonment of professional education in two different lights.—First, as to its effects in excluding altogether from a university many who would otherwise have enjoyed that benefit; and secondly, its operation, whether prejudicial or not, on the moral and intellectual advancement of those who still graduate. The first of these considerations is evidently of the most transcendent importance; for, should it appear that our present system excludes altogether from Oxford and Cambridge the majority, or a great part, of those whose vocations require, and whose means might enable them to command, academical education, it then becomes a matter of secondary moment what may be the excellence of the present system in the abstract, or what speculative notions we may entertain of its perfection, if within the reach of the public generally.

The postponement of professional information occasions a positive increase of the expense of education, whatever knowledge we may impart in its place. The medical or legal student who finds that, by following a certain course of instruction, he *must* defer the commencement of those labours which are to qualify him for practice, has to calculate the adequacy of his means, and to consider the shortness of life. And if we desire to estimate how many such students have come to the conclusion that it would be an act of imprudence in them, either from pecuniary or other motives, to defer so long the possibility of deriving some returns from their own

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own exertions, we must turn our eyes to the learned faculties whose members usually contribute to swell the number of academicians in other countries.

Now about one hundred of all the *physicians* now practising in England have been educated at Oxford and Cambridge.* It is unnecessary to remind the reader how small a proportion these must form of the whole body. There are more than three hundred licentiates of the College of Physicians, besides as many hundreds of country practitioners, who have never been candidates for the privilege of the licentiate:—and, perhaps, if the above physicians, who are all graduates of other seats of learning, had really resided, and received a good scientific education, where they graduated, (as many of them have at Edinburgh and Glasgow,) the public might have had no great cause for complaint. But it is well known that, until recently, when new regulations were passed on this subject in Scotland, the title of physician, intended to protect the public against the impositions of empirical practitioners, afforded no security whatever when its bearer was a Scottish graduate. Even had this been otherwise, it must, at all events, have continued matter of regret that England, fitted in every way to possess a school of medicine, equal at least in celebrity to any in Europe, should have reduced almost all the members of the higher branch of that profession to the necessity of completing their education elsewhere.—There are now six thousand members of the *College of Surgeons*, not six of whom have graduated at our universities. This, it may be said, is unavoidable, as they usually begin their practical education at the age of fifteen, manual dexterity being of primary importance in their art. But when we reflect on their number and respectability—on the lucrative description of their business in large cities—and on the great proportion of them who, in the country, combine the practice of both divisions of the healing art—we are persuaded that many would have passed at least some years at our universities, if lectures on physical science and natural history had been encouraged there; and this circumstance would have raised the scientific attainments of the whole body of surgeons, and would also have induced many, from a somewhat higher class of society, to enter into that branch of the profession. Their present course of instruction is certainly very deficient; and it is most desirable that in London, as well as in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dublin, they should, while attending at an early age the hospitals and dissecting-rooms, enjoy every facility for carrying on their education in other departments of knowledge also. The members of the two divisions of the medical

* See List of College of Physicians.

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faculty in England appear, in our judgment, to have fallen into the two opposite extremes,—the one beginning a practical education too early, the other deferring it too late. The large share of labour expended on classical literature in our schools and universities would certainly be ill suited to surgeons; and we probably owe much of the scientific pre-eminence of John Hunter to the neglect of his school education, which left him, at a very early age, at his brother's house in London, devoted to chemistry, natural philosophy, and the study of the organization of plants and animals. The style and arrangement of his writings would have been more clear and elegant, had his mind received more literary cultivation; but if the course of studies be either exclusively literary, or solely confined to natural history and science, instead of combining both, there can be little question which of the two will tend most to enlarge the mind, as well as forward the interests, of men in this profession.

In the higher branch of *the law* a very considerable proportion have graduated at Oxford and Cambridge,—greater, perhaps, than some may suspect, who recollect the names of many eminent lawyers, as well as the number of judges raised of late years to the bench, who never enjoyed that advantage. But the relative importance of the higher branch of this profession is generally overrated by the public. Those barristers who never had the least intention of practising the law professionally, must be included among the gentry; and the rest, who really have any practice, even if we add to them the conveyancers and special pleaders, do not much exceed a thousand; and even then, we include many whose profits never will defray the expense of their law libraries. The far greater part of the law business of this country is conducted by attornies. There are no less than eight thousand of these in England, as appears by their certificates. The trust reposed in them by their clients is often of a very delicate nature, and sometimes of the greatest consequence to the fortune, happiness, and honour of individuals. No security against the abuse of this confidence can be found, except in those high and delicate feelings of honour of which liberal education and intercourse with good society are the most powerful promoters. The supreme courts, it is true, have the power of punishing severely all flagrant breaches of duty in the members of this body—but even in these cases it is usually too late to avert, and very rarely possible to redress, the injuries of the party whose confidence has been betrayed. Continual petty extortions, however, and fomentings of litigation, are evils far beyond the reach and penal jurisdiction of any tribunals; and they who imagine that the superior education of barristers affords any effectual check to illiberal and sordid transactions

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actions in the general practice of the law, know nothing of the situation of a large proportion of them while struggling into business. In the majority of cases that come before them, they have very little insight into the previous train of circumstances by which the suit may either have been induced or unnecessarily protracted. Should they decline to participate in the transaction, from a suspicion that it is unprincipled, this will seldom arrest the mischief, for the greater part of clients resign themselves up so entirely to the discretion of their attornies, that the choice of counsel is left wholly to their judgment. When it is considered, therefore, how much society has at stake in the good faith and honour of the more numerous division of legal practitioners—the responsibility and complicated nature of the transactions they are engaged in—the extensive legal knowledge to which some of them may lay claim—the large fortunes they amass—the respectable connexions of many of them, and occasionally their successful elevation to the higher branch of the profession—it must be matter of regret to all that not one in a thousand should have studied at Oxford or Cambridge, we believe we might add at any university whatever. Their absence has resulted from circumstances not within the controul of our universities, for, until lately, a great impediment was thrown in the way of their academical education in the necessity they were under of being articled for five years to an attorney; but by late acts of parliament, (1 and 2 Geo. IV. chap. 48.) persons who have taken a degree of bachelor of arts, or of law, in the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, or Dublin, may be admitted to practice after three years service to an attorney. Whether any part of the old apprenticeship should still remain compulsory, is questioned by many; but be this as it may, for we cannot discuss the point at present, the objects proposed by the legislature in this enactment have been almost defeated by a prevailing apprehension that the ideas acquired at the university might breed in the minds of the future attornies a disinclination to their destined business. These fears have, we know, in some instances, been realized; and a few graduates, who might, with profit to themselves and benefit to society, have practised in one department of the profession, have preferred instead the barren honours of the others.

We had almost omitted to mention another important body in the state,—one which comprises as large a number of gentry as the higher branch of the law, and of which also an exceedingly insignificant portion have received an university education; we mean the gentlemen who hold places in our different government offices. If the influence of their connexions be sufficiently powerful, they often enter the office at the age of fifteen, immediately after leaving school; others go, before nineteen or twenty, in most instances without

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without any academical residence. It is rarely possible in Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, or indeed in any part of Germany, for young men to obtain even a subordinate place under government, unless they have regularly kept their terms, and passed their examination at a university, and after that they are strictly re-examined by a commission. The age of residence at their universities corresponds exactly with that at our own, but they seldom enter the government offices until the age of four-and-twenty.

The consequences of the feeble representation of the medical profession at our universities, and of the legal, when considered as a whole, and of those who hold situations under government, have been highly important, and that too not merely as affecting the absentees themselves. The style of living in every society, and the artificial wants created, depend on the average income of those who compose the community. Now, those whom the exclusion of professional studies first banished from Oxford and Cambridge, by enhancing the expense of academical education, were persons of inferior means. The natural level in the average incomes of the students having been effectually disturbed by *their* removal, many intended for commercial and various other pursuits in life, must, as a necessary consequence, have been prevented from residing at the universities. The above-mentioned effects were in this country greatly aggravated by another circumstance. While many Englishmen, possessed only of moderate means, sought academical instruction in Scotland and Ireland, and thus thinned the ranks which would otherwise have formed the bulk of the students at Oxford and Cambridge, the Scotch and Irish aristocracy, on the other hand, resorted to our universities, and threw the weight of their fortunes into the opposite scale. Hence it has necessarily resulted that the only classes fully represented at Oxford and Cambridge, have been the gentry and clergy; between these, and some persons of very limited incomes, supported on college foundations, there has been a *hiatus;* the intermediate, and, in a natural state of things, the most numerous, class having been almost entirely wanting. Our universities were originally established with a rigid regard to economy; and in everything connected with lodging, food, tuition, and even the fees of graduation, they will still be found, when compared with other universities, to be by no means extravagant—especially if due allowance be made for the superior affluence of this nation. But if the *necessary* disbursements were even less than in the Scotch universities, Oxford and Cambridge must, we fear, continue, so long as professional education is excluded, to be beyond the reach of persons of moderate fortune: for it is not the extravagant style of living at these places that has excluded a large part of the community from them;

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them; but the absence of those whom the plan of study followed there has banished, that has been itself the cause of the expense of living. The large outlay, however, now required to maintain a respectable station in society, has pressed severely on some of the members who have still resorted to our seats of learning; and as the immediate, though not the ultimate, cause of the mischief has been clearly discerned, sumptuary laws have often been passed in some colleges—we need hardly say in vain, since there is a limit below which expenditure cannot fall without a sacrifice of independence. The only remedy is a change in the average fortunes of the majority, and until that is effected, they whose means are scanty, and who have not the alternative of absence, their professional prospects absolutely requiring a degree, are placed in a distressing and cruel dilemma. It is easy to perceive what derangement in different orders of society must result from raising too high the standard of academical expenses. Those professions, or those branches of them, whose members have been precluded by pecuniary considerations from associating with the youth in our universities, are depressed below their just rank; while those, on the other hand, whose graduation is compulsory, are forced up to an equally unnatural elevation. There is no body of clergy in Europe who more faithfully discharge their duties than those of our established church. But the church has become filled with a greater number of persons of high station, and a certain independence of fortune, than could have happened if other vocations, presenting as fair a field for the display of talent, and the acquisition of wealth, had not sunk below their just level in the public estimation; and hence a serious disadvantage to the members of the clerical profession, not only as, by this means, a greater number are attracted to it than the state requires, thus rendering it difficult for them to provide themselves with employment, but likewise as it imposes upon those members of the establishment who fill the poorer benefices of the church the unreasonable hardship of being obliged to spend annually, while qualifying themselves for ordination, a greater sum than they can ever receive in after-life from their professional emoluments: for a large proportion of our clergy must, after all, consist of persons of moderate fortune, from the number of poor livings and curacies which are distributed throughout every part of this kingdom, in situations offering few of the charms of society to the incumbent. It will at once be seen how large a proportion of the clergy must necessarily consist of persons of very moderate fortune, on whom the expenses of an university education cannot but press heavily. But to the country at large the consequences are still more serious; for by this means poor districts of considerable extent, as witness

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part of Wales and Cumberland, may come to be deprived of university-bred clergymen altogether.

The number of undergraduates in the universities of Scotland is about four thousand; at Oxford and Cambridge, they have greatly increased of late years, and now somewhat exceed three thousand. Should we deduct from those in Scotland the youths who in age correspond with scholars in our public schools, and also the English, Irish, and Scotch medical students, the number remaining would still appear considerable—especially if we attend to the scanty population and wealth of that country, and the absence of nearly all their own nobility, and very many of their own gentry, from the universities. At Glasgow, undoubtedly, the proportion of young undergraduates is great; but a very moderate deduction need be made on this score in the case of Edinburgh, since few parents have ever trusted boys where they were under so little controul and discipline. But in instituting the above comparison, we must, on the other hand, subtract from the English universities the Scotch and Irish gentry, and all those who go there exclusively with a view of enjoying fellowships, exhibitions, and scholarships, and to whom the education imparted there is not the primary object of attraction. The number, thus reduced, when considered with reference to the immense affluence and population of England, will appear so small, as strongly to confirm our former reasoning as to the baneful influence exerted by the present defective system in excluding a great proportion of men, intended for various occupations in life, and for two or three of the learned professions.

If a question be raised whether the institution of new universities on a different scheme, or the enlargement of the plan of the old ones, would most effectually administer to the present wants of the nation, we think there are the strongest reasons for preferring the latter alternative. It should be the favourite aim, as it is the noblest end, of a university, to blend together the various elements of which the more enlightened portion of the community is composed—to soften down, by early associations, the prejudices springing out of distinct occupations, unequal worldly advantages, and discordant opinions—to form them into one harmonious whole, and to stamp upon the rising generation a character truly national. Besides, the most improving, as well as the most agreeable, society is constituted of persons, who, while they possess in common some general information, are individually engaged in distinct pursuits. It is then that the exchange of ideas is most rapid and varied, and that conversation takes habitually a less superficial turn. But still more beneficial in after-life would prove the early intimacies contracted at the university between men of different classes and professions; it would check the growth of that narrow professional

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fessional cast of mind which the separation of men devoted to distinct employments inevitably promotes. It might lead us into too wide a digression, or we could adduce examples, from the spirit in which some modern controversies have been conducted, to prove that mutual prejudices and misunderstandings have arisen from separating them entirely, during the period of education, the members of our theological and medical faculties.

The most popular arguments, then, for denying to academicians a professional course of studies—arguments derived from apprehension of the engrossing influence of mercenary ideas and technical details—are answered by the fact that education becomes to the majority, in consequence of this very denial, more illiberal, and more exclusively professional. The very mischief we wish to guard against is aggravated: for they who might have been induced, if they had entered the university, to combine philosophical with practical instruction, are thus debarred the aid of able guides, and left to find their own way in the dark, embarrassed by the multiplicity of works, and endeavouring to extract from a mass of particular cases a knowledge of the general principles of science. The routine of a pleader's or attorney's office, or the practical duties of the hospital and dissecting-room, are commenced without sufficient preparatory culture, and without relation to a comprehensive and systematic course of study. For these reasons it is that law and medicine have so often been practised among us as arts, rather than raised to the dignity of sciences.—It may possibly be objected to this argument, that many physicians who have graduated at Oxford and Cambridge have risen rapidly into practice and professional eminence in our metropolis: these have proved, it may be said, that classical literature, though it almost exclusively engrossed their thoughts till the age of one or two-and-twenty, did not engender tastes uncongenial with the pursuit of physical science, or the practical duties of their vocation. We shall not attempt to meet this objection by citing authorities on the other side, and enumerating those who, with inferior advantages of fortune, have met with no less signal success, and that too under an opposite system of instruction; it is sufficient to remind the reader that the rank in society attached to a medical degree of Oxford and Cambridge, and the respectable connexions formed during residence at these universities, are circumstances which have powerfully assisted the fellows of the College of Physicians. This influence is perfectly legitimate; but it must not be forgotten that its efficacy depends mainly on the smallness of the circle to which it is now confined.

With respect to our statesmen, legislators, and magistrates, if we neglect to induce them, by a spirit of emulation when at col-

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lege, to study the principles of jurisprudence, and the laws and constitutional history of Great Britain, we must be contented to submit to a most serious inconvenience—namely, that the generality will never study them at all. Blackstone, in the Introduction to his Commentaries, has dwelt with so much power and eloquence on the political expediency of such studies at our universities, that it would be superfluous to go over the same ground again. Active measures for the reform of our laws, both as respects their spirit and their administration, are now in progress; nor can we imagine any more enviable fame than Mr. Peel seems likely to achieve, if he continue to devote his great talents to a pursuit from which, it is to be hoped, no external considerations will dissuade him. But this reform comes late: and when we consider how distinctly Lord Bacon had pointed out, two centuries ago, the evils arising out of the innumerable technicalities of our law, our voluminous statutes, conflicting ordinances, and partial enactments—and that in the mean time the mischief has augmented almost in the same ratio as the diffusion of knowledge, all efforts in favour of amendment having proved abortive—we have certainly room for suspicion that somewhere or other there has been a deficiency in the education of those by whom the laws of England have been framed and executed.

Having referred to Lord Bacon, we must not quit this branch of our subject without alluding to some observations of his which may seem opposed to a part of our foregoing reasoning—

'Amongst so many great foundations of colleges in Europe,' says the philosopher, 'I find it strange that they are all dedicated to professions, and none left free to arts and sciences at large. This dedicating of foundations and donations to professory learning, hath not only had a malign aspect and influence upon the growth of sciences, but hath also been prejudicial to states and governments. For hence it proceedeth, that princes find a solitude in regard of able men to serve them in causes of state, because there is no education collegiate that is free, where such as are disposed might give themselves to *histories, modern languages, books of policy*, and *civil discourse*, and other the like enablements unto service of estate.'*

We gather from these, and other passages of this great author, that he considered the professional education of his time as of *too* practical and narrow a description, and, probably, commenced at too early an age; and it was, doubtless, the same state of things that drew from Lord Herbert of Cherbury, the remark, that in his day the ordinary course of study in the university was ill fitted for *elder brothers*.†

* Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, book II.

† Life of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, pp. 46, 47.

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In order fully to appreciate the various causes that have led to the characteristic peculiarities in English education, and still further to comprehend the real nature and amount of the obstacles we have to contend against, whenever we may attempt its modification and amendment, it is necessary first to examine the organization of our schools and universities with respect to the *teachers*. The original constitution of our universities has changed in this respect no less than in regard to the provisions made for a professional course of study, and it is matter of great interest to trace the origin and effects of these changes. Oral instruction was, before the invention of printing, the principal means of communicating knowledge, and so scarce and costly were many of the MSS. during the middle ages, even on the most popular sciences, that prælectors were often appointed to read them publicly to an assembled throng of students, who attended with their note-books, to gain little else from the reciter than may now be gained from books. The functions of these readers were undoubtedly superseded by the printing-press, and this circumstance has misled many into the belief that the office of public professor also was rendered less necessary, if not wholly useless, in the European universities, by the discovery of the art of printing. Dr. Johnson has expressed this opinion in his usual authoritative, we had almost said dogmatical, tone: 'Lectures were once useful, but now, when all can read, and books are so numerous, lectures are unnecessary;'* and Dr. Lowth had previously alluded to the abandonment of the professorial system at Oxford, as justifiable on precisely similar grounds.† But in the institution of public professors, our ancestors, and the founders of European universities in general, were guided by principles whose force has been augmented, not annulled, by the invention of an art that has promoted the growth of new sciences, and prodigiously accelerated the universal progress of the human mind.

The additional power derivable from the subdivision of labour, in the cultivation of literature and philosophy, as well as in the useful arts, was the ruling motive which led to the assignment of particular departments of knowledge to separate public professors, and the date of the foundation of the *separate* faculties of arts, theology, law, and medicine, antecedent by many centuries to the invention of printing, would alone be sufficient to establish this fact, even if there were no proofs of a further division of labour having been effected *within* each faculty at very early periods. In order to induce a considerable number of eminent men to devote

* Boswell's Life of Johnson, v. iii. p. 345; second edition, 1799.
† Crewian Oration of 1751.

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themselves to the teaching of particular subjects, it was found necessary that large assemblages of students should be collected in one place. When, therefore, different colleges were added to a university, by the liberality of successive benefactors, the students, though formed into distinct communities, and often subjected to different rules of discipline, continued, nevertheless, to profit in common, by the lectures of the same public professors. Among the continental nations in general, the subdivision of different subjects among teachers at the universities was carried to a greater extent, in proportion to the general progress of science; and the foundation of different colleges, by distinct benefactors, was not allowed to interfere with this practice. The same usage was finally extended from the universities to the schools, and with no less success, as is at present exemplified in France and Germany. In France, most unequivocal proofs were afforded that in this respect the institutions of the middle ages were in perfect harmony with the spirit of later times, when, upon the total annihilation of the ancient universities of that kingdom, at the revolution, it became necessary to organize an entirely new system. Never was there a period in which less inclination was felt to bend with undue deference to the authority of former ages: yet in the university, and in all the colleges, in the conduct both of professional and of preliminary education, the principle of subdivision was recognised, and carried, in many instances, to an unprecedented extent; and this great national institution remains the same to this day, with a few trifling modifications. In the present altered state of *our* universities, and especially after the modern reforms to be adverted to in the sequel, our readers may deem it matter rather of antiquarian curiosity, than of any practical utility, to inquire into the causes which reduced to inactivity, not only the chairs devoted to professional learning, but even those designed for preliminary education in the faculty of arts. Yet it is interesting to ascertain how much further our universities departed from the spirit of their original constitution, than other seats of learning in Europe, and what exertions in modern times have been made to revive the energy of that old spirit, or to replace it by preferable institutions. In the German universities, each public professor delivers, by virtue of his appointment, one gratuitous course of lectures. A desertion of these official duties would infallibly be attended by the loss of his salary; but although he faithfully discharges these functions, he gives also private lectures on his own account, and takes care to render them so indispensable to the students, that they attract as large, and generally a larger, audience than his public course. Adam Smith has hinted that the prohibition to receive an honorary, or fee, from the pupils, naturally reduced

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reduced the lectureships at Oxford and Cambridge to sinecures; for such a system, he argues, places the duty of professors in direct opposition to their interest;—if they form themselves a part of the body corporate, which can alone exercise controul over them, they will naturally 'make a common cause to be all very indulgent to one another;'* and what activity they possess will be employed in labours productive of some additional advantage. But these conjectures afford no explanation why our public professors did not turn the privilege of teaching to account in private lectures, in the same manner as their brethren in the German universities had done; for, unquestionably, their salaries were never in general so high as to render them in the least degree independent. Be the cause, however, what it may, it appears, from Dr. Lowth's Crewian Oration, that, so far back as the middle of the last century, it was impossible for the public professors of Oxford, however zealous they might be, to obtain classes, and play a leading part, as formerly, in the office of public instruction.* Their place, he added, was supplied by preceptors in each college, to whom the youth resorted at home with greater profit to themselves. These college-tutors afforded, perhaps, in the first instance, merely private tuition, subsidiary to the professors' lectures; but when the whole business of education had, by a gradual transference, devolved on them, they were enabled, in some of the more considerable and most flourishing colleges, to obtain numerous classes, and their lectures assumed that intermediate character between the didactic discourses of a public professor, and the more conversational instruction of a private tutor, which they have ever since preserved. They were sufficiently formal, to induce those to whom such an expense was no object, to avail themselves, in addition, of the more familiar and companionable intercourse of a private tutor; and often, when this step was not taken, the *college*-tutor himself, in addition to his other fatiguing avocations, devoted many hours to the private pupilage of those who were soon to appear before the public examiners of the University. In this way, a course of tuition, partly public and partly private, was ultimately established at Oxford and Cambridge. The case is nearly the same at Dublin; and, as we shall afterwards show, in many foreign universities. The perfection, in fact, of every plan of academical teaching, depends mainly on the proper distribution of labour between the lecturer and the private tutor.

If the multiplication of books had the effect of rendering lectures unnecessary, as Dr. Johnson thought, such an opinion has at least never been acted upon in the British islands; for, except partially in Ireland, our academical course has never exclusively

* Wealth of Nations, book v. chap. 1.

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consisted of private tuition. At Dublin, undoubtedly, where alone terms are kept by the mere act of passing quarterly examinations, a course of mere *reading*, either solitary, or with a private tutor, is fully recognised; and many students, availing themselves of the dispensation of residence thus granted, actually attend at college only ten days during the whole year. We have always considered that the habits of self-government acquired by students, in that critical period of their lives when they are just entering upon manhood, were to be ranked among the most valuable benefits derivable from well-regulated universities; and where a real desire of improvement prevails among the young men, they certainly learn at least as much from each other, as from their teachers. We by no means concur in the opinion of those who think that the evils attendant on academical residence counterbalance its probable advantages; but we are free to confess that where the range of studies is confined, as at Dublin, and where those introduced are not systematically divided among the teachers, there is nothing so preposterous and absurd in the custom of dispensing with residence as may at first appear. The academical institutions of Dublin were modelled on those of Trinity College, Cambridge. Although there are professors, therefore, as at Oxford and Cambridge, the real business of instruction is entrusted to college-tutors, who are also junior fellows. There are sixteen of these,—each of whom is virtually professor of every branch of knowledge which can enter into the regular public examinations, and open a path to a degree or an academical honour. The choice of tutor being, with great fairness, left open to the academicians, who are all members of one college, the numbers of the classes vary according to the reputation and industry of teachers, and the superintendence of more than one hundred pupils sometimes falls to one individual. When we recollect how many of the candidates for high distinction at Oxford and Cambridge acquire a large part of their information with a private tutor, during vacation; and when we consider how great an emulation must be kept alive at Dublin, even among absent members, by the recurrence of public examinations at the end of every three months, we must admit that non-residence, under such circumstances, is less unreasonable than it is sometimes represented to be. Where courses of professional study are the main objects proposed at a university, and where a body of public professors, each eminent in some one department of science, are actively engaged, with numerous assistants, no valid arguments can be found in support of a similar custom. But where the pupil is to be left, in any case, to the charge of a single tutor, the undivided attention, even of a less eminent scholar, may be preferred to a share in a college-tutor's exertions, and this additional expense may

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may be covered by the economy of residing at home. We do not pretend to estimate the comparative scholarship of resident and non-resident students at Dublin. If the latter often rival the others in acquirements, or are not in general greatly inferior, we must either infer that the course of instruction at Dublin might be easily improved, or that the whole virtue of an University consists in her public examinations. If we could bring ourselves to concede this latter proposition, we should seriously think of recommending that a commission of 'Oyer and terminer' should issue at certain seasons in the year, not only to his majesty's justices in eyre, but to a board of public examiners, who, in a circuit throughout the kingdom, might 'hear and determine' the answers and qualifications of candidates, and bring home degrees, as well as justice, to the door of every Englishman. It is needless to conjecture what emulation might be excited by thus establishing in every part of the country a uniform standard of academical merit. We leave the economists of the age to estimate the annual savings of students in travelling expenses, and of ancient corporations in the costs of maintaining and enlarging colleges; and to the reformers we resign the still nobler task of speculating on the moral perfectibility of a rising generation, whose members should, by continual residence in a domestic circle, escape entirely the contagion of vice so inevitable amidst congregated numbers.

But let us not misrepresent the system of Dublin, or convey an erroneous impression that the practice of non-residence is approved of or encouraged there. It is merely tolerated; and the question really at issue between the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin on the one hand, and the rest of the world on the other, as to the method of teaching, is not whether lectures should be sacrificed to private tuition, but simply whether there should or should not be a subdivision among the teachers of those various departments of knowledge which ought to qualify men for degrees or academical honours. Now the decision of this question must, of course, depend in a great measure on the conclusion to which the reader has come as to the propriety of appropriating some years to professional study before the age of two-and-twenty—for they who favour this opinion will admit that many departments of knowledge, both moral and physical, now daily making rapid progress, must then be introduced into the system; and little doubt can be entertained that to keep pace with the discoveries and enlarged views of the age, in any one of these, would constitute an occupation demanding the whole time and energies of an individual. We ought, therefore, to confine ourselves to the inquiry whether there are any branches of preliminary education, as we have styled it, that can be taught with greater, or even equal, success, when the duties of teaching many subjects are thrown upon one

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one tutor.—We fear that many popular prejudices stand in the way of a fair consideration of this subject, like the trees that rendered the enchanted grove impenetrable to Godfrey's army. We, too, may fain wish for the sword of Rinaldo to hew them down, but as, like him, we deem them to be mere delusions, the bare apprehension of danger shall not scare us from the approach.—

In the first place, it is pretended that, although professors may teach more profoundly, or even extend the bounds of, a single branch of science or literature, by concentrating their thoughts more exclusively upon it, yet their own minds must become contracted by remaining thus limited to a narrow sphere of inquiry. Under such circumstances they will enjoy, it is said, fewer opportunities of acquiring general knowledge, and become less fitted to form the intellectual and moral habits of their pupils. Thus, in the mechanical arts, it is commonly observed, quantity of production is augmented by minute subdivision of labour; but the mind of the mechanic himself is less exercised when thus confined to a few operations, and in proportion as he is more actively instrumental in enlarging the total amount of national wealth and enjoyment, he sinks individually in the scale of rational being. We stay not to inquire at present how far this extraordinary proposition would stand the test of a severe scrutiny, and an appeal to facts as regards the mechanic; but admitting its truth, for the sake of argument, we still affirm that the terms of comparison between the mechanic and the philosopher are faulty in the extreme. In the former case, the advantages resulting from the subdivision of labour, consist principally in increased manual dexterity. There is nothing, therefore, logically inconsistent in assuming that this dexterity is purchased at the expense of some opportunities of intellectual improvement. But in the cultivation of literature and philosophy, if any power is gained by subdivision, that power must be of a purely intellectual nature. It may, no doubt, be of a higher or lower order, according to the class of objects on which the mind has been exercised; but as the occupation of a philosopher can *never* be analogous to mixed employments, consisting partly of intellectual, but chiefly of manual exertion, the comparison we have adverted to, can have no other effect than to conceal the real point in dispute.

One fertile source of error in reasoning on this subject in England, springs from our habit of regarding the business of a tutor as concerned in teaching the works of certain authors, rather than certain branches of knowledge. In the former case, restriction to a confined range would, unquestionably, have all the prejudicial effects commonly apprehended; but in the latter, if a professor has sufficient talent to form a just conception of the bearings of other arts and sciences on his own, he will invariably find, like Imlac,

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Imlac, that the qualifications required for his functions are indefinite; that scarcely any description of information can be neglected; that what may not be essential, or have only a remote connection, may still be useful for illustration. In a word, instead of repining that his genius is cramped within too narrow a compass, he will rather be in danger of despairing, with Rasselas, at the impossibility of any human being accomplishing so vast an undertaking. To discern all the reciprocal relations of a great variety of distinct subjects, is beyond the power of the most gigantic capacity; but to select one science, and to discover the relations of many others to it—to learn what eminent writers have already written—to select from their works, and present what is valuable, in a condensed form, and then to add original ideas and comments,—this is a task that might satisfy the industry and ambition of any individual, be his talents what they may. The same tutor at Oxford, and that too not merely in the smallest colleges, delivers lectures in the course of one or two years on books that, in most other universities, would be divided among the departments of many professors—of those, for instance, of Ancient History, the Languages, Poetry, and Philosophy of the Greeks and Romans, Logic, Mathematics, and Divinity. It is evident that, however indefatigable his industry, (and a more laborious and ill-paid class of men does not exist in the kingdom,) a gentleman so situated must, generally, be under the necessity of restraining the course of reading to a fixed number of authors; and that, in regard even to these, having little leisure to think for himself, or to exercise his own judgment and invention, he must remain dependent on the best commentator he can find. Hence the superiority of the English nation in classical erudition has not been so marked as might have been expected, when it is recollected how great a sacrifice of other studies has been made to this branch of learning. A large proportion of the excellent modern editions of the principal Greek and Roman classics, now in the hands of our academicians, proceed from the German universities; not because the profits of authorship are great in that country,—for, on the contrary, it is found almost impossible to protect a copyright where so many independent states share in a common language; but because the professors there are placed in a situation enabling each individual to devote his life to one branch of literature, and consequently, if he has talent as well as zeal, to attain pre-eminence in it. The teachers also in the German schools (which correspond in the age of the students to our public schools) have all the benefits of a similar subdivision of employment;—and they often, in consequence, become celebrated as authors in the literary and scientific world, and are promoted to chairs

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chairs in the universities. In France, the same results are found to flow from a similar cause; all the classes, except those containing the youngest boys, being under the superintendence of persons who are restricted to teaching particular departments. As almost all our principal schools were, at first, merely grammar-schools, and only designed for imparting elementary knowledge, it was equally natural that no subdivision of scientific instruction between the masters should have been attempted. How far the perseverance of our schools in adhering to the same scheme, after an entire change had taken place in the age of the pupils, contracted the sphere of English education, is matter of conjecture. But, unquestionably, a limitation of the course of reading at our universities and schools to a certain fixed and almost unvarying number of books, and those confined to a moderate range of subjects, is an unavoidable consequence of our system. So long as that remains unaltered, no attempt should be made to enlarge the range of studies; for, however desirable it may be that youths above the age of fourteen should be imbued with elementary knowledge in many sciences, rather than aspire to premature excellence in some few, yet it is equally expedient that they should be taught no more than their *teachers* can profoundly master. There is no danger that, being well grounded in early life in the rudiments of many branches of knowledge, and being thus provided with the means of pushing forward in many different directions, they should not in manhood concentrate their whole energy on some one determinate course; but they would certainly become shallow and superficial in all things if a greater diversity of occupation disabled their *teachers* from acquiring a perfect acquaintance with every topic they profess to treat of.

The great obstacle to the full developement of a teacher's powers, arising from an adherence to a prescribed number of particular works, consists in this, that before passing his own examination at the university, he must himself have read and re-read these books, and extracted from them almost all the nourishment they are capable of affording. To him they present an exhausted soil; and having lost by frequent repetition all taste and enthusiasm for a writer, he is not likely to inspire much admiration of his merits into the minds of his pupils in general. There is always room for apprehending that, under such circumstances, the excitement may be made to depend too exclusively on extrinsic considerations,—on emulation, and the prospect of academical honours, rather than a spirit of inquiry, a thirst for knowledge, or a deep sense of the instrumentality of such pursuits in strengthening the mind or enriching it with new ideas. The former stimulants should be used with temperance and due caution, for however great their efficacy in overcoming

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coming the natural repugnance of youth to severe application, their effects are temporary, and they are almost inoperative on that large class of men, who are either diffident of their natural powers, or conscious that their backwardness precludes all sanguine hopes of success in competition for early distinction. But if, by presenting science in its least repulsive forms,—if, by condescending to study the means of rendering instruction engaging to the youth in general, we can instil into them a love of knowledge for its own sake, we shall impart an impulse which, though feebler in the first instance, will far outlast the transient fervours of academical ambition, and produce a greater number of men of sound views, general information and ability, whose *works*, produced between the ages of thirty and fifty, shall instruct and delight the world, although there may be fewer prodigies in classical or mathematical attainments at a much earlier age, to claim the applause and wonder of, after all, a narrow circle.

The failure of the measures employed to promote the study of logic at Oxford should serve as a warning against any rash attempts to make the course more comprehensive, either in our schools or universities, so long as the teaching of many subjects is entrusted to single individuals. Dr. Whately, in his late excellent work on the Elements of Logic, has frankly avowed that the cultivation of this science has been exceedingly unpopular at Oxford. 'The truth (says he) is, that a very small proportion, even of distinguished students, ever become good logicians, and that by far the greater part pass through the university without knowing any thing at all of it.'* The slow progress it has made is attributable, according to him, to the circumstance of its never having been ennobled by constituting part of the passport to academical honours.† But this is only one, and that not the principal cause of the evil; and the removal of this impediment alone would not raise the science, as he anticipates, to its just rank, although it may be truly said that this, and other studies which are placed in the same predicament, are discouraged in exact proportion to the success of the public examinations in exciting competition. To this topic we shall return again: at present we may remark, that to logic, which furnishes rules for trying the validity of forms of arguments—which is inseparably identified with the philosophy of language, and its influence over our ideas—which analyzes the mental process of reasoning, and within whose legitimate province, therefore, may fall the investigation of all the powers of the human mind—to such a science it is presumptuous for those whose attention is embarrassed by a multiplicity of unconnected occu-

* Elements of Logic, pref. p. 15.

† Ibid. pref. p. 19.

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pations, to hope to do justice. Dr. Whately has unintentionally confirmed our views, by declaring that he has turned his thoughts, more or less, for fourteen years, to the fundamental doctrines contained in his work.* No one knows better than he how few months are usually deemed sufficient to confer the qualifications necessary for delivering lectures on logic; and *we*, being fully persuaded that its cultivation will never flourish at Oxford under the present system, concur with him, though on somewhat different grounds, in the opinion that the universality of the requisition should no longer be insisted upon.

But the chief danger apprehended by many in the introduction of professorial lectures into our universities, is the temptation it might hold out to those whose success and emolument would then mainly depend on the popularity of their discourses, to gratify their audience by the originality rather than the soundness of their doctrine—to interest youthful curiosity by novelty rather than truth—and to abandon the undisputed facts of history, or fixed principles of science, for the more animated discussion of controverted points. In theology, it is said, eloquent professors might unsettle the minds of youth, (as has happened in some German universities,) by indulging bold and incautious speculations on the interpretation of scripture and doctrinal points. Lastly, the opposition of rival theories in different chairs, in the same university, would lessen the dignity of the professors, and detract from the influence and authority they ought to possess over the minds of the students.

Now we grant that the competition of professors in the same faculty has been carried too far in Germany, at least in theology; and the great fame they have acquired as biblical critics may be far more than counterbalanced by the diversity of creeds engendered by the freedom of their speculations. But this evil cannot be laid to the charge of the system of professional instruction, for clerical education has for ages been conducted under such a system in the Scotch universities without any approach to the same inconvenient results. In the other faculties the competition of professors is, for many reasons, highly beneficial, particularly when those who fill important chairs continue in office long after they are superannuated, in which case it may be ungracious to force them to resign, and yet indispensable to replace their services. It must be confessed that, with a view to avoid such inconvenience, the rapid succession of college tutors at Oxford and Cambridge may have many arguments in its favour, securing, as it does, a continual supply of young and active teachers. On the other hand, reluctance to quit

* Elements of Logic, pref. p. 23.

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a professorial chair, on the part of men of talent in their old age, shows how congenial the discharge of such duties has proved to their feelings. Michaelis, we are told, was never completely happy except when giving lectures; and such enthusiasm for their labour (a sentiment that never animated those who are called upon to profess many sciences) seems so conducive to longevity, if we may judge from the example of Scotland, and even Germany, where they lecture ten months in the year, that were professors ever to multiply with us like college tutors, it might be necessary for the university assurance-company to re-construct their tables of mortality.

But the answer to the objection against professors, now under consideration, is shortly this,—that all the branches of knowledge enumerated by us as cultivated in foreign universities, in the different faculties, are, or ought to be studied, at some period or other, by young men before they enter upon their professional career; and as a great part of what they must learn, whether of the past or actual state of knowledge in these departments, consists of matters of opinion, the most opportune place and season for inculcating sound doctrines, on these difficult subjects, is at the university, between the ages of eighteen and two-and-twenty. For at what other period of life do we possess the necessary control over the pupil?—or in what other place can the public be guaranteed against the incapacity or indiscretion of teachers? With how many does the period of entering upon active life commence almost immediately upon quitting the university? They are elected into the Senate, or enrolled in the magistracy; they are called upon to deliver sermons of their own composition from the pulpit, or they are initiated forthwith into the mysteries of legal or medical practice. It would be superfluous to dwell upon the unsound, but specious reasoning which is afloat in conversation, or pervades innumerable modern works, on all the sciences which we before enumerated as bearing upon these professions. Erroneous opinions, on any one of these, may lead directly to conduct prejudicial to the best interests of society; and although we might, without placing the same interests in jeopardy, abandon young men to the free choice of their own preceptors in elegant literature or abstract science, yet on subjects connected with the practical concerns of life, it is incumbent on us to ensure the responsibility of those on whose judgment we depend for guidance.

Before we leave the consideration of public lectures and offer our concluding observations, we must endeavour to remove a few misconceptions, which, we believe, are commonly entertained in this country concerning the degree of salutary control and superintendence

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perintendence maintainable by professors over numerous classes. The great want of frequent public examinations, and other defects in the discipline of several universities where the professorial plan is in force, have been laid to the charge of the system itself, not to its defective administration. On the same grounds, however, objections might have been raised, till very recently, against our own present collegiate plan of tuition. The grievous defects of discipline in certain Scotch universities—nay, even the brutal disturbances so frequent in some of those of Germany, have been imputed to that kind of academical constitution now under contemplation. But it is well known that the insubordination, which manifested itself in the German universities soon after the conclusion of the late war, was deeply rooted in political feelings, and in party-spirit, not altogether without sympathy in the minds of the authorities that should have repressed them. They who would anticipate nothing but order and passive acquiescence in our British seats of learning, under circumstances of similar irritation, must have forgotten the internal state of all the Scotch universities for many years after the banishment of the Stuarts,—nay, the history of Oxford itself, not only during the protectorship of Cromwell, but for two reigns after the accession of the house of Hanover. If we examine, impartially, into the working of the method of public lectures in other universities we shall find, that they are by no means inconsistent with the watchful superintendence of a teacher, and his intimate acquaintance with the progress of each individual. The course of instruction at Glasgow, as described by the late amiable and venerable Professor Jardine, furnishes a happy example of the union of public lectures with private tuition. The professors in that University meet their classes at different hours, delivering first a formal lecture, and afterwards appropriating one or two hours to *vivâ voce* examinations, or to the perusal of exercises composed by the students on the topics of the former lecture. The object in view is, that the students should listen, under the impression that they are afterwards to be examined, and called upon to clothe in their own language the arguments, facts, and illustrations they have heard. They generally take notes or memoranda of the principal heads of the lecture; but short-hand writing is discouraged, lest the business of the lecture-room should degenerate into the mechanical operation of transferring merely to the student's portfolio, not to his memory, the information communicated. The following account of the method followed by Professor John Millar deserves attention, because the practical success of this teacher is well known to have rendered Glasgow, for a season, the principal school of law in Scotland:—

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'It was in no small degree owing to his practice of examining, and of prescribing essays on subjects previously discussed in his lectures, that he acquired that high reputation as a Professor of Law which still attaches to his name. Every morning, before he began his address from the chair, he endeavoured to ascertain, by putting a number of questions to his pupils, whether they had been able to follow his reasoning on the preceding day; and it was his custom, when the lecture was over, to remain some time in his lecture-room to converse with those students who were desirous of further information on the subject. By engaging with them in an easy dialogue, he contrived to remove obscurities, and to correct any errors into which they might have fallen. This meeting was called among the students, familiarly, *the committee*, from which they acknowledged that they reaped more benefit than from the lecture itself.'*

We cannot enter more at large into the Glasgow system, as delineated in Mr. Jardine's work, but it clearly appears that the toil imposed upon a professor thus called upon to act in the double capacity of public and private teacher must be too irksome to find many imitators; besides, there are weighty reasons for employing two distinct bodies of instructors wherever the numbers or means of the students are not too scanty to remunerate them. In Italy, France, and Germany, the latter method of distributing the burden of academical instruction is found very effective. At Edinburgh, besides the want of frequency and strictness in the public examinations, there has been a neglect of regular private tuition, and what has been afforded has neither been supplied by the professors as at Glasgow,† nor by persons appointed by, and acting under, the authority of the university, as is usually the case in the continental seats of learning. When, at the end of four years, the final ordeal is at hand, the academician seeks voluntarily a private teacher who undertakes to prepare him. This person is termed technically a *Grinder*, not because, like Horace, he acts the whetstone's part, for, however well qualified to do so, his occupation is fitted to sharpen his own rather than his pupil's wit. He provides, for instance, a Latin thesis of his own composition for the use of the candidate, and being accustomed to attend the examinations, he furnishes his pupil with answers to the precise questions which are most likely to be put by the examining professors. But a large portion of precious time is consumed in getting by rote Latin phrases for the occasion, the examination being conducted in that language, a practice which must always render it an inadequate test of the extent of the scholar's knowledge, and

* Jardine's Outlines of Philosophical Education, pp. 463, 464.

† It is proper to remark, that Mr. Wilson, who was a pupil of Mr. Jardine in early life, has *recently* introduced the Glasgow system into the conduct of the ethical class at Edinburgh; and no doubt his example will be followed.

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which, now that lectures are all delivered in English, cannot possibly enable the students to speak the Roman language with precision and elegance. Adam Smith was the first professor who delivered lectures in English at Glasgow, as Mr. Canning has the honour of being the first minister who banished the French language from our diplomatic correspondence, and asserted before Europe the dignity of his native tongue. Glasgow and Oxford have now long disused Latin in public examinations; and although at Cambridge, in keeping acts and opponencies, and at Dublin, in the election for fellowships, this practice is still persisted in, yet we cannot reflect without some surprise that the University of Edinburgh, dating, as it does, its foundation from so recent a period, should be so slow in adopting the most obvious improvements upon antiquated usages. In desiring the present visitation they have shown that they are animated with a sincere desire of improvement; we might otherwise have been tempted to return them the compliment paid by one of their distinguished professors to academical establishments in some other parts of Europe—establishments which, he was pleased to say, were 'not without their use to the historian of the human mind, since, invariably moored to the same station by the strength of their cables and the weight of their anchors, they enable him to measure the rapidity of the current by which the rest of the world are borne along.'

Of the *grinders* at Edinburgh, it is but justice to that they are an industrious class of men, and well qualified to discharge more important functions, if, confining themselves as now to particular faculties, they were regularly attached to the university as private teachers. The operation which they perform with so much dexterity is called in England *cramming*, and we take leave to say that the southern metaphor is the more correct of the two—inasmuch as an instrument is not at least made permanently obtuser by being edged for the nonce, whereas it is well ascertained that you permanently weaken the digestive powers of an animal, in the exact proportion in which you overfeed him for the cattle show.

Mr. Jardine has admitted that a class of two hundred students is of an unmanageable size, when a single professor attempts to afford them private tuition. In Germany accordingly, where the classes are even larger than those at Glasgow, they are broken into numerous smaller divisions. One, or more frequently two hours, are then devoted by the *privatim docentes*, or sometimes the *professores extraordinarii*, to examinations on the topics of the public lecture, and to expounding difficult passages. For this purpose they give, as the poetic diction of a German program expresses it, *privatissimè exercitationes camerales, necnon lectiones examinatorias et repetitorias.* These private teachers in Germany

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must have obtained a doctor's degree, and the extraordinary professors are invariably private teachers in Germany, each regularly appointed by the university, and aspiring ultimately to a professor's chair. In exactly the same manner, the *repetitori* (as they are termed) of Italy, are chosen by the university, and confine themselves to certain faculties, or even to particular sciences; and they too, if they distinguish themselves, look forward to be ultimately rewarded by professorships.

But as we must not trespass much longer on the patience of our readers, we shall briefly state the following, as the general outline of the provisions employed in the continental universities for organizing an efficient body of teachers. The public professors start in life as private tutors, restricted to one branch, or at least to a few collateral branches, of science. Having by this discipline learnt the art of communicating knowledge to those who are only in the outset of their progress, they are promoted, if they distinguish themselves, to a professor's chair; which life-appointment confers sufficient independence on a literary man, at the same time that it raises him above the drudgery of private tuition, and bestows leisure for the acquisition of more than merely academical distinction and celebrity. The competition for a vacant chair is not confined to the numerous candidates in one university, nor even to the same country, especially in Germany; nor should this excite our admiration, for the interest of each professor is perfectly identified with the reputation of his colleagues, since the number of his own class is in a great degree the measure of his income, and that must mainly depend on the flourishing state of the university wherein he resides. The wishes, therefore, of the leading members are in general pure, the public good being inseparably connected with their pecuniary advantage and their fame; so often then as state-intrigue and political influence do not interfere, the election of professors is marked with apparent disinterestedness, and a seemingly patriotic disregard of local partiality. The professors are not allowed to appoint their own assistants, and in Germany each of them is at liberty to lecture on any science in his own faculty, provided he delivers a course on that which he is specially appointed to teach. The examinations are conducted by the professors of a particular faculty, forming a board of persons, each perfectly conversant with some one department, and therefore possessing considerable information concerning many kindred sciences.

We hope, in drawing these remarks to a close, to make it appear that no extensive or violent changes are required, in order to accommodate, in a very short time, the institutions of Oxford and Cambridge to the wants and spirit of the present age. Their

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academical system has, *de facto*, been almost new-modelled within the last thirty years, and their progress has not been retarded by averseness to innovation, whenever new measures seemed to offer a fair promise of improvement; but their reforms have been more comprehensive in design than in execution. The partial failure in carrying some of them into effect, has arisen from causes strongly confirmatory of the reasoning in the former part of this article. The Examination Statute, passed at Oxford in 1801, and afterwards altered to its present form in 1807, would have led to far more important changes ere this, had it been possible to give due scope to all its provisions under the present tutorial system. The examiners under the new statute are chosen from the college-tutors; who, as we before explained, have scarcely ever the power, from the small size of colleges in general, to subdivide sufficiently amongst them the task of teaching different sciences, and who do not always attempt this arrangement where it might be practicable. For the same reasons, therefore, that it is not feasible, while the present plan is persevered in, to multiply in our schools and universities the number of distinct subjects of instruction, it would also be inexpedient to make the public examinations more comprehensive, until some further subdivision of labour can be accomplished.—To a certain extent, this has recently been effected at Oxford—where they have erected a separate board of mathematical examiners. Before this measure, a candidate could never feel secure that his attainments in that department, if considerable, would be duly appreciated. According to the statute before-mentioned, honours are awarded, not only in '*litteris humanioribus*,' but also in '*disciplinis mathematicis et physicis*;' but what is written as to the physical sciences must still remain in some degree a dead letter, unless measures, like those now wisely adopted with regard to mathematics, be taken for their benefit also. The institution of the new tripos, within the last three years, at Cambridge, was calculated to give those students who were ambitious of distinction, a fairer opportunity of cultivating, with advantage and at their option, either classics or mathematics, because not only were the examinations distinct, but the duties of teaching these departments, at least in the larger colleges, have been for a long time completely separated, though this is dependant on an understanding among the tutors,—not secured, as it ought to be, by any fixed regulation. The object, however, has been almost defeated, by the requisition that *classical* honours should be awarded to those only whose names appeared *also* in the *mathematical* tripos.

The zeal and emulation excited by the new public examinations at Oxford have been annually on the increase since their institution,

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institution, and have led to other important consequences. As different colleges have, since that time, flourished in reputation, according to the talents and activity of their respective heads and teachers, a strong disposition has manifested itself to throw open the fellowships to candidates from all colleges, and to elect into that body, from whom the tutors are chosen, men of high character and superior scholarship. The preparation for fellowship-examinations has thus become a powerful incentive to industry after graduation, and has raised to a high standard the literary acquirements of those on whom the government, discipline, and tuition of the academicians mainly depends. In the larger colleges at Cambridge, the same attention has been paid to the examinations for fellowships; and in the smaller ones, where these are not held, respect is paid to the rank previously assigned to candidates in the tripos. We may observe, that at Dublin these elections for fellowships are conducted with scrupulous regard to the relative qualifications of candidates. Among other salutary changes, strict *terminal* examinations, on the topics of the college lectures, have been generally introduced in the different colleges, both of Oxford and Cambridge; and in some societies at Oxford, as at Oriel and Balliol, the custom has been established of inquiring into the qualifications of students previous to their matriculation. This precaution, if ever generally adopted, would enable the public to estimate more correctly the comparative merit of schools throughout the country; and although such an innovation might, if introduced too suddenly, be productive of much inconvenience, yet, if gradually extended, it would contribute to establish an unity of plan in the English course of instruction, which is greatly wanted. In our smaller colleges at present, there must necessarily be an enormous disparity between the attainments of those who are thrown into the same class; and no expedient that tends to diminish this evil can be too warmly commended; for, besides the mere waste of time, the lecture-room is often rendered insupportably tedious to those young men who, being far advanced themselves, or gifted with superior talent, are condemned to listen to the blunders of the ignorant, while translating before them passages of Greek and Roman authors,—driven, consequently, to seek relief in the indulgence of excursive trains of thought—and accustomed, even when afterwards examined, to feel that they have done so with impunity. The power of abstracting the mind from every subject but that immediately before it, is the most invaluable boon that education can confer; but, at present, students are too often exposed to the danger of acquiring the opposite and fatal habit of listless inattention.

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But, notwithstanding all the recent improvements in examinations, the reader may easily conceive that, so long as no arrangements are made towards a more systematic distribution of the sciences taught at the university, between distinct bodies of examiners and tutors, the serious impediments in the way of enlarging the range of academical study must remain. In our opinion they not only remain, but are positively more formidable than ever. For, in proportion to the confidence felt in the impartiality and unquestionable competency of the examiners—in proportion also to the value generally set upon academical honours, and to the greater probability that these last will lead afterwards to more substantial and permanently lucrative returns, in the shape of fellowships and livings—in the same degree must these inducements impel more irresistibly the majority of the youth to restrict their thoughts exclusively to topics embraced within the university examinations. But this is not all—for even those whose minds are not absorbed by such branches of knowledge will, nevertheless, be unable to cultivate, with so much advantage, the other sciences on which public professors may deliver lectures. The most intelligent and aspiring among the undergraduates must always be attracted to those fields of knowledge which enjoy the advantage of being recognised by authority as worthy of forming an arena for trials of comparative strength, and where alone the laurel crown is conferred—a chaplet, not merely of barren leaves, like that in the Olympic games, but a branch as it were from the garden of the Hesperides, almost ready to let fall its golden fruit. This diversion must always prove sufficient to reduce the numbers, and sometimes the talent and acquirements, of almost every professor's class to so low an ebb, that he can neither hope for remuneration of a pecuniary nature, nor for fame, and, above all, the proud consciousness of usefulness. Under such unfavourable circumstances, his powers, whatever they be, will remain a secret to himself—extraordinary exertion is out of the question; and his faculties must be stunted in their growth for want of that genial and vivifying principle which can alone expand them into full maturity. The efficacy of the present system, therefore, *in so far as it depends on the stimulus supplied by the public examinations,* is inseparably connected with the imperfect cultivation of all sciences that cannot lead to academical distinction.

In truth we can hardly wish it to be otherwise; for, whatever be our estimate of the comparative importance of some branches of study now omitted, we certainly should not counsel a youth between eighteen and two-and-twenty, to devote his hours to lecture-rooms, in which he could meet few of his associates as fellow-labourers, and none of them as competitors; where he must

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must feel the want of public and private examinations, and the aid of college-tutors, taking, as they usually do, an anxious and almost personal interest in his advancement; where, in fact, he is to be at once freed from all external control, and deprived of almost every external stimulus that might prove his safeguard against a desultory course of reading. His fortune may, perhaps, render him independent of all desire of profiting by the patronage of his Alma Mater; but he ought not to be—he cannot be—indifferent to her praise. Though the world at large entertain the deepest sense of the intrinsic value of that knowledge which he is eager to master, yet if all those immediately around him feel but a slight interest, or, perhaps, a contempt for such pursuits, his own feelings on the subject can scarcely escape being neutralised. It should be the great end of every student to acquire, at that critical period of his life, fixed habits of application; but these he will never obtain if he regard the studies he is engaged upon as of secondary moment. If, in his judgment, his pecuniary means do not warrant him in deferring to a later period the attainment of information without which he cannot enter upon the actual business of his life, we should advise him to betake himself to some institution, where such objects of study may stand on a fairer footing with other sciences.

We do not mean, however, to deny that the modern reforms, before alluded to, may have infused some new life and vigour into the lectures of various professors. The more popular courses have been sometimes attended by heads of colleges, and by graduates of different ranks, who fill official situations, or are residents as fellows in the University. If the fellows of colleges, at some very remote epoch, indulged themselves in the indolence and luxury of the old monks, whose costume they have nearly copied, those ages are now passed, and such scenes are in no danger of recurring; nor can we hesitate to ascribe to the new examinations, and other reforms before alluded to, a large portion of that energy of mind and spirit of inquiry that now animate all the leading circles in either university. It is only a small part, however, of those educated at our universities, who do not quit them, at the latest, immediately after graduation; and the majority, we suspect, depart before they have even learnt the names of the professors. Some professional courses of study have never ceased to be attended, as matters of form, in both our universities; and a laudable desire has been evinced of late to render a few of these really efficacious. Many professors have done as much as individual exertion, unseconded by favourable public regulations, can possibly achieve. The professors of divinity at Oxford and Cambridge have paid great attention of late to clerical students.

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dents. The Bishop of Lincoln has a large class at the latter university; and too much admiration cannot be expressed for the time and talents devoted by the present Bishop of Oxford to the discharge of his official duties. The great orientalist, Dr. Nichol, has, we understand, been successful of late in reviving, in no inconsiderable degree, the usefulness of the Hebrew professorship in Oxford. We ought to mention, that the professor of civil law, at Cambridge, where there is a college expressly endowed for this study, obliges all law-students to attend his lectures and examinations; and has, of late years, published the names of those who distinguish themselves, classed in the order of merit. But as the university at large have little information, and feel little interest, concerning these proceedings, in which he is sole arbiter, his honours, like foreign titles, lose the greater part of their dignity the moment they pass the confines of the small territory where they have been conferred. Although we cannot enumerate all the lectures that have struggled through every obstacle into a certain share of popularity, we must not pass by Professor Smyth's course on modern history, at Cambridge; and we hope the new classical *tripos* (even should it excite as much emulation as similar studies have done at Oxford) will not reduce the numbers of his class.

With respect to the chairs relating to subjects encouraged by the present examinations, we are persuaded that nothing but energy and spirit on the part of the professors are required to enable them to command overflowing audiences. Even then it is very possible that they might not succeed so eminently as men of equal merits might do in some foreign universities; but this would infer no blame to them. It could be no fault of theirs that many students *might* think that the comprehensive and original views to be obtained from diligent attendance on their lectures would not tell in the examinations for university-honours—so long as the university's examiners do not consist of men who have each concentrated their thoughts with intense application on some particular branch, or cognate branches of knowledge. When it becomes necessary to vary the interrogatories put to a great succession of candidates, it requires a very profound and enlarged acquaintance with each separate department of literature and science, not to descend to those trivial questions which are exercises of the memory rather than of the understanding, and which are particularly apt to mislead the student of history, because there the art consists in selecting the events of real importance, and in knowing how much may safely be forgotten. We learnt, with the greatest satisfaction, that Mr. Cardwell's lectures, lately delivered at Oxford, on ancient history, were very numerously attended; and we should have no fear in appealing to his experience, both as college-tutor, professor, and examining

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examining master, for an opinion on the question so much insisted upon in the former part of this article;—whether it be possible for a person engaged in a diversity of occupations, to bring together materials from a variety of different sources illustrative of particular portions of history, as he himself was able to do in the course now adverted to.—The Greek professor, at Cambridge, has no longer permitted his chair to remain a sinecure, as so many of his predecessors (the illustrious Porson included) had done.

As for physical science, the lectures on chemistry, natural philosophy, astronomy, anatomy, and botany, at Oxford, very rarely command an attendance of forty—the numbers are often less than ten,—and not unfrequently there are no audiences at all. At Cambridge, those on natural philosophy, chemistry, and anatomy have, upon the whole, if we look back for many years, been more fully attended, though the exertion of professors, or at all events their success, has fluctuated strangely, and fortune seems in this matter to have been more than usually capricious in the distribution of her favours. Botany has just awakened out of a thirty years' slumber, and we wish Professor Henslow may find that, like the vegetation of the arctic regions, his class may attain vigour and produce fruit with a rapidity proportioned to the length of winter by which the vital functions had been suspended. Professor Farish's lectures on the application of chemistry to the arts, and on machinery, have been of great utility: he has been in the habit of explaining the principles of machinery by beautiful models, constructed by himself, and for the last thirty years he has rarely reckoned less than eighty pupils in his class. The most popular courses, however, have been those of the professors of geology, Dr. Buckland at Oxford and Mr. Sedgwick at Cambridge; they have continually attracted as many as the moderate dimensions of their class-rooms could contain. Their science has the charm of novelty, and brings to light daily so many new and unexpected discoveries, that it is more calculated, perhaps, than any other, to awaken at this moment the enthusiasm both of teacher and of pupil. To the attractions, however, which peculiarly belong to the science itself, we must add the originality of mind brought to bear upon it by these eminent professors; who, although their lecture-rooms have been resorted to as places of recreation rather than study, yet have infused into the minds of their hearers a spirit of investigation, not only in geology, but in the various other sciences which are so intimately connected with it. Dublin, as we before hinted, is almost a counterpart of Cambridge; and the professors, therefore, have few motives to great exertion. The admirable lectures given by Dr. Brinkley, now Bishop of Cloyne, on astronomy, were all but deserted—need we say more? If asked, what encouragement could possibly prompt

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prompt Dr. G. Miller to the composition of his lectures on the philosophy of modern history, recently published, we must reply, that *his* class was not merely drawn from the Irish academicians.

In point of fact, few of the professorships at Oxford and Cambridge are now *absolute* sinecures. The non-residence of professors has been much discountenanced, and has gradually diminished; and the elections to vacant chairs have of late years added to their body many men of distinguished ability, who feel as impatient as we could desire under the comparative obscurity and uselessness to which the present system consigns them. In a word, the machinery is perfect, and all that is wanting is the moving power. They are provided with observatories, laboratories, and museums; they have salaries, they have talent, zeal and ambition—every thing but an audience,—resembling in their official capacity Orlando's steed, which he eulogised as possessed of every imaginable good quality, with only one defect—that he was dead. 'Of that defect,' said he to the shepherd whom he encountered on the river's bank, 'you may easily find means to cure him.' But we trust that we shall be more successful, than was the hero of romance, in persuading our readers that no miracle is required to remove the disability now under consideration, and that the few suggestions we are about to offer on the propriety of adopting new measures will raise no suspicion that our brains, like Orlando's, have taken a flight to the moon.

Our universities are called upon to make no daring inroads upon their ancient constitution—to submit to no sacrifice of existing interests. The only preliminary objects necessary to be accomplished, in order to bring about a gradual and salutary change, seem simply these:—to secure to the students the opportunity of being examined before competent boards, not only in the departments of science now encouraged, but in all those before enumerated by us under the faculties of theology, law, and medicine; to award honours fairly to industry and talent, on whatever branches of knowledge, whether ancient or modern, moral or physical, they may be displayed. We do not mean that certain acquirements may not with propriety be exacted in common from all, before a degree of bachelor of arts is granted, as is the practice in the universities of France, Germany, and Italy, before young men are permitted to enter the faculties of theology, law, and medicine. But if a large portion of our youth are so lamentably ignorant upon quitting school, that it would be too much to require such qualifications of them upon their matriculation into the universities at the age of seventeen or eighteen, we at least see no reason why they may not be demanded of them at their first examination, when they have completed half their residence at Oxford or Cambridge. Rewards might be at

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the same time conferred for extraordinary attainments in the same departments; and after that we might avail ourselves of every impulse that nature has placed at our command for bringing into full activity the higher powers of the intellect—of those differences, for example, which arise from the original constitution of individual minds, and the tastes inspired, either by accidental circumstances, or the continual contemplation of a future professional career. Of such aids we deprive ourselves, if our system, realizing, as it were, with respect to the mental frame, the fable of Procrustes, forces all, until about the age of two-and-twenty, to conform to one uniform course of study.

Were the careful cultivation of the various sciences thus contemplated once introduced into our universities, we feel confident that many would resort thither who cannot now afford to defer to a late period the commencement of their professional studies. The accession of these would soon be followed by that class who, though they may not be prevented from residing by inadequacy of fortune, are nevertheless deterred at present by an apprehension that the society of our universities might inculcate ideas of somewhat too elevated a tone, and such as would prove incompatible with their future station in life, and their ultimate happiness. A far more numerous body of persons, who cannot with prudence support the expense of the present style of living at Oxford and Cambridge, would swell the number, drawn from the classes which have been before mentioned as now so feebly represented. To these, the retrenchment of expenditure would not consist in reductions of the present fees for tuition, &c.; on the contrary, these fees are too small, and might be greatly raised, in perfect consistency with an economical residence; but the style of living would be rendered less extravagant, and that without disparagement to the independence of the less affluent, who would find a sufficient number of their equals to keep them in countenance.

It is true that, although the number of under-graduates in our national seats of learning is inconsiderable, the colleges cannot accommodate them at present; and at Oxford, where none are permitted to enter who cannot reside within the walls, at least for the greater portion of their time, a delay of many years must often be submitted to before entrance, after an university education has been decided upon. At Cambridge, students have been permitted to reside in the town: indeed, if this had not been the case, the public inconvenience would have been so great, that Parliament would most probably have been called on to interfere; for regulations adopted at Oxford and Cambridge may be of great national concern, so long as they have the exclusive privilege of granting degrees, to which certain rights are attached, in all the learned professions. When the age of our English under-graduates

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is considered, as also the extensive jurisdiction exercised by our universities over the towns in which they are situated, we are half inclined to suspect that the idea, that confinement to separate colleges is indispensable to good academical discipline, has been carried much too far. However that may be, the rent of the *new* buildings at Cambridge is far too high for young men who do not enjoy ample fortunes, and no one can expect them to prove favourable to such an increase in the number of students, as would render the residence in our universities much better proportioned than it now is, to the wealth, population, and intelligence of the country. We declare this opinion most unwillingly, for we admire the architecture of these new edifices, and regret that, during the last three centuries, such homage has been so rarely paid to science. If the munificent endowment of colleges, like the grandeur of Gothic cathedrals, be destined to remain for ever among the peculiar characteristics of what Gibbon harshly termed 'the dark age of false and barbarous science,'* let us not retard the advancement and diffusion of sound learning, by imitating the splendour of our ancestors, when we cannot boast their public spirit.—We are aware how much of censure and of warning may be conveyed in this observation of ours to the founders of scientific institutions, since the commencement of this century—whether of those already established, or of those projected in our metropolis and our provinces.

As the office of tutor at Cambridge and Oxford has been always, and that of professor almost invariably, filled by persons chosen from among the fellows of colleges, and as such might still be the case, under the change of circumstances contemplated by us, it is almost self-evident that the condition of that body would be materially altered for the better by measures tending to augment the total amount of fees of tuition. But we feel assured that the private and worldly advantages accruing to the fellows of colleges from an accession of new members, attracted, as these would certainly be, by every new adaptation of our academical institutions to the interests and exigencies of society—would, to say the least of the matter, keep pace with the public good flowing from the same cause. The business of college-tutor cannot certainly be characterized at present as one of great profit, especially when we consider the labour which it imposes. We have sometimes known, in the smaller colleges at Oxford, some difficulty to arise in prevailing on any of the fellows to accept the office; so that their liability to serve was looked upon as a burden. But, although the situation is in general much sought after, it is not so enviable to persons desirous of pecuniary emolument, still less to those who aspire to literary fame, as to afford cause of

* Gibbon's Life and Opinions.

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anxiety when any innovations are proposed. The fees of a college-tutor's class are rarely so considerable as to enable him, by their aid alone, to maintain a family respectably in his station in society. But even should this happen to be the case, his celibacy as tutor is strictly enforced; for this office is only held with a fellowship, and the forfeiture of this last is inevitably incurred by marriage. But should the professorships ever become as lucrative as, under proper regulations, they might be made—should the inadequate salaries of some, and the classes of all, be raised, as, under proper management, might be effected—if the university, moreover, were enabled to endow a greater number of chairs, as would soon be the case,—many fellows who now devote their time to private tuition would be competitors for these chairs, and would attach themselves, at an early period after graduation, to separate departments of science. It is unnecessary for us here to recapitulate our reasons for believing that, in so doing, they would individually advance more rapidly their own intellectual progress, as well as that of their pupils.

Hence, then, might we supply, at the expense of very little interference with existing forms, and without at all contravening the spirit of any institutions now in force, the two grand *desiderata* in our present academical system; we mean the systematic distribution of the various branches of instruction between different teachers, and the permanent devotion of the latter to the art of teaching throughout life. Lord Bacon has, with great judgment, observed, of professors, that they should be so remunerated, 'that the ablest man may be content to appropriate his whole labour, and continue his *whole age* in that function. His proportion must be answerable to the competency he might expect from the practice of a profession; for if you will have sciences flourish, you must observe David's military law, which was, that those which staid with the carriage should have equal part with those who were in the action.'* The frequent removal of fellows to professorial chairs would not merely improve their own individual fortunes, (and, *inter alia*, enable them to marry); but, in a degree not less remarkable, promote the interests and accelerate the preferment of the remaining members of their ancient order. These might then cherish hopes of succeeding to a college living before the prime of life had been wasted in cloistered obscurity, and ere the age had arrived when it would be fortunate for them if the ancient papal prohibitions of matrimony could be renewed.

Our space does not permit us at present to enlarge more fully or more specifically upon the changes which might have the effect of

* Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, Book I.

gradually

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gradually replenishing our universities with a concourse of students, such as we learn from history once thronged thither. But, perhaps, the task would be superfluous. At Cambridge, ever since the institution of the mathematical tripos, there has existed great emulation among the students, and the measures adopted at a later period have secured a greater diffusion of industry, so that all that remains to be done is to pursue consistently the same course, and to extend the range of studies still farther. With regard to Oxford, although it was much later before the work of reform commenced there, yet it has proceeded so rapidly that we can do little more than recommend the present state of things to the serious attention of those enlightened individuals, who are old enough to remember when that series of decisive measures which has already renovated so large a portion of their ancient academical system was first entered upon,—who have themselves been instrumental in rendering the splendid inheritance bequeathed to them by their ancestors, so much more conducive to the noble ends for which it was designed; who have redeemed so many of the fatal consequences of the negligence, the folly, and the degeneracy of preceding generations—and who, by accommodating their institutions more nearly to the temper and spirit of these times, have entirely changed the habits and the mental cultivation of that body, on whose perseverance in the course thus adopted the progress of future improvement must depend. If, despondingfor a moment, they look for encouragement in their career, they may cast back their eyes on the revolution accomplished by their own efforts, in the short space of the last thirty years; and reflect how comparatively insignificant are the obstacles still to be surmounted, while the results to be anticipated are far more splendid, and, in their influence on the national welfare, far more extensively important. These men, at the close of the last century, found their seat of learning in a state resembling the province of Delhi, when the late Marquis of Hastings first entered upon his Indian administration. That territory, with vast tracts of the surrounding country, had of old been traversed by large canals for irrigating the land—splendid monuments of the power and magnificence of the Mogul emperors: but the indolence of after-ages had suffered these noble works to fall into complete decay. For many years were British skill and perseverance applied to repair them; and no sooner was the task accomplished—no sooner was the last intercepting mound removed, than the waters of the Jumna flowed again through the long deserted channels, and instantly restored to a depopulated region the most luxuriant fertility.

ART.

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ART. IX.—*De Vere; or, the Man of Independence.* By the Author of Tremaine. 4 vols. London. 1827.

THE work before us stands out so advantageously among the lighter productions of the present season, that some notice of it seems due to the author. Our notice, however, must be a brief one; for we have of late devoted more space to novels and romances than most of our readers may be disposed to approve of; and we are not aware that there is anything in the structure of *De Vere* which could justify our making its appearance the pretext for entering anew into any general discussion of the principles of that species of composition.

We must, however, make one general remark; which is, that they are widely mistaken who conceive that, because the field of romance is capable of being much extended, there is any prospect of extending it to classical advantage in the absence of the faculties which have called its existing domains into successful cultivation. All the classics of this branch of literature have drawn largely upon their own personal observation and experience in life; but these would have availed them little had they not possessed high faculties of imagination, and been, through them, enabled to fuse their materials of all kinds into an artist-like unity of form and purpose; investing actual events and real persons with the colours of *poetry*, and blending old things with new so thoroughly as to merit the praise of *creation*.

This seems to be sadly lost sight of at present. One man has made a campaign; another has danced at Almack's; a third has sat in the House of Commons: and why, they say to themselves, should we not write military, fashionable, political romances? As well might a man equip himself *extempore* with the *materiel* of a painter's handywork, hire a group of passengers from the streets, and begin to cover his canvass. Here, as elsewhere, the old maxim holds—*Life is short and art is long*. A note-book of reminiscences and anecdotes, however rich, will no more enable a man of feeble imagination to make a novel, than a collection of state-papers and annual registers will enable a man who has no philosophical grasp and scope of intellect, to produce a history.

It is this deficiency of imaginative power that alone prevents the author of Tremaine from taking his place among the classics of English romance. He has, indeed, much of *the romantic* in his feelings, but he has little of the genius of romance; which, as we have already said, (and, in the preface to De Vere, he tells us he is of the same mind,) is essentially the same with the genius of poetry. He writes, in spite of some affectations, with elegance—even in his quaintnesses he reminds us of Mackenzie; —his

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—his sentiments are always pure and good; his reflections are commonly just, sometimes profound; his whole manner and style bespeak the gentleman and the scholar; and in all these respects he is broadly distinguished from most of his living rivals. But he is too well aware of the dignity of his art not to wish to be compared with its true masters, and when subjected to that ordeal, his works, as works, must be pronounced unworthy of permanent favour. He has no skill whatever in constructing a fable; he cannot sustain a lively interest of action. His merit never lies in the *dramatic* developement of a character—scarcely ever in the management of an incident. He sometimes describes a character admirably—but a man may do that in a letter or an essay, as well as in a novel—especially if the character be a real one, scarcely modified from the bare reality by a few superficial colourings of disguise; as appears, if there were nothing else, from the all but identity of the principal characters of his two works, to be the common practice with this author: and as to his incidents, whatever other merits they may have, they certainly can very rarely boast that of novelty. In a word, the excellence of De Vere, as of Tremaine, must be sought for in detached delineations —in *sketches* that might have been presented in many other forms of composition at least as advantageously as in this. The author wants the power of moulding from discordant materials a harmonious whole. Many of his pages deserve to go down to posterity in 'the Elegant Extracts,' but his books appear to us to have no chance of ever being printed in the 'Novelist's Library.'

To give one example of deficiency in *art*, there are in this one novel of *De Vere* not less, we venture to say, than half a dozen long *episodes*, introduced with precisely as much propriety as the story of the Man of the Hill in Tom Jones, or that of Lady Vane in Peregrine Pickle. It may be alleged that the personages thus unceremoniously introduced and dismissed, though they have no part whatever in the action of the piece, sometimes say things that influence the mind of the hero. We answer, that this is no apology whatever. It is the business of the man who composes a work of art, to include in its action, all the persons necessary for the complete development of its purpose. If there must be a sermon in the play, the preacher, like Yorick, must do something more than preach.—But the truth is, that our author on no occasion introduces a superfluous shadow of this sort to say that which some one or other of his substantial personages might not have said with quite as much effect—and infinitely greater propriety. Among his principal persons there are a *Timon*, and at least two *Anti-Timons*—who, as it is, fill half his volumes with their conversation; and surely in the course of so much colloquy, these Nestors might have

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have been taught to narrate quite as much as was necessary of events which the novelist could not find means to work into the main web of his own *action*.

We have already hinted that the leading characters of Tremaine are re-produced, with little variation, in the novel before us. The Man of Refinement was introduced as sickened with the world *after* spending the first bloom of manhood in its busiest scenes. The Man of Independence comes on the stage ere his boyhood is well over—but old before his time in feelings, smarting under the sense of early domestic misusage, and shrinking from the crowd of men of whom a few individual instances of baseness had made him suspicious. Both are shy, reserved, proud, melancholy, and sincere:—both distrustful of the species; the former, however, scarcely trusting old friends, the latter not yet extending his distrust much beyond theory.

They are both cured in the same way. Does Mr. Tremaine recover the tone of his mind in consequence of the philosophical dialogues in which he is made to hear so many wise things?—Is he cured by more leisurely observation of mankind—by more deliberate reflection? Not at all: but simply by a fortunate accident, which throws one of the most charming young ladies that merry or melancholy gentleman ever met with in his way. He sees Miss Evelyn, and all his superfine fastidiousness yields to the power of a strong natural passion. This happens in a sequestered vale of Yorkshire; and the inference pointed at seems to be, that the like is not to be looked for in over-refined London. But we cannot assent to any such theories. We cannot think that a few seasons of Grosvenor-square would have made Georgiana Evelyn a whit less capable of feeling or inspiring the purest passion than she appears among her paternal shades. A country gentleman of exhausted spirits might perhaps be more likely to find his remedy amidst scenes of gaiety than anywhere else—and *vice versâ*. And, accordingly, Mr. Tremaine's younger brother De Vere dates the restoration of his mental pulses from a ball-room, where he meets with a younger sister of Miss Evelyn's in the beautiful shape of the Lady Constance Mowbray.

There is another general criticism which we must take leave to hazard. Goethe, himself one of the true masters of romance, says somewhere, that that is a bad romance the moral drift and scope of which may be extracted in the form of one distinct proposition: and he is no doubt justified in so far by the practice of the most eminent writers in this line, whose works are very seldom found to be capable of any such analysis. But the rule, if it be right as a general one—which, after all, we much doubt—is certainly not applicable to works which distinctly profess the elucidation of some

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some distinct proposition—as is the case, from the very showing of the title-pages, with Tremaine and De Vere. The declared object of the latter novel is to manifest the folly of sacrificing anything of the inborn nobility of the soul for the paltry advantages of place and office—a very wise and admirable text no question, and very elegantly descanted on by our author. But what does his sermon amount to?—Not a proof of the comparative worthlessness of political ambition in the abstract—as applied to all possible cases, or even to a great variety of cases; but a proof, ample and satisfactory it must be allowed, that a young Englishman of high birth, sufficient fortune, and splendid talents, who happens to have an angelically beautiful cousin, the sole heiress of a nobler and much wealthier house than his own, who dearly loves and is beloved by him, does better to marry his fair mistress and add her princely castle to his own venerable hall, and be a quiet county member of the House of Commons, the intimate private and political friend of a premier whose genius is not less conspicuous than his power—than does a meanly-born youth, his contemporary at Christchurch, quite destitute of fortune, and possessing no talents but those of listening and flattering, who, instead of devoting himself to law, physic, or divinity, commences life as the private secretary of a stupid subaltern minister of state—creeps up, by many dirty tricks, to a borough-seat and an under-secretary's desk—makes presumptuous love to his patron's daughter, and is by her rejected—and, finally, his patron's party breaking up, and the noble lord himself dying of vexation, loses his borough as well as his place, and, as the only means of avoiding a gaol, is fain to accept of a small provincial employment in the excise bestowed on him by the compassion of the heroic 'Man of Independence,'—whom, in the earlier part of his career, he had injured and betrayed.

This, surely, is not the sort of lesson which may be educed from the contrasted fortunes of Tom Jones and Blifil; it is more like the moral of Melville and Fathom—a romance which, we believe, nobody ever considered as particularly instructive. In real life we all know that political success is not always to the upright, any more than the race is to the swift, or the battle to the strong; and it is but too common an error in novelists as well as dramatists to inculcate the reverse. But when they do choose to inculcate such a doctrine, they are bound, we think, to make their rivals start with equal, or not very unequal, advantages. It is no very instructive matter to be informed that an Achilles easily cuts down a Thersites; that a thorough-bred is sure to win the plate from a roadster; or that a De Vere, whether in private or in parliamentary life, is likely to attain higher and more lasting distinction, in such a country as this, than a Clayton.

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That we may not have to recur again to censure, we shall further say here, that the *legal* difficulties raised by our novelist to embarrass his hero and heroine in their path to happiness, are essentially absurd and impossible; and that moreover, if such difficulties ever could have existed, they could not have been cleared up either by the means, or in the place, which he has selected. It may appear ridiculous to insist on minute accuracy as to such points; but it is quite certain that the total neglect of it is hurtful to the effect of a piece like this with many classes of readers, whose approbation an author capable of producing such a work must covet. If a law-suit was necessary for his purposes, there is no attorney's clerk who could not have pointed out the radical blunder on which the case *Cleveland versus Mowbray* depends, and suggested some more feasible expedient in its room. The result of all this part of the work is, to those who have even the slightest understanding of such matters, exactly of the same kind with that which Swift designedly produced by the jumbles of physical impossibilities, and cloud upon cloud of perverted technical phrases, in his inimitable narrative of the nautical manœuvres of Captain Lemuel Gulliver.

Our last objection is, that this book is a great deal too long: the very slender story is spun out to four volumes (whereas two would have been quite enough for its developement) by means of conversations, which, taken separately, are often delightful—but which are not only in twenty cases repetitions of each other, but repetitions also, or at least very gentle modifications, of dialogues occurring, between persons and on subjects *substantially* of much the same sort, in Tremaine.

The merit of the book lies, as we have said already, in detached passages: the author has observed the world in spheres and aspects with which few indeed of his brother novelists have had any opportunities of being acquainted, and what he has seen he can paint with the easy pencil of a real artist. Over all his delineations of this kind, and, indeed, over most of the dialogue with which he too largely intersperses them, a moral colouring, equally graceful and instructive, is diffused. We have everywhere in his pages, whatever else we may desiderate, the liberal and humane views of a mind disciplined by much experience and much reflection; and it is truly surprising to us, that while we have one such painter of English manners amongst us, any favour should be bestowed on the basely impudent and vulgar caricatures which are every day put forth by persons upon whom criticism would be utterly thrown away—scribblers who, being incapable of any invention of any kind, adopt the simple expedient of dressing out the Christopher Slys and Cicely Hackets of their own circles, with fine clothes and

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fine titles, and calling on the subscribers to the circulating library to believe that they are admitted to hear the talk and witness the intrigues of lords and ladies—nay, sometimes even of princes and princesses.

We have no difficulty in acknowledging that one of our reasons for bestowing a few pages on the work before us is, that we observe, in many quarters, a growing disposition to reject utterly novels of this particular species, unread, untried—a natural enough consequence, no question, of the audacious tricks that have been recently played off, with momentary success, by the class of persons to whom we have alluded. It is but fair to assure our readers that a work of real merit may occasionally, from circumstances over which its author has little or no controul, come before the public amidst the noise of the same hireling trumpeters who have taken such pains to make the value of their applauses generally appreciated.

We proceed to justify our commendations by a few citations from 'De Vere;' and we must endeavour to find passages of moderate length, although the habitual diffuseness of our author may render this a matter of some difficulty.

Mr. De Vere is first introduced in the following manner:—

'I was passed by a gentleman well mounted, whose open yet lofty manner, and speaking countenance, even in the rapid glance I had of him, could not fail to excite my observation. I wished to behold him again, though I checked my first impulse to overtake him. It is too uncivil, thought I. To my satisfaction, however, he himself pulled up, and, without hurrying, I came close to him.

'For some yards, each had an undisturbed view of the other, and I was struck with a turn of feature and general physiognomy, in which reflection and reserve seemed at first to predominate, to the exclusion of every thing else. His dignified air gave me the notion of a person of the very first breeding. Yet it seemed not the breeding of London, but had evidently a stamp of its own. Had I been in Spain, I should certainly have saluted him with a "Senor Cavallero;" and I thought of the days of Gil Blas. But in England we are not made for this; and the stranger, resuming his pace, was quickly out of sight.

'I know not why, but I seemed sorry to lose him, and could not help wishing to inquire of his groom who he was. The groom was dressed in a jockey-cap, and rather old-fashioned livery of tawney and red; and lingered awhile behind his master, occupied with something wrong about his saddle.'—vol. i. pp. 4, 5.

'There was an interest about the whole manner of this person which I can neither describe nor account for, so directly did it address itself to the feelings. Before he spoke, the first impression excited was that of great esteem, or rather respect; but he had not uttered half a sentence before his countenance was lighted up with a play, if not a smile, about

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about the mouth, which amounted to sweetness; and which, added to his voice, and the sparkle of an otherwise melancholy eye, converted one's reverence immediately into liking. But the moment he had done speaking, his deep reserve was resumed, and he reminded me of the pictures of the great Prince of Orange, surnamed the Taciturn, who inspired Philip the Second with fear, even in the depths of the Escurial.'

The historian visits this gentleman at his paternal seat of Talbois, where he is introduced to his mother and his two guardians —the one of whom encourages, the other combats, those notions of the world which may be inferred from the reserve and melancholy of De Vere's personal appearance. The former of these, Mr. Harclai, is a sort of mixture of Timon, Jaques, and Will Honeycomb:—

'He had, what sporting people would call, the darkest brown muzzle of a complexion I ever saw, only made deeper by a black Brutus wig. He had also a searching, reflecting eye, in which (in spite of a vibrating property in the lids, when under agitation) benevolence seemed to beam; though a sardonic curl about the mouth, and a large distension of the nostrils when he smiled, filled you with a thousand suspicions lest he should be smiling at *you*. There was a meaning in his look that made you afraid; although an otherwise open, intelligent physiognomy, spite of uncouthness, disposed you both to trust and like him, if he would let you. When he shook hands with you, he kept you at arm's length, and seemingly retiring from the ceremony, as if afraid of too much familiarity, or as if he said with Jaques, "God be with you, let's meet as little as we can." He seemed much past the meridian of life, but tall, erect, and pale; wore a blue coat of hunter's cloth, with high longitudinal slashed sleeves, and buttons of the same, under which was a red waistcoat. A large and old-fashioned cravat, blue cloth breeches, and speckled brown silk stockings, completed a picture not very fashionable, but by no means vulgar.'—vol. i. pp. 35, 36.

In discussing some peculiarities of this gentleman shortly afterwards, 'There is,' says Lady Eleanor, the mother of De Vere—

'"There is, however, worth in his bitterness, and I really believe he only abuses the world because he loves the human species."

'"For human species," replied the President, "I would read individuals. But, in truth, he knows nothing really about the world he abuses; he is too indiscriminating for an oracle: and after all, I believe mere pique at some disappointments, weaving itself in with his romantic notions (not worn out at sixty), makes him the recluse he is: and this he calls philosophy."'—vol. i. p. 60.

The 'President,' whose words we have been transcribing, is a certain Dr. Herbert, head of a college in Oxford, and joint guardian of Mr. De Vere, along with this Mr. Harclai. It is impossible not to see that the novelist has designed to draw, under this name,

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a full-length portrait of the late Cyril Jackson; and upon the whole, we believe that those who knew the Dean best will be little displeased with the shadow:—

'From Harclai's account of him, I might have expected to see a smooth, silken, rosy-gilled minion, who had basked into an unmeaning manner and physiognomy, in the sunshine of the church. It was not so. As he descended from his carriage, I perceived at once a man of decided mien, and one who combined much thought with knowledge of the world. Such his air and self-possession bespoke, almost at the first glance. I observed, that though he had that bearing of command which consciousness of power in the head of a house in so great an university always generates, he addressed himself to Lady Eleanor with most affectionate politeness, I might almost say reverence. At the same time, his courtesy was so polished as to make it evident he had learned it

'In tapestry halls
And courts of princes, where it first was named.'

'Though I was of the sister university, I had, indeed, wondered at Harclai's mention of him, for I was no stranger to his high reputation, both as a scholar and the governor of a college. I knew how many great ones owed much of their distinction, even in politics, to his superintendence in the cloister, and his advice afterwards in the world. I knew, too, how much he was consulted in the highest quarters, on the government of the church, and the disposal of dignities, many of which, as has been said, he had refused himself. If this was ambition, it was of a sort which few practised, and which Lord Mowbray said he never could understand.

'From all these considerations, I had conceived the highest respect for him, notwithstanding Harclai's attempt at sarcasm the night before; and as a young man, I regarded him, on his arrival, with a sort of awe. This made me more observant of De Vere's address to him, which, though of mixed affection and respect, preserved all that internal independence and decision, for which I then, as I have ever since, admired him.

'I was introduced to Dr. Herbert by both Lady Eleanor and her son, as a person whom, for the sake of those who were no more, they were disposed to value. I received a corresponding reception from him, and he seemed to search me through with a pair of small but very vivid black eyes, as he shook my hand. With the sentiment as well as the superiority of manner acquired by so much mingling himself with youth, he said, with a smile, mixed, perhaps, with a little pomp and protection, "I am always happy to make acquaintance with such a countenance, at such an age. It does one's own age good, to see, painted in plain characters, what has been called the 'confidence with which youth rushes abroad to take possession of the world.'"

'In another person I might have thought this affected, almost impertinent; but uttered from a mouth of authority, with an air of self-possession, and by a commanding figure, clothed in a silk cassock, and the dignitary's

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dignitary's hat, it seemed to me little less than patriarchal.'—vol. i. p. 57—59.

'The President was full of knowledge, natural and acquired. His abilities were of the first cast. Shrewd and observing, as well as learned, he knew, but by no means hated the world; and when cultivated with sincerity, as he was by me, no one could be more open, or impart himself with greater facility. A little pomp, perhaps, a little pride, in having from personal merit alone achieved that which the highest dignities, and even power, cannot always effect for other men, would peep out amidst his confidences. But Harclai also had pride, and the pride of both seemed pardonable. What struck me, however, was that the President inveighed against the pride of De Vere; lamented that so fine a mind, with such elegant cultivation, and supported by such general ability, should all be marred, together with the hopes of advancement, (which from the inferiority of his fortune to his rank, was very necessary to him,) by a proud nature, rendered prouder by that very inferiority. "His own native dignity," said the President, "is so great, that he can afford to unbend a little, and yet preserve independence sufficient to carry an ordinary man through the world with honour. But, to my great vexation, who love him so much, he adds to it a morbid sensibility which has only increased his mistakes; and, what is not least, a spirit of romance which makes it more difficult to cure them."'—vol. i. pp. 76, 77.

The novelist contrasts the manners of these two guardians in this manner: The President (says he) was pleased to add that—

'I should not throw myself away at every little temporary disgust with a world which, after all, said he, we were made for, with all its faults.

'Young (and perhaps romantic) as I was, I own this seemed no more than the language of good sense. From the President's lips, it also seemed the language of fair experience, avoiding the extremes of an enthusiast, which he certainly was not. For though embowered, if I may so say, in the quiet and learned retreats of Oxford, of which he was the ornament, he had been long in the world, and was even now by no means out of it. The difference was, that the men of the world now came to *him*, whereas, before, he lived in the midst of *them*, a distinction by no means unremarked, or unpleasing to this practical observer of mankind.

'How great a contrast to this was Harclai! He had not the deeper learning of the President, though he had much even of that, having turned a long leisure to account by study. But he confessed it was useless, except as far as books described men. Hence the satirists of Rome and of modern times, Horace, Juvenal, Boileau, and Pope; and the more just observers of mankind, as Shakspeare and Montaigne, were now his only authors, and of these he could make copious use. He would have included Swift, but that he had early, he said, detected him in the very hypocrisy he railed against; and unmasked the most enslaved of courtiers in the would-be despiser of courts. Unfortunately, this

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this penetrating shrewdness in seizing the weak and vicious side of things, was sufficiently, he thought, supported by experience, to make him not merely a theorist.

'He was of an ancient family and fair fortune; but for which last, he would perhaps have pursued the bar, after he had assumed its gown. His rank in life gave him access to the great, particularly in the country where he was known; but a natural plainness of manner, and indifference to what might be thought of him, made him little welcome in high society. It occasioned the first great wound his feelings sustained.

'He had a brother left wholly dependent upon him, whom he got placed about the court. This brother, as much his opposite in personal graces as mental merit, implored his assistance to enable him to marry the daughter of a nobleman supposed to be rising in court favour. He immediately settled upon him a considerable part of his fortune. But the lady was fine, and the brother ungrateful. Harclai's plainness and sincerity were disagreeable to his sister-in-law's family; he was neglected, and even ridiculed by those whom his bounty had made happy; and he left their house, like another Lear. His disgust was interminable, and his affections for ever bruised.

'A kinsman now consulted him in the choice of a wife. Harclai had known the lady from her cradle, and approved with all his heart.

'Within the first year she eloped; and the husband, attended by Harclai, called the seducer to the field. But he there fell himself; and, as was said, the adultress beheld the combat. The seducer afterwards was promoted in the army, and rose to a great post in the state; and the adultress, again married, *became the centre of fashion.*'

The author of De Vere must know, that nothing of this kind could have happened in this country in the period which he professes to delineate; he is mixing up one of the most disgusting incidents in the reign of Charles II., with the manners and characters of the time of George III.—But to proceed with Harclai's history:—

'A thousand instances, as he said, had met his observation of principles renounced, benefits forgotten, and friends unremembered. But what roused his disgust more than any thing else, was an affront to his honour, which he said he should resent upon mankind to his dying day. Political animosity had long divided his county, and from confidence in his integrity he was pitched upon by the leaders of both parties to negotiate an approximation. He felt this the most glorious situation in which a private man could be placed. He succeeded; and, for a while he was honoured with the title of peace-maker, which he would not have exchanged to be a duke. But the parties quarrelled, and each reproached the other with a breach of terms. Appeal was made to Harclai, as the only witness. He stated the facts, and was disavowed by both. As he was devoted to plain dealing, the wound thus inflicted was never cured. He despised his fellow-

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fellow-creatures in a mass, but particularly politicians, and people of his own rank; for unhappily he staid not to look at the other side of the account, where he might have found a great and happy balance in their favour.

'He had yet one comfort left; his friendship for General De Vere and his wife, who alone satisfied his expectations, and exercised the little remnant of his attachments.'—vol. i. p. 78—81.

We have already mentioned Mr. Clayton as the *Fathom* of this novel.—The chapter in which his early history is given, is among the best in the book. It opens thus:—

'All was alive in Grosvenor-square. It was a gay summer night, if, in London, June is summer. The streets were not yet quite abandoned by merry mechanics, and other classes who had stolen out to enjoy a mouthful of purer air than their shops and dark parlours could yield them. Some were returning to bed, some to supper; all seemed recreated, and beheld the rolling of the carriages, conveying their superiors to their own peculiar amusements, without envy. A few stragglers had collected round a magnificent mansion, in which open doors, many lights, many footmen, and a throng of visitants, announced an entertainment of the higher order. It was an amusing thing to observe the crowd, which had beset the door, criticising the company, their dress and appearance, and applauding or sneering as beauty and diamonds, ugliness and plain clothes, challenged their attention.

'One lady visiter, however, united all suffrages by the uncommon elegance, richness, and beauty of her attire and person. A silken foot and ankle of charming symmetry, first fixed the eye, which was afterwards busied with a shape equally perfect, and finally riveted by a face in which truth and loveliness themselves seemed combined. What was most remarkable, was the extreme youth of this elegant fairy, for such she seemed, and which could not have exceeded fifteen years. The party, indeed, which she joined, was, in effect, one of those formed for the recreation of our young nobility, who were not yet introduced, in other words, who had not *come out*. . . . .

'Among the spectators without, there was one, a youth, who though equally intent in his gaze, with the rest, had yet observed a perfect silence during the scene. Yet one would have supposed that he had a peculiar interest in the brilliant party who were assembling. He critically, but not rudely, eyed the visiters, their equipages, the thronged hall, and the illuminated windows; but he joined in none of the indications of feeling shown by the crowd. In truth, he felt a little ashamed of his situation, and moved off immediately after the *entrée* of the beautiful and high-born girl who has been just mentioned.

'But he went with a downcast brow, and a heavy heart; he seemed unhappy, and was evidently under excitement, but it was not the excitement of generosity or virtue. He sighed and bit his lips as he returned to his mother's house, in an inferior street in the neighbourhood. "Alas!" said he, throwing himself on his bed, "why are creatures

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creatures made with lots so unequal? Why was I born to love and admire, yet be for ever exiled from such society as I have seen; condemned, instead of splendour, to the poor and mean circle in which I must always move, unless some good star prevail to elevate me? Why should there be a class of persons to which I cannot be admitted, such as at this happy house? Why such an exquisite creature as this young lady, who would think me vile were I to approach her? And with whom must I associate? my father's too numerous progeny of honest, common creatures, who cannot compare with the meanest of the dazzling people I have just seen." . . . . It was thus that young Clayton lamented himself. He had long been what he thought an unfortunate, certainly an unhappy person, from having been born with that sort of disposition which leads a man to consider all above him as a superior race of beings, whom it is humiliation not to mix with, and unhappiness not to equal. This is a very different feeling from that impatience of inferiority which, falling upon a generous nature, leads on to noble deeds, and creates a Henry IV., a Chatham, or a Wolfe. The trophies of Miltiades would never have broken Clayton's rest; but a house in Grosvenor-square to which he *could not* be admitted, kept him all night with a sleepless, and almost a tearful eye. His sister, an amiable girl, thought him not well, and offered to nurse him. But his sister never appeared so plebeian, and therefore so little able to soothe him. He turned from her with disgust. . . . . He was, indeed, born of a father respectable in character, but pretending to no greater a situation than that of curate and evening lecturer of a church in the city; and of a mother, no higher than a tradesman's daughter. Everything, therefore, about him was homely, and had he remained with them, he might have been homely too, and possibly happy. But he was sent (the only one of his family) to a public school, where, by associating with higher-bred persons (to whom he paid the most assiduous court, so as to be admitted into their circles), it created for him that character which he never afterwards lost.

'All his efforts were now directed to escape from his family, and natural associates; and by dint of the exertions of that very family beyond whom he wished to soar, he was sent a few months before, to the same college which had just received De Vere. . . . . To college, as may be supposed, his disposition accompanied him, only fomented in a tenfold degree. Tassel-hunting was his delight; his being's chief good; his only end and aim; and we are free to bear witness to the superiority of his abilities in this respect. For with no other superiority whatsoever; no eminence in talents or in literature, in which his figure was merely decent, he was admitted to the society which alone he loved, and passed his time with lords, and the friends of lords.

'Being somewhat older than De Vere, he thought, on his arrival, he might make him some advances. They were made cautiously, and humbly, so as in the end to subdue a disposition which, though open as day, did not easily lend itself to promiscuous acquaintances. Clayton

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ton knew this, but as he also knew De Vere's high family connexions, and ready *entrée* into the *beau monde*, whether of Oxford or of London, he became an object of his most obsequious court. He was not, indeed, a tuft, but he was a gentleman-commoner; he was the friend and companion of dukes' eldest sons and marquesses' eldest sons; and, above all, he was the nephew of Lord Mowbray, and Lord Mowbray was a minister. Under all obstructions, therefore, he determined to persevere.

'The Parvenu's was a handsome countenance; it was smooth, and by many thought open (and De Vere was among the number); yet there were not wanting some, especially those who had known him from childhood, who detected a louring, lurking something, "stopping the career of laughter with a sigh;" a something which indicated a fear to face you, and boded that all might not be so well within. However this might be, as De Vere, the most unsuspicious person in the world, could see nothing of it, he was alive only to what he was allowed to see; an active good-nature and facility to be employed in all offices, and all wants; a perpetual presence where he could be of service; a ready assent to all proposals, and a profession of attachment and devotion, which so much attention could not permit you to doubt for a moment.

'What wonder if De Vere, as well as Lord Eustace, found ease, if not pleasure, in such an associate? To be sure this created a little envy in others—the envy attendant upon the distinction he met with. But here the greatness of Mr. Clayton's character displayed itself; for as long as he knew he was advancing where he most wished to advance, he felt the most sovereign contempt for the opinion of all he left behind. Accordingly, the earlier companions of his life, with whom he had set out, and who could not equal his higher flight, he made no scruple to avoid; in vulgar language, to *cut;* and this he accomplished in a manner so decided as to be worthy a better cause. For it was not a gradual cooling off, a cautious compromise with foolish delicacy, which managed people's feelings; but all was finished at a blow. Having once determined to renounce a man, he was too open not to let him see it; and it must be owned, he went through the task with a most determined intrepidity of assurance. Complaints were indifferent to him, and he bearded resentment itself (in some cases, where he *knew* the parties) with a haughtiness and bravery, which procured him something even like respect, mingled with hatred, from those who were below him.—Having thus, as he said, weeded his acquaintance, he became more identified than ever with the society he loved; and De Vere, who knew nothing of his history, but who saw the loftiness of his bearing towards most of his own order, was so far unsuspicious, and, at that time, so ignorant, as to take arrogance for real superiority.—De Vere and Clayton became intimate, rode out together, drank wine together, nay, once or twice, in a long vacation, made short excursions together, and absolutely wrote to one another, during absence.

'If,

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'If, during all this time, De Vere saw nothing very particularly to admire in the abilities or genius of his companion, on the other side, he saw nothing to blame; while the proofs he received of devotion to his person were so great, that he could not help, in return, loving him who showed them. He at least felt that interest about him which made him studious to promote his advantage by all the means in his power. "There are not many," said he to him one day, "but such as they are, they are yours; and if I succeed in the career my uncle has opened to me, of which I greatly doubt, whatever I can command for a friend shall be yours." Clayton's smooth features and fair skin became agitated, and blushed all over at this intimation; and if De Vere set it down to the score of feeling, let other men of one-and-twenty blame him, if they please—we certainly will not.'—p. 140-8.

There is great skill in this—and in particular the last trait shows the nice and delicate skill of a long-practised observer of mankind.

The heroine of De Vere is drawn with touches of the same fine discrimination. We have already seen her as she kindled the ambition of Clayton, at fifteen: the fortunate lover first meets her, at a somewhat maturer age, and, as it has been said, in a ball-room, where

'he beheld a young lady led up to the top of the dance, on whom he found his eye could not look without instant emotion. The most perfect form he had ever beheld, set off by the most graceful manner he had ever admired, challenged his curiosity, and gratified all his sentiment. Had she been plain, this would have been the instant effect upon one of De Vere's particular taste, which sought for its pleasure more in elegance of shape and address than even in beauty itself. But her face and features were illumined with a meaning of such powerful expression; there were in them such sense and softness united, that a man of sense could not fail to admire, a man of feeling, to love.

'Her complexion might be said to be naturally pale, but of such dazzling fineness, that you hardly wished for colour, till it came. Then, indeed, the animation which it caused, and the intelligence which flashed from a dark and languishing eye, gave her a loveliness of expression, such as we may suppose to belong to the angels. Luckily, the least exercise, and even the play of her mind in conversation, always called up this beautiful colour.

'De Vere was upon his legs in a moment. He had no eyes, but for this lovely vision—for such it seemed. He could not even ask her name, so much was he fixed; for, from being all eye, he could find no tongue. When she began to move, his peculiar taste was peculiarly pleased; for never were grace and dignity so exemplified. Perhaps, she might have been thought too serious in her dancing; by those who did not, like De Vere, mark the elasticity of her foot, and a something, as the strain of the music changed, which amounted almost to playfulness.'—pp. 211, 212.

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Upon one occasion Dr. Herbert gratifies this young lady very much by putting down a gentleman who had ventured to throw out some remarks of an infidel tendency:—

'Constance alone was silent; for her feelings were too deep for utterance: but her looks showed that the obligation was not the less felt, because unexpressed; and when they proceeded with their walk, she found herself, uninvited, putting her arm within Herbert's, in a manner so frank, and at the same time so modest, that whilst it delighted the person whom she so distinguished, it appeared to please almost all the rest of the party. She gained by it with De Vere, as we hope she will with the reader. For, amongst all the traits of a young and naïve girl, we know none so pleasing as the pleasure she sometimes feels, (and shows she feels,) in a familiar and sanctioned intercourse with a man much her senior, to whose wisdom she defers, and on whose kindness she relies. In this instance, Constance's long acquaintance with Herbert, who had known her from a child, her respect for him, and the obligation he had just seemed to confer upon her, in satisfying her heart on points vital to its happiness, seemed to make this pleasure doubly natural; and her manner of showing it (fresh and charming as her youth) interested all who saw it, and above all, De Vere.'—vol. ii. pp. 126, 127.

This is a passage which could scarcely have been written by a young man—indeed we may observe generally, that the most pleasing of our author's pages are those on which the impress of what we may call a paternal kindliness of feeling is most distinctly marked. Let us be allowed another example of the sympathies of age with youth.

'"I have watched," says one of De Vere's friends, on a fine moonlight night, "I have watched that glorious orb, from her first little segment, scarcely streaking the sky, ten or twelve days' ago, till now, when I could grow melancholy to think she will to-morrow be on the wane, were I not sure that in a fortnight more her youth will be renewed. These changes and renewals are the rich presents which the Author of Nature makes us, and occasion us almost to forget that we ourselves grow old." He stopped, but De Vere was too much pleased to interrupt him by observation, and he went on:—"Hence, the mere morning, ushering in the expectations of the day, delights the *Hoper*, whatever its termination. Hence, too, in more active scenes, I never could see, without pleasure, the opening promise of any of my fellow-beings, before disappointment had checked their alacrity, or given them cause for alarm. How have I watched the joy of a young girl, for example, just come out; the world at her feet, and pleasure in her eye, because she *hoped* it would always be so. How have I rejoiced with a young senator, after his maiden speech; or even a stripling student qualifying himself to make one. These, indeed, have passed away; but others have supplied their places, and wherever I find them it is still happiness to me to contemplate in them the pleasures of expectation." De Vere

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Vere here became grave, and almost cast down, at the thought of what he too had imagined to be happiness, but found so transitory. His host observed it (for he had an eye as quick as it was kind), and said, he feared he might be touching an unpleasant theme, and would change the conversation. "By no means," cried De Vere, "I am quite interested in this novel catalogue—these pleasures of expectation, and particularly, as you may suppose, those of opening youth." "Why, yes," returned the other, "it is this expectation, as much or even more than the spring and buxomness of the blood, that makes the remembrance of our earlier days delightful, so that they are emphatically called our *beaux jours*. Never shall I forget the time when I first saw Oxford, and the exclamation of an energetic man, with whom I was travelling. He was my guardian, far from young, a man of letters, an eloquent senator, a complete gentleman. He was also, spite of his years, and the excitements of the world, (of which he had drank as largely as any one,) the greatest of enthusiasts." "The impressions of such a one," said De Vere, "must be worthy of remembrance." "It was evening," continued his friend, "when we arrived, and the lamps of the students were twinkling far through the casemented windows of battlements and towers rising among groves, which, to him, had always been sacred. 'Happy men! happy men!' exclaimed he, with fervour; 'the world is all your own: the sciences you are mastering will not only administer eternal good to your minds, but at this moment they make every one of you lords of your wishes.' Then turning to me, 'I would give much,' said he, 'to witness the progressive effects upon them of the knowledge they are acquiring; but ten times more for the *hopes* which each acquisition adds to what they had before. They are all big with the fine phrenzy of Cowley:—

What shall I do to be for ever known,
And make the age to come, my own?*'"

'"Your guardian," observed De Vere, "must have really been blessed with the *mens divinior;* and, for an old man, as you have called him, it is wonderful his enthusiasm could have lasted so long." "It did till his dying day," answered the other; "but there are men whose genius never wears out, and he was one, for his body dropped while his mind was still full of fruit. Our greatest living poet, you know, the author of the Night Thoughts, did not begin them till he was near sixty. Why then should we ever give up the dear pleasures of thought?" "Your friend, it should seem, never did," said De Vere. "No; and he had this farther advantage, that although no man had seen more of the strifes of the world, or had more keenly observed its vices or virtues, somehow or another he always contrived to excite himself more by its virtues, than suffer depression by its vices. This is what I love."'—vol. iii. p. 85—89.

* 'From a note in the manuscript it is to be presumed, that the anecdote here related is not of an imaginary being, but of a high-minded statesman, once very dear to his friends.'

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We believe we have now quoted quite enough to give those who never read Tremaine a notion of what they have to expect from De Vere. We purposely abstain from going into the details of the story: nothing can be more graceful than some of the love-scenes, —nothing more true and graphic than some of the political; but the former we should be sorry to mutilate, and the latter could not be dissected at all without going into a length of detail which our limits entirely forbid. The principal political character, identified, by the newspaper puffs of the day, with a great living statesman, is obviously a portrait, and upon the whole we consider it as a just one, of Lord Chatham, as he appeared in one of the most critical periods of his life; and it is not improbable that when we call the attention of our readers to the life of the earl, just published, by Mr. Thackeray, we may find occasion to contrast certain passages of the graver work with some of the lively delineations of De Vere.

This novelist, also, has thought fit to drop his mask:—and it is no longer a secret that we are indebted for some of the most pleasing writing of the time to Mr. Robert Ward.

If he should be inclined to complain of some of our observations, we can do no more than assure him that all we have said is compatible with a high opinion of his talents. We have little doubt that if, instead of grappling with the difficulties of full-grown romance, he had put forth a 'Sketch-Book,' after the manner of Geoffry Crayon, he would have at once established for himself that measure of reputation which posterity, after the wheat has been *perforce* sifted from the chaff of his productions, will not refuse him: nor should we have said half so much as we have done about what we consider as his defects, had we not given him credit for ambition of a much nobler order than can be supposed to enter into the thoughts of most of his rivals.

ART. X.—*Letters from his* MAJESTY KING GEORGE III. *to the late Lord Kenyon, on the Coronation Oath, with his Lordship's Answers; and Letters of the Right Honourable* WILLIAM PITT *to his Majesty* KING GEORGE III., *with his Majesty's Answers, previous to the Dissolution of the Ministry in* 1801. London. 1827.

WE receive this publication too late to admit of our making it, even if we had the inclination to do so, our text-book for a political discussion; but cannot suppress a few reflections of another nature, which its appearance suggests.

The Memoirs of Mr. Pitt's Life, by his preceptor and friend the

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the Bishop of Winchester, come down only to the year 1793; and six years have elapsed without affording us any distinct prospect of their completion. His lordship, in his preface, informs us, that he has 'reserved for his last volume what relates to Mr. Pitt's private life'—an arrangement of which we must beg leave to complain;—but we regret still more, perhaps, his suppression, excepting in two or three instances, of that *correspondence* which could not have failed to throw the strongest light upon the public career which he does profess to trace. The fact is certain that, in spite of the admirable opportunities and talents of the author, this learned prelate's work is, in its present state, a most unsatisfactory one: it utterly disappointed the public expectation; and, we think, the scanty use made of Mr. Pitt's letters has been all along one of the principal subjects of complaint. Every incident, every document, which can be produced without injury to the feelings of living men ought, we are sure, to be made public by those who have at heart the honour of that high name. About Mr. Pitt there was nothing that could, on *his* account, require concealment; and the obstinacy with which other persons, besides the Bishop of Winchester, persist in suppressing materials of this kind, to say nothing of the rash jealousy which has led some to put others of the same kind beyond the reach of any historian, can never be regarded by us without feelings of the most painful description.

No abuse of such materials can afford any argument against the judicious use of them; and, although there may often be excellent reasons for the temporary withholding, we think there can seldom indeed be any sufficient reason for the destruction, of true evidence respecting the characters of illustrious men.

In regard to great statesmen, in particular, it appears to be not merely unwise, but absolutely unjust, to neglect any fitting opportunity of placing before the eyes of the world the actual details of their personal character and demeanour. The best of such men are, of course, in their public capacities, the objects, to a large extent, of contemporary suspicion, dislike—often hatred. We profess, ourselves, to have slender belief in the existence of that candour, of which we often hear so much, as drawing a line of total separation between the public and the private characters of living politicians; but, assuredly, if such candour exist at all, it is only to be found in high quarters. The inferior adherents of the one party have little of gracious feeling to spare to the chiefs of the other—and the farther we go from the centre of action, the more powerful is the prejudice found to be, as the sling acquires additional impetus at every widening of the circle.

This complete mixing up of all the elements of the public man's

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man's character in the minds of the great body of those who survey his career from a distance, affords, however, the best, and, indeed, the only means of procuring, sooner or later, a just general estimation of his merits. Show the people that he whom they have been accustomed to execrate as the darkest of politicians, was, in the privacies of his life, candid, just, amiable—and the whole aggregate of *their* prejudice receives a simultaneous shock. They do not, they never will, understand the distinction between a good man and a bad senator: they will never accuse him, of whose private virtue they are satisfied, of public vice: to them his worst errors will be no more than errors; the sting of that deadly bitterness being once abstracted, can never be replaced.

How much does Chatham's memory not owe to the publication of his letters to his nephew at college?—how much that of Burke to the disclosure of his correspondence with Barry?—and who that has visited St. Patrick's ever permits himself to remember Swift's own epitaph without recalling also the inscription over his old servant hard by?

There was a tone of harshness and sarcasm about the parliamentary conduct and appearances of the late Sir Samuel Romilly which could not fail to make many personal enemies. We may be pardoned for asking whether those *Memoirs*, which would (as we are assured) so abundantly exhibit the amiable and simple inner heart of that eminent person, are to be for ever a sealed book to the public?

Few statesmen had more personal friends than Mr. Horner—and personal enemies, we believe, he had none. But is it right, even in his case, to suppress all the MS. memorials of his zeal and ardour, and never-ending industry, until they who might have produced them to the best advantage shall have been withdrawn from amongst us?

What are we to say to the manner in which alone the personal history of Mr. Fox has as yet been given to the public? But above all, who can pretend to apologise for the friends of Mr. Pitt, who have suffered a life in which there was nothing but what was pure and good to remain virtually unwritten for more than twenty years?

We hope to be forgiven for expressing our anxious hope that the appearance of the volume now before us may be followed by others containing letters of the late King. There never lived a more virtuous and patriotic prince; nor a man in any station of life, whose character from youth to age was more consistently pure and dignified; and long ere it pleased Providence to close his Majesty's political existence, his worth had received all but its best reward, in the affectionate reverence of his people. But scarcely

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scarcely ever did even a subaltern partizan in politics encounter, in the course of his life, such clouds and tempests of reproach and calumny as it had been the fate of this great and good monarch to pass through; and we should, perhaps, be rash in supposing that the malignity of his enemies must needs be entirely neglected by posterity, simply because we thoroughly appreciate it. It is, in particular, with feelings of shame and humility that we allude to the unworthy impressions created, and during many years maintained, among many classes of this nation, concerning the personal demeanour and conversation of George the Third. *We* all know that those delusions, under the full influence of which thousands died, and which, in truth, did more to shake the loyal affections of the people at a most alarming crisis, than all the efforts of a hundred atheistical and jacobinical associations—we all know that those base delusions were mainly, if not entirely, the results of a single profligate man's fiend-like satire; nor is there one fact in our history which deserves a deeper blush, than that such effects should have sprung from such a cause. But how were those delusions chased away? and by what means are we to guard against the possible revival of them, to the disparagement, among our children's children, of the memory which this generation can never cease to revere?

We have no difficulty in appealing to the recollection of our readers, whether the publication of Dr. Johnson's account of his conversation with the King, at Buckingham-house, does not mark the day and the hour from which the system of personal vituperation, to which the sovereign's character had so long been subjected, began to relax in its efforts, and to be comparatively harmless in its effects. The infamous satirist of the time had so often alluded to that interview, had coined so many lies out of the bare fact of its occurrence, that the genuine details could not be revealed without covering even his brazen front with confusion. From that time *he*, personally, was disarmed. Dr. Beattie's account of the audience with which the King honoured him at Kew—and Mr. Adams's letter, describing his first reception at St. James's, as ambassador for the United States of America,—subsequently saw the light, and produced respectively a strong and powerful effect on the public mind—we mean the minds of the people of this country at large. Yet all these were men of humble rank, admitted, each of them for the first time too, to the presence of a great monarch; it was impossible not to take such circumstances into view in estimating the value of their evidence as to certain points; and we venture to say, that even their disclosures have not proved, on the whole, such lastingly effective instruments of justice, as certain letters written by the much-injured

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injured King himself, which have, of late years, found their way to the press.

Every one of these letters has raised sensibly the popular respect for the King's memory;* and certainly none of them are better calculated to produce such effects than those now on our table, which his Majesty addressed to Mr. Pitt previous to the dissolution of the Ministry in 1801. The whole correspondence

* We may refer particularly to the King's note to Mr. Pitt, upon being informed of the fact that he had found himself opposed to two very large majorities, the first evening he appeared in the House of Commons, as Minister, in 1784.

'Mr. Pitt cannot but suppose, that I received his communication of the two divisions in the long debate, which ended this morning, with much uneasiness, as it shows the house of commons much more willing to enter into any intemperate resolutions of desperate men, than I could have imagined. As to myself, I am perfectly composed, as I have the self-satisfaction of feeling I have done my duty. Though I think Mr. Pitt's day will be fully taken up in considering with the other ministers, what measures are best to be proposed on the present crisis; yet that no delay may arise from my absence, I will dine in town, and consequently be ready to see him in the evening, if he should think that would be of utility. At all events, I am ready to take any step that may be proposed to oppose this faction, and to struggle to the last period of my life; but I can never submit to throw myself into its power. If they, in the end, succeed, my line is a clear one, and to which I have fortitude enough to submit.'

'In another letter to Mr. Pitt, (says Bishop Tomline) his Majesty thus expressed himself: "The opposition will certainly throw every difficulty in our way; but we must be men, and if we mean to save the country, we must cut those threads that cannot be unravelled. Half measures are ever puerile, and often destructive." This letter was written on the 26th of January, and referred particularly to a dissolution of parliament, which his Majesty then thought ought to be resorted to immediately.'

Our last quotation shall be from his Majesty's note to Mr. Pitt, written on the day when the memorable address of the Lords, in relation to the new ministry (of 1784), was to be moved.

'I trust the house of lords will this day feel, that the hour is come, for which the wisdom of our ancestors established that respectable corps in the state, to prevent either the crown or the commons from encroaching on the rights of each other. Indeed, should not the lords stand boldly forth, this constitution must soon be changed; for, if the two only remaining privileges of the crown are infringed, that of negativing bills which have passed both houses of parliament, and that of naming the ministers to be employed, I cannot but feel, as far as regards my person, that I can be no longer of utility to this country, nor can with honour continue in this island.'

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does so much honour, both to his Majesty and to his illustrious servant, that we are tempted to extract it from a volume which contains much, besides this, that will reward the reader's attention; and which, as it stands, must find a place in every library that makes pretension to collect the materials of English history.

We may observe that the names of the editors, Lord Kenyon and Dr. Philpotts, afford the most perfect pledges, not only of the authenticity of the documents, but of the propriety of the circumstances under which they have been published.

No. I.—Letter of Mr. Pitt to the late King.

'*Downing-street, Saturday, Jan. 31st*, 1801.

'Mr. Pitt would have felt it, at all events, his duty, previous to the meeting in parliament, to submit to your Majesty the result of the best consideration which your confidential servants could give to the important questions respecting the Catholics and Dissenters, which must naturally be agitated in consequence of the Union. The knowledge of your Majesty's general indisposition to any change of the laws on this subject would have made this a painful task to him; and it is become much more so by learning from some of his colleagues, and from other quarters, within these few days, the extent to which your Majesty entertains, and has declared that sentiment.

'He trusts your Majesty will believe, that every principle of duty, gratitude, and attachment, must make him look to your Majesty's ease and satisfaction, in preference to all considerations, but those arising from a sense of what in his honest opinion is due to the real interest of your Majesty and your dominions. Under the impression of that opinion, he has concurred in what appeared to be the prevailing sentiments of the majority of the cabinet,—that the admission of the Catholics and Dissenters to offices, and of the Catholics to Parliament (from which latter the Dissenters are not now excluded), would, under certain conditions to be specified, be highly advisable, with a view to the tranquillity and improvement of Ireland, and to the general interest of the United Kingdom. For himself, he is on full consideration convinced, that the measure would be attended with no danger to the established church, or to the Protestant interest in Great Britain or Ireland:—That now the Union has taken place, and with the new provisions which would make part of the plan, it could never give any such weight in office, or in Parliament, either to Catholics or Dissenters, as could give them any new means (if they were so disposed) of attacking the establishment:—That the grounds on which the laws of exclusion now remaining were founded, have long been narrowed, and are since the Union removed:—That those principles, formerly held by the Catholics, which made them considered as politically dangerous, have been for a course of time gradually declining, and among the higher orders particularly:—That the obnoxious tenets are disclaimed in the most positive manner by the oaths, which have been required in

Great

Great Britain, and still more by one of those required in Ireland, as the condition of the indulgences already granted, and which might equally be made the condition of any new ones:—That if such an oath, containing (among other provisions) a denial of the power of absolution from its obligations, is not a security from Catholics, the sacramental test is not more so:—That the political circumstances under which the exclusive laws originated, arising either from the conflicting power of hostile and nearly balanced sects, from the apprehension of a Popish queen or successor, a disputed succession and a foreign pretender, and a division in Europe between Catholic and Protestant powers, are no longer applicable to the present state of things:—That with respect to those of the Dissenters, who it is feared entertain principles dangerous to the constitution, a distinct political test pointed against the doctrine of modern jacobinism, would be a much more just and more effectual security, than that which now exists, which may operate to the exclusion of conscientious persons well affected to the state, and is no guard against those of an opposite description:—

'That with respect to the Catholics of Ireland, another most important additional security, and one of which the effect would continually increase, might be provided, by gradually attaching the Popish clergy to the government, and, for this purpose, making them dependant for a part of their provision (under proper regulations) on the state, and by also subjecting them to superintendence and control:—

'That, besides these provisions, the general interests of the established church, and the security of the constitution and government, might be effectually strengthened by requiring the political test, before referred to, from the preachers of all Catholic or Dissenting congregations, and from the teachers of schools of every denomination.

'It is on these principles Mr. Pitt humbly conceives a new Security might be obtained for the Civil and Ecclesiastical Constitution of this country, more applicable to the present circumstances, more free from objection, and more effectual in itself, than any which now exists;—and which would, at the same time, admit of extending such indulgences as must conciliate the higher orders of the Catholics, and by furnishing to a large class of your Majesty's Irish subjects a proof of the good will of the United Parliament, afford the best chance of giving full effect to the great object of the Union,—that of tranquillizing Ireland, and attaching it to this country.

'It is with inexpressible regret, after all he now knows of your Majesty's sentiments, that Mr. Pitt troubles your Majesty, thus at large, with the general grounds of his opinion, and finds himself obliged to add, that this opinion is unalterably fixed in his mind. It must, therefore, unalterably guide his political conduct, if it should be your Majesty's pleasure, that, after thus presuming to open himself fully to your Majesty, he should remain in that responsible situation in which your Majesty has so long condescended graciously and favourably to accept his services. It will afford him, indeed, a great relief and satisfaction, if he may be allowed to hope, that your Majesty will deign maturely to

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weigh what he has now humbly submitted, and to call for any explanation which any parts of it may appear to require.

'In the interval which your Majesty may wish for consideration, he will not, on his part, importune your Majesty with any unnecessary reference to the subject; and will feel it his duty to abstain from all agitation of this subject in Parliament, and to prevent it, as far as depends on him, on the part of others. If, on the results of such consideration, your Majesty's objections to the measure proposed should not be removed, or sufficiently diminished to admit of its being brought forward with your Majesty's full concurrence, and with the whole weight of government, it must be personally Mr. Pitt's first wish to be released from a situation, which he is conscious that, under such circumstances, he could not continue to fill but with the greatest disadvantage.

'At the same time, after the gracious intimation, which has been recently conveyed to him, of your Majesty's sentiments on this point, he will be acquitted of presumption in adding, that if the chief difficulties of the present crisis should not then be surmounted, or very materially diminished, and if your Majesty should continue to think that his humble exertions could, in any degree, contribute to conducting them to a favourable issue, there is no personal difficulty to which he will not rather submit, than withdraw himself at such a moment from your Majesty's service. He would even, in such a case, continue, for such a short further interval as might be necessary, to oppose the agitation or decision of the question, as far as he can, consistently with the line to which he feels bound uniformly to adhere, of reserving to himself a full latitude on the principle itself, and objecting only to the time, and to the temper and circumstances of the moment. But he must intreat that, on this supposition, it may be distinctly understood, that he can remain in office no longer than till the issue (which he trusts on every account will be a speedy one) of the crisis now depending, shall admit of your Majesty's more easily forming a new arrangement; and that he will then receive your Majesty's permission to carry with him into a private situation that affectionate and grateful attachment, which your Majesty's goodness for a long course of years has impressed on his mind, and that unabated zeal for the ease and honour of your Majesty's government, and for the public service, which he trusts will always govern his conduct.

'He has only to intreat your Majesty's pardon for troubling you on one other point, and taking the liberty of most respectfully, but explicitly, submitting to your Majesty the indispensable necessity of effectually discountenancing, in the whole of the interval, all attempts to make use of your Majesty's name, or to influence the opinion of any individual, or descriptions of men, on any part of this subject.'

No. II.—The King's Answer.

'*Queen's House, Feb.* 1, 1801.

'I should not do justice to the warm impulse of my heart, if I entered on the subject most unpleasant to my mind, without first expressing, that

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that the cordial affection I have for Mr. Pitt, as well as high opinion of his talents and integrity, greatly add to my uneasiness on this occasion; but a sense of religious as well as political duty has made me, from the moment I mounted the throne, to consider the oath that the wisdom of our forefathers have enjoined the kings of this realm to take at their coronation, and enforced by the obligation of instantly following it in the course of the ceremony with taking the Sacrament, as so binding a religious obligation on me to maintain the fundamental maxims on which our constitution is placed, namely, the Church of England being the established one, and that those who hold employments in the state must be members of it, and consequently obliged not only to take oaths against popery, but to receive the holy communion agreeably to the rites of the Church of England.

'This principle of duty must, therefore, prevent me from discussing any proposition tending to destroy the ground-work of our happy constitution, and much more so that now mentioned by Mr. Pitt, which is no less than the compleat overthrow of the whole fabric.

'When the Irish propositions were transmitted to me by a joint message from both houses of the British Parliament, I told the lords and gentlemen sent on that occasion, that I would with pleasure and without delay forward them to Ireland; but that, as individuals, I could not help acquainting them, that my inclination to an union with Ireland was principally founded on a trust, that the uniting the established churches of the two kingdoms would for ever shut the door to any further measures with respect to the Roman Catholics.

'These two instances must show Mr. Pitt, that my opinions are not those formed on the moment, but such as I have imbibed for forty years, and from which I never can depart; but, Mr. Pitt once acquainted with my sentiments, his assuring me that he will stave off the only question whereon I fear from his letter we can never agree, —for the advantage and comfort of continuing to have his advice and exertions in public affairs, I will certainly abstain from talking on this subject, which is the one nearest my heart. I cannot help if others pretend to guess at my opinions, which I have never disguised; but if those who unfortunately differ with me will keep this subject at rest, I will, on my part, most correctly on my part, be silent also; but this restraint I shall put on myself from affection for Mr. Pitt, but further I cannot go, for I cannot sacrifice my duty to any consideration.

'Though I do not pretend to have the power of changing Mr. Pitt's opinion, when thus unfortunately fixed, yet I shall hope his sense of duty will prevent his retiring from his present situation to the end of my life; for I can with great truth assert, that I shall, from public and private considerations, feel great regret if I shall ever find myself obliged, at any time, from a sense of religious and political duty, to yield to his entreaties of retiring from his seat at the board of treasury.

'G. R.'

No.

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No. III.—Mr. Pitt to the late King.

'*Downing-street, Tuesday, February 3d*, 1801.

'Mr. Pitt cannot help entreating your Majesty's permission to express how very sincerely he is penetrated with the affecting expressions of your Majesty's kindness and goodness to himself, on the occasion of the communication with which he has been under the necessity of troubling your Majesty. It is, therefore, with additional pain he feels himself bound to state, that the final decision which your Majesty has formed on the great subject in question (the motives to which he respects and honours), and his own unalterable sense of the line which public duty requires from him, must make him consider the moment as now arrived, when, on the principles which he has already explained, it must be his first wish to be released, as soon as possible, from his present situation. He certainly retains the same anxious desire, in the time and mode of quitting it, to consult, as much as possible, your Majesty's ease and convenience, and to avoid embarrassment. But he must frankly confess to your Majesty, that the difficulty even of his temporary continuance must necessarily be increased, and may very shortly become insuperable, from what he conceives to be the import of one passage in your Majesty's note, which hardly leaves him room to hope, that your Majesty thinks those steps can be taken for effectually discountenancing all attempts to make use of your Majesty's name, or to influence opinions on this subject, which he has ventured to represent as indispensably necessary during any interval in which he might remain in office. He has, however, the less anxiety in laying this sentiment before your Majesty, because, independent of it, he is more and more convinced, that, your Majesty's final decision being once taken, the sooner he is allowed to act upon it, the better it will be for your Majesty's service. He trusts, and sincerely believes, that your Majesty cannot find any long delay necessary for forming an arrangement for conducting your service with credit and advantage, and that, on the other hand, the feebleness and uncertainty, which is almost inseparable from a temporary government, must soon produce an effect, both at home and abroad, which might lead to serious inconvenience. Mr. Pitt trusts your Majesty will believe, that a sincere anxiety for the future ease and strength of your government is one strong motive for his presuming thus to press this consideration.'

No. IV.—The King's Answer.

'*Queen's House, February 5th*, 1801.

'The box from Mr. Pitt contained two letters, and a warrant in favour of Mr. Long. I cannot have the smallest difficulty in signing the proposed warrant, as I think him a very valuable man, and know how much Mr. Pitt esteems him.

'I had flattered myself that, on the strong assurance I gave Mr. Pitt, of keeping perfectly silent on the subject whereon we entirely differ, provided, on his part, he kept off from any disquisition on it for the

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the present, which was the main object of the letter I wrote to him on Sunday, we both understood our present line of conduct; but as I unfortunately find Mr. Pitt does not draw the same conclusion, I must come to the unpleasant decision, as it will deprive Me of his political service, of acquainting him, that, rather than forego what I look on as my duty, I will, without unnecessary delay, attempt to make the most creditable arrangement, and such as Mr. Pitt will think most to the advantage of my service, as well as to the security of the public; but he must not be surprised, if I cannot fix how soon that can possibly be done, though he may rest assured that it shall be done with as much expedition as so difficult a subject will admit. 'G. R.'

We shall make no apology for extracting here some letters of the Earl of Chatham to his illustrious son, when studying at Cambridge, which the Bishop of Winchester has made public. We have seen what Mr. Pitt was in the maturity of his life; these letters may help us to form some notion of what he was in his youth.

'*Burton Pynsent, Oct. 9th*, 1773.

'Thursday's post brought us no letter from the dear traveller: we trust this day will prove more satisfactory; it is the happy day that gave us your brother, and will not be less in favour with all here, if it should give us, about four o'clock, an epistle from my dear William. By that hour, I reckon, we shall be warm in our cups, and shall not fail to pour forth, with renewed joy, grateful libations over the much-wished tidings of your prosperous progress towards your destination. We compute, that yesterday brought you to the venerable aspect of an alma mater; and that you are invested to-day with the toga virilis. Your race of *manly* virtue and *useful* knowledge is now begun, and may the favour of heaven smile upon the noble career!

'Little ——— was really disappointed at not being in time to see you—a good mark for my young vivid friend. He is just as much compounded of the elements of *air* and *fire* as he was. A due proportion of terrestrial solidity will, I trust, come, and make him perfect. How happy, my beloved boy, is it, that your mamma and I can tell ourselves, there is at Cambridge *one*, without a beard, "and all the elements so mixed in him, that nature might stand up and say, This is a man." I now take leave for to-day, not meaning this for what James calls a *regular* letter, but a flying thought, that wings itself towards my absent William. Horses are ready, and all is birth-day.

'Bradshaw has shone, this auspicious morning, in a very fine speech of congratulation; but I foresee "his sun sets weeping in the lowest west," that is, a fatal bowl of punch will, before night, quench this luminary of oratory. Adieu, again and again, sweet boy; and if you acquire health and strength every time I wish them to you, you will be a second Sampson, and, what is more, will, I am sure, keep your hair. 'CHATHAM.'

'*Burton*

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'*Burton Pynsent, Oct.* 30, 1778.

'With what ease of mind and joy of heart I write to my loved William, since Mr. Wilson's comfortable letter of Monday! I do not mean to address you as a sick man: I trust in heaven, that *convalescent* is the only title I am to give you in the ailing tribe; and that you are now enjoying the happy advantage of Dr. Glynn's acquaintance, as one of the cheerful and witty sons of Apollo, in his poetic, not his medical, attribute. But, though I indulge, with inexpressible delight, the thought of your returning health, I cannot help being a little in pain, lest you should make *more haste than good speed* to be well. Your mamma has been before me, in suggesting that most useful proverb, *reculer pour mieux sauter*, useful to all, but to the *ardent*, *necessary*. You may indeed, my sweet boy, better than any one, practise this sage dictum, without any risque of being *thrown out* (as little James would say) in the *chace of learning*. All you want, at present, is *quiet*; with this, if your ardor *aquoreveey* can be *kept in*, till you are stronger, you will make *noise* enough. How happy the task, my noble, amiable boy, to caution you *only against pursuing too much* all those liberal and praiseworthy things, to which less happy natures are perpetually to be spurred and driven! I will not teaze you with too long a lecture in favour of *inaction*, and a competent *stupidity*, your two best *tutors* and *companions* at present. You have time to spare: consider there is but the *Encyclopedia*; and when you have mastered all that, what will remain? You will want, like Alexander, another world to conquer. Your mamma joins me in every word; and we know how much your affectionate mind can sacrifice to our earnest and tender wishes. Brothers and sisters are well; all feel about you, think and talk of you, as they ought. My affectionate remembrances go in great abundance to Mr. Wilson. Vive, Vale, is the unceasing prayer of your truly loving father,

'CHATHAM.'

'*Hayes, Sunday, July* 17, 1774.

'Need I tell my dear William, that his letter, received this morning, diffused general joy here? To know that he is well and happy, and to be happy ourselves, is one and the same thing. I am glad that Chambers, Hall, and tufted Robe, continue to please; and make no doubt, that all the *nine*, in their several departments of charming, will sue for your love with all their powers of enchantment. I know too well the danger of a *new amour* or of a *reviving passion*, not to have some fears for your discretion. Give any of these alluring ladies the meeting by *day-light*, and *in their turns*; not becoming the *slave* of any one of them; nor be drawn into late hours by the temptation of their sweet converse. I rejoice that college is not yet evacuated of its learned garrison; and I hope the governor of this fortress of science, the master, or his admirable aides-de-camp, the tutors, will not soon repair to their respective excursions. Dr. Brown, to whom I desire to present my best compliments, is very obliging in accommodating you with a stable. I hope with this aid Mr. Wilson's computation may not be out above one half, to bring it all near the mark. I conclude, a

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horse's allowance at Cambridge is upon the scale of a sizar's commons. However it prove, I am glad to think you and he will find more convenience for riding at every spare hour that offers. Stucky will carry Mr. Wilson safely, and, I trust, not unpleasantly. The brothers of the turf may hold the solid contents of his shoulders and forehand somewhat cheap; but by Dan's leave, he is no uncreditable *clerical* steed. No news yet from Pitt. James is here, the flower of schoolboys.

'Your loving father, CHATHAM.'

'*Hayes, Sept.* 2, 1774.

'I write, my dearest William, the post just going out, only to thank you for your most welcome letter, and for the affectionate anxiety you express for my situation, left behind in the hospital, when our flying camp moved to Stowe. Gout has for the present subsided, and seems to intend deferring his favours till winter, if autumn will do its duty and bless us with a course of steady weather; those days, which Madame de Sevigné so beautifully paints, *des jours filés d'or et de soye*.

'I have the pleasure to tell you, your mother and sisters returned perfectly well from Bucks, warm in praises of magnificent and princely Stowe; and full of due sentiments of the agreeable and kind reception they found there. No less than two dancings, in the short time they passed there. One escape from a wasp's nest, which proved only an adventure to talk of, by the incomparable skill and presence of mind of Mr. Cotton, driving our girls in his carriage with four very fine horses, and no postilion. They fell into an *ambuscade* of wasps more fierce than *Pandours*, who beset these coursers of spirit not inferior to *Xanthus* and *Podarges*, and stung them to madness; when disdaining the master's hand, he turned them short into a hedge, threw some of them, as he meant to do; and leaping down, seized the bridles of the leaders, which afforded time for your sisters to get out safe and sound, their honour, in point of courage, intact, as well as their bones; for they are celebrated not a little on their composure in this alarming situation. I rejoice that your time passes to your mind, in the evacuated seat of the Muses. However, knowing that those heavenly ladies (unlike the London fair) delight most, and spread their choicest charms and treasures, in sweet, retired solitude, I wont wonder that their true votary is happy to be alone with them. Mr. Pretyman will by no means spoil company, and I wish you joy of his return. How many commons have you lost of late? Whose fences have you broken; and in what lord of the manor's pound have any *strays of science* been found, since the famous adventure of catching the horses with such admirable address and alacrity? I beg my affectionate compliments to Mr. Wilson, and hope you will both beware of an inclosed country for the future. Little James is still with us, doing penance for the *high living* so well described to you in Mrs. Pam's excellent epistle. All loves follow my sweetest boy in more abundance than I have time or ability to express.

'I desire my best compliments to the kind and obliging master, who loves Cicero and you.'

'*Hayes,*

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'*Hayes, Sept.* 29, 1777.

'How can I employ my reviving pen so well as by addressing a few lines to the *hope* and *comfort* of my life, my dear William? You will have pleasure to see, under my own hand, that I mend every day, and that I am all but well. I have been this morning to Camden-place, and sustained, most manfully, a visit, and all the idle talk thereof, far above an hour, by Mr. Norman's clock; and returned home, untired, to dinner, where I ate like a farmer. Lord Mahon has confounded, not convinced, the incorrigible *soi-disant* Dr. Wilson. Dr. Franklin's lightning, rebel as he is, stands proved the more innocent; and Wilson's nobs must yield to the pointed conductors. On Friday, Lord Mahon's indefatigable spirit is to exhibit another incendium, to lord mayor, foreign ministers, and all lovers of philosophy and the good of society; and means to illuminate the horizon with a little bonfire of twelve hundred faggots and a double edifice. Had our dear friend been born sooner, Nero and the second Charles could never have amused themselves by reducing to ashes the two noblest cities in the world. My hand begins to demand repose;—so, with my best compliments to Aristotle, Homer, Thucydides, Xenophon, not forgetting the civilians, and law of nations tribe, adieu, my dearest William,

'Your ever most affectionate father,

'CHATHAM.'

NOTES.

*** We have received a letter from a very worthy officer of the East India Company's *regular* naval service, pointing out a mistake in the article on the Burmese war, in our last number. It was far from our intention to say anything disrespectful concerning the gentlemen of that service; and their proper designation was inadvertently made use of in reference to quite another class of persons.

††† We have received a letter from Mr. Ellis, (the missionary,) in which he tells us that the 'Letter from *Boki*,' quoted in the last page of our last number, is a forgery. In answer to this, we can only assure Mr. Ellis, that the letter certainly did come from the Sandwich Islands; that its genuineness neither has been, nor is, doubted, either by the officer of the Blonde who received it, or by his captain; and that the gentlemen of that ship generally concur in stating the tenour of the letter to be in perfect accordance with the sentiments which Boki was in the habit of expressing to them while they were in his society. We can easily believe that Mr. Boki may not have been in the habit of writing, or even of speaking his mind quite so openly—to Mr. Ellis.

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R. Southey.

ART. I.—1. *Reply to the Article in the Quarterly Review for March, 1826, on the Revelations of La Sœur Nativité.* By Charles Butler, Esq.

2. *Vie et Révélations de la Sœur de la Nativité, Religieuse converse au Couvent des Urbanistes de Fougères, écrites sous sa Dictée par le Rédacteur de ses Révélations. Seconde Edition, ornée du Portrait de la Sœur, et augmentée d'un volume qui contient tout ce que la Sœur a fait écrire peu de temps avant sa mort.* Paris. 1819.

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THE readers of the Faëry Queen may call to mind a certain personage called Maleger, whom Prince Arthur found it more difficult to destroy than all the giants, Paynim knights, miscreants, and monsters, of whom he rid the earth. He mauled him first with an iron mace in a manner which would have placed any other enemy beyond all aid of a surgeon; but Maleger had no sooner been thus killed, than up he was from the ground, alive again, and nothing the worse for a killing. The good sword Mordure, so called because it bit surely, was then twice tried upon him; the villain was cut first through breast and back,

'That thro' his carcase one might plainly see,'

and secondly, through both sides; Maleger groaned with the smart, but was presently as whole and as brisk as before. The prince caught him in his arms, as Hercules grasped Antæus, and squeezed the soul out of his body; but as soon as he let the carcase fall, in came the soul again, and there was Maleger, ready for any further killing that might be bestowed upon him. Maleger is a type of Mr. Butler. No one that ever entered the lists of controversy has been more thoroughly confuted than this most pugnacious and vivacious of controversialists. The vitals of his argument have been pierced through and through, its bones broken, its limbs lopped, its head severed, its brains beaten out; and yet, like Maleger, here he is, still in the field! And as it is not sufficient for him to be engaged with the Bishop of Chester, with Dr.

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Phillpotts, Mr. Townsend, Mr. Blanco White, and Mr. Southey, he must indulge in an episodical diversion against the Quarterly Review.

This, he says, is rendered absolutely necessary, by the 'cruel attack,' in that journal, 'upon the Roman Catholic Church and the members of it,' made on occasion of Sister Nativité's Revelations. Without wasting time in exposing the preposterous artifice of representing an attack upon the Romish Church as an attack upon its members (as if no public question could be treated without giving personal offence!) we shall proceed to notice this gentleman's reply to the 'cruel' article of which he complains.

Upon the authority of a divine at Paris, and of a French ecclesiastic in England, Mr. Butler assures his readers that the Abbé Genet 'was a very credulous, indiscreet, and ignorant ecclesiastic;' that his work neither possessed nor merited any degree of authority or consideration, and that its circulation among the people was confined to the neighbourhood in which Sister Nativité lived. If this latter assertion be well founded, it would form a curious exception to the old remark—that a prophet hath no honour in his own country. But what says the editor of this new Apocalypse? He tells us, that they who thought the time was come for laying before the world a work so surprising, and so worthy of attention at the present crisis, had not been deceived; for the first edition had been exhausted in a very short time, and they were under the necessity of undertaking a second,* to answer the demands which were made upon them from all quarters. This new edition is embellished with a portrait of Sister Nativité kneeling before the altar; and it is still further enriched with a fourth volume, containing her latter writings, and certain new developements concerning the persecutions of the church; being the papers which M. Genet speaks of as a kind of Deuteronomy. These are sufficient indications that M. Beauce the publisher, bookseller to his Royal Highness the Dauphin, was satisfied with the success of the first edition. Neither this, however, nor the degree of attention which the new Apocalypse may have excited in Paris, is of any consequence to us, for whom it is enough that, through our means, this precious work has obtained in England the attention which it so well deserves.

Mr. Butler favours us with the opinion of a French journal upon this subject, *L'Ami de la Religion et du Roi*, which strenuously upholds the ancient *régime* in all things, and has the most extensive circulation of any ecclesiastical journal in France. The

* We learn, also, from Mr. Butler himself, that an Abridgement of these Revelations has been published.

journalist

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journalist praises the piety of these Revelations, but questions their orthodoxy, and 'intimates more than doubt of their divine origination.' He says that the Abbé Genet was a virtuous man, and estimable on many accounts, but of small parts and no judgment; vain, perhaps, of directing the conscience of a nun who had revelations, and not far from believing that he himself was inspired. 'It was a misfortune to Sister Nativité, that she gave her confidence to a person so credulous, and so easily infatuated by fancies,' and who was more likely to injure than serve the work which he edited. That some ecclesiastics should have been struck by what was good in it is not surprising, but already it seems to have lost something of the credit which had been given it. Bishops had prohibited it in religious communities. The Grand Vicar of the diocese of Rennes had, it is said, exerted himself to prevent the publication. 'At Paris, men, whom their titles, their learning, and their talents have placed at the head of the clergy, think themselves bound to act with caution on a subject of so much delicacy.' He acts with some caution himself, nowhere throwing the slightest suspicion of deliberate imposture upon this atrocious fabrication, nor hinting at its impiety: he only observes that 'some singular traits afford ground for apprehension that imagination played its part in some of the Revelations, and that what the Sister says upon the subject of marriage comes with singular impropriety from the mouth of a nun.' He publishes, also, a letter from the Abbé Barruel, wherein that well-known personage complains that there were many things in the printed book, and particularly in the notes, which were not in the copy that he received from M. Genet; notices and disproves a suspicion which had been raised, that the whole work was a fiction of Genet's; says that Genet's talents were not above mediocrity; that many things in the book ought to have been retrenched, and others put into good French; and finally, that this is the testimony which he thinks it incumbent upon him to give respecting the author and editor of a production which contains things singular and difficult to explain, but some that may serve for the edification of its readers, and which have even excited the surprise of theologians.

It appears, indeed, in the first edition of the Revelations, that the Abbé Barruel would fain have kept in the back ground when the new Apocalypse was brought to light. He had not expected that the letters which he wrote in its praise were to be published: finding, however, that his name was to appear, he writes to the publisher, and says that he retracts nothing of what he had said, but desires it may be added that he had objected to certain things, which M. Genet promised either to expunge or to alter; and

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that when Pope Pius VII. was in Paris, he had taken that opportunity of delivering his copy of the manuscript into the hands of his Holiness, expecting that it would not be sent into the world till it had been examined by the most competent of all judges. He did not, however, mean to censure those who, now that circumstances had changed, thought proper no longer to delay the publication; on the contrary, he should look anxiously for a book, the author and the compiler of which he infinitely esteemed and respected. This is a noticeable letter. One of these worthy Abbés communicates to the other a book which he distinctly declares to be an inspired work; the other receives it as such, and nevertheless objects to certain things contained in it; and M. Genet then promises either to expunge or alter the passages thus objected to—that is, to expunge or alter what, according to his own most solemn asseverations, had been in the first instance immediately revealed to the nun, and, in the second, recorded by himself, as he more than insinuates, under the influence of inspiration. Both in this letter and in that to the *Ami de la Religion et du Roi*, the Abbé Barruel betrays a wish to *back out* of the affair if he could: he seems to have been apprehensive lest the unpleasant reflection should be made by some part of the public, that Freemasons and *Illuminés* were not the only fraternities who had conspired for the purpose of deluding and governing mankind.

Thus much for the 'Opinions of Foreign Divines on the Revelations of Sister Nativité;' Mr. Butler comes next to the 'Opinions of the English Divines' on the same subject. The religious concerns of the English Romanists are under the spiritual direction of four Vicars Apostolic. One of these, Dr. Douglas, 'declined, on account of his ignorance of the French language, to give any opinion upon the work; his successor, Dr. Poynter, declared against it, pointed out more than twenty erroneous passages in a writing which he transmitted to the Abbé Genet,' and when the book was published, and some copies were sent from France to a London Romish bookseller, for sale, he interfered, and prevented it from being sold in England. When our 'cruel' article induced Mr. Butler to inquire for it, 'he could not find a single copy, either in the Protestant or Catholic markets of London; and it was with great difficulty that he procured even a copy upon loan.' A second Vicar Apostolic declared against them. Of a third, Mr. Butler can only say he has the strongest reasons for believing that he never read a line of the work; and his successor 'read only a few pages of a manuscript translation of a portion, and never intimated any opinion in their favour.' There remains a fourth, who is no less a person than Dr. Milner. 'Dr. Milner's

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Milner's approbation of them (says Mr. Butler) has been mentioned; but we are not in possession of the whole of the letter which contains it. It is probable that Dr. Milner suggested in it some retrenchments, or alterations; or made some objections. In the first line of the extract of his letter which has been published, he says, "the production, *upon the whole*, appears to me very wonderful." These words, *upon the whole*, evidently show that his approbation was not unqualified, and that some things remained to be cleared up.'

It would be amusing to observe how uniformly, in his replies, Mr. Butler avoids all the strong points which are pressed upon him by his opponents, if it were not mournful to see a good and amiable man so spell-bound that he desires to deceive himself and to delude others. A Vicar-General, who, according to this gentleman, declined to give an opinion upon the new Apocalypse, because he was not sufficiently versed in the French language, deputed that task to certain of his clergy, and among others, to Dr. Milner, *who approved it for him*. Can it be necessary to remind a person of Mr. Butler's legal attainments that *qui facit per alios, facit per se?* Dr. Milner's is not a qualified approbation; he says it is impossible that any person should have a greater veneration for these Revelations than he had, or be more anxious to see them in print, for the edification of the good, and the conversion of the wicked. That he did see them in print there can be no reason to doubt, for he lived nine years after their publication; and it is not to be supposed that, when one of his colleagues decided against the book, and another prohibited its sale, he should have been ignorant of its existence. The book was circulated with his approbation in these strong and unqualified terms, given in the original English, as well as in a French translation; and that approbation he never withdrew. More than this, he adduces Sister Nativité, in the most popular and boasted of his works, as a person in whom the perpetual succession of miraculous gifts, by which the Romanists pretend that their Church is characterised for the true one, is exemplified. This passage we must recall to Mr. Butler's recollection, as it stands in Dr. Milner's End of Religious Controversy, a book with which he has shown himself well acquainted. 'Methinks (says the Vicar-General) I hear some of your society thus asking me,—*Do you then pretend that your Church possesses the miraculous powers at the present day?* I answer—that the Catholic Church, being always the beloved spouse of Christ (Rev. xxi. 9.), and continuing at all times to bring forth children of heroical sanctity, God fails not in this, any more than in past ages, to illustrate her and them by unquestionable miracles. Accordingly,

cordingly, in the processes which are constantly going on, at the Apostolical See, for the canonization of new saints, fresh miracles of a recent date continue to be proved with the highest degree of evidence, as I can testify, from having perused on the spot the official printed account of some of them. For the further satisfaction of your friends, I will inform them that I have had satisfactory proof that the astonishing catastrophe of Louis XVI. and his queen, in being *beheaded on a scaffold*, was foretold by a nun of Fougères, Sœur Nativité, twenty years before it happened.' This passage is transcribed from the last edition of the work in which it stands, printed in 1824, and revised by the author. It is in vain, then, for Mr. Butler to pretend that Dr. Milner gave a qualified approbation of these notable Revelations. He believed, or professed to believe, till the last, that the nun was an inspired prophetess.

Mr. Butler's position is, that 'whatever the excesses of Sister Nativité may be, and however great the number or respectability of those who defend them, still, as the doctrine in question' (what doctrine?) 'is not an article of the Catholic creed, the Catholic body is not chargeable with it. This is a position which he will never surrender.' And he sums up his defence thus:—

'The writer has now laid before his readers, all the information which he has been able to procure respecting the Sœur Nativité, and her writings. The cruel attack in the Quarterly Review upon the Roman Catholic Church, and the members of it, to which these Revelations have given rise, rendered this absolutely necessary.

'That *all the Revelations* of Sister Nativité were the effect of an exalted imagination, the writer has no doubt; he acquits her of fraud, or any intention to deceive; he believes her to have been a pious woman; and that when her imagination did not rise too high, she was by no means destitute of sense or observation, and sometimes rose to eloquence. He thinks that her conceptions of the Deity, his councils, and the dispensations of his providence, are sometimes both eloquent and just. Of the Abbé Génét's talents or sense, he entertains a mean opinion.

'That the Sister's pretensions to divine communications should obtain credit with some, he considers not to be surprising; the times favoured it; the remarks upon this circumstance, which we have transcribed from "*L'Ami de la Religion et du Roi*," are very pertinent.

'But the only point which the writer proposed to himself to examine, was, whether the publication in question, or any circumstance attending it, affords just ground for abusing the Roman Catholic Religion, or imputing criminality or folly to it, or to its ministers or members, or for applying to them terms of opprobrium and contumely. He flatters himself that he has most successfully shown, that nothing of this kind

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kind has been merited by them, on account of the Revelations of Sœur Nativité.

'Some readers of these pages may perhaps have seen "THE SUBVERSION OF MATERIALISM BY CREDIBLE ATTESTATIONS OF SUPERNATURAL OCCURRENCES, BY J. DENNIS, B. C. L., PREBENDARY OF THE ROYAL COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF EXETER CASTLE," published in this present year.

'They may have read "the extraordinary NARRATIVE which it contains, and which is authenticated," as the writer explicitly states, "IN VERBO SACERDOTIS;"—And the accounts of "*Farewell Apparitions*,—*Supernatural Foretokens*,—*Supernatural Dreams*,—*Supernatural Warnings*,—*Apparitions*,—*Communications*,—*Resuscitations*,—*Trances*,—*Haunted Wretches*,—*Vindictive Witchcraft*,—*Infernal Transits*,—and *Diabolical Apparitions*," with which the narrative is accompanied.

'Now, this is the work, not of an obscure Nun, immured within the gloom of a convent, but of a Prebendary, who has had the advantage of an university education, who mixes with the great and the learned, and whose supernatural relations are warranted by several persons of noble families, and the highest respectability.

'Surely it would be the extreme both of wickedness and folly, to charge this book upon the whole Church of England. Is it not equally unjust, to charge the dreams of the Sœur Nativité upon the whole Roman Catholic Church?

'IS IT NOT HIGH TIME THAT ALL CHARGES AND RECRIMINATIONS OF THIS SORT SHOULD HAVE AN END? DO NOT ALL GENTLEMEN DESIRE IT?

'Here the writer leaves the question.'

There are three things to be noticed in this summary: the charge which is so indignantly resented, the recrimination which is attempted, and the favourite appeal to *all gentlemen*. The charge which the Quarterly Review, and which Protestant Christendom, brings against the Papal Church is, that of impiety and imposture, evinced in a succession of legends not more false than blasphemous; which legends that Church has authenticated and appropriated, by adopting them into its Liturgies, and by canonizing the Saints, male and female, for whose honour the fables were cunningly devised, and by, or upon, whom (for there are cases enough of both kinds) the frauds were practised. The Quarterly Review averred that a succession of such frauds can be shown from the earliest times; and it exhibited the Apocalypse of Sister Nativité as the last 'new novel' of the series. It brought this Apocalypse before the British public, for the purpose of showing that the same system is still pursued, and by the same means; that attempts are still making to accredit, by immediate revelation, those dogmas and practices of the Romish Church against which all Protestants declare, as being corrupt and idolatrous, injurious

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injurious to the well-being of society, repugnant to the senses and to the nature of man, and in direct opposition to the revealed word and will of God; that the loftiest pretensions of the priesthood, pretensions whereby they formerly established that intolerable tyranny which, with such cost and difficulty, we shook off at the Reformation, are in these days proclaimed anew, under the pretended orders of our Lord and Saviour; and that this gross and palpable imposture, this blasphemous fabrication, got up by a French father-confessor, who had found a woman as crazy as Joanna Southcott for his instrument, had been seen, and examined, and approved, before it was sent into the world, by high ecclesiastical authorities, French and English.

'By way of recrimination, Mr. Butler says, that a book recently published by one of the Prebends of Exeter might, with as much justice, be charged upon the Church of England, as the Apocalypse of Sister Nativité upon the Church of Rome. The book which he has thus specified is a very curious one, and those who find matter for interesting, though mournful contemplation, in tracing the aberrations of the human mind, will do well to peruse it. But to make the case parallel, the writer should have been sane, which the Abbé Genet certainly was; and instead of being the conscientious, uncompromising, impracticable, right-hearted, wrong-headed person which the production evinces him to be,—a creature of strong fancy, strong feeling, and strong delusions,—he should have been a cool, crafty, calculating, systematizing knave: more than this, the book ought to have been not unique in its kind, but one of a series, beginning with the formation of the Established Church, and fabricated for the purpose of increasing the power and influence of that Church: it should have been circulated in manuscript among the heads of the English clergy, admired by them, examined and approved at Lambeth by the archbishop's chaplains, and finally published with the *imprimatur* of Dr. Phillpotts and the Bishop of Chester.

'So much for Mr. Butler's set-off; for as a set-off it is that he has brought forward this eccentric production, even when he says it would be the extreme of wickedness and folly to charge this book upon the whole church of England. It is the extreme of weakness, in such a case, to have mentioned it at all: but as Bishop Taylor says, 'Better arguments than they have no men are tied to make use of.' Now for his capital sentence,—that is to say, for his sentence in capitals:—

'IS IT NOT HIGH TIME THAT ALL CHARGES AND RECRIMINATIONS OF THIS SORT SHOULD HAVE AN END? DO NOT ALL GENTLEMEN DESIRE IT?'

Mr. Butler is fond of thus appealing to gentlemen: it suits his object better than an appeal either to statesmen or scholars would

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would do. But a more ungenerous artifice has seldom been practised in controversy than that whereby this gentleman represents any attack upon the Romish Church as an attack upon its individual members, any investigation of its history as an outrage upon their feelings, any open and manly declaration of a Protestant's opinions as ungentlemanlike and indecent towards the British and Irish Romanists. *Nulld animi perturbatione commoti sumus in homines, cum mendacia insectamur:* a declaration that comes with more truth from us than from Baronius, of whom it was said, in his funeral eulogy, '*ut adversus ecclesiæ inimicos, non verba dicere sed fulminare; non scribere, sed tela jacere; eosque altius cruentare atque interimere videretur.*' But Mr. Butler writes as if he imagined that good manners and Christian charity, as well as salvation, belonged exclusively to the members of his own church. Having himself been the assailant, he complains of a breach of the peace, when a hand is lifted against him in defence. The Romanists may rake up the filthy and fetid calumnies of their Sanders, their Cardinal Pole, and their Father Persons; they may blacken the reputation of our martyrs as they blackened their bodies at the stake; they may apologize for Gardiner and Bonner, panegyrize the piety of Queen Mary, and represent* Elizabeth as a monster of wickedness, whose damnation

* The following extract is from a little book, entitled, 'A sure way to find out the true Religion, in a conversation between a Father and his Son,' by the Rev. T. Baddeley. Third Edition, Manchester, 1823. It is drawn up in a plain style, the author says, 'For the use of the poor of my own congregation, to help them to discover the falsehood of those deceitful and impious books, which the clergymen of different persuasions are so busily employed in spreading amongst us.'

'In 1603, Queen Elizabeth saw one night, as she lay in bed, her own body exceedingly lean and fearful, in a light of fire. After this, she sate ten days and ten nights on the carpet, ready dressed, and could never be brought by any of her council to go to bed, or to eat or drink, only the Lord Admiral persuaded her to take a little broth. She told him, if he knew what she had seen in her bed, he would not persuade her as he did. She, shaking her head, said, with a pitiful voice, "My Lord, I am tied with a chain of iron about my neck; I am tied, and the case is altered with me." She seemed to place more confidence in charms and spells than in prayer to God; for she wore a piece of gold in her ruff, by means of which an old woman in Wales was said to have lived to the age of one hundred years, and could not die as long as she wore it upon her body; and the card, called "the Queen of Hearts," was found nailed under the bottom of her chair. As her sickness grew worse, the council sent to her the Bishop of Canterbury and other clergymen; but as soon as she saw them, she put herself in a passion, began to abuse them, and bid them be packing. Upon this, some of her lords mentioned to have other bishops sent for; but she answered, that she would have none of these hedge-priests! Falling, soon after this, into a sleep, she departed. Her body was then opened and embalmed; it was afterwards brought to Whitehall, when it was watched every night by six ladies, who were on each side of the body, which was put within a board coffin, and a lead coffin covered with velvet. It happened, that her body burst the coffins with so great a violence, attended with a most dreadful noise, that it split the wood, lead, and tore the velvet, to the terror and astonishment of all present.'—pp. 82, 83.

A few more brief specimens may fitly be here subjoined, from this precious book, which

nation commenced before her death; but if a Protestant enters upon the history of the Marian persecution, if he speaks of the gunpowder plot, or alludes to the Bartholomew and the Irish massacres, the Inquisition and the Dragonades, a cry of bigotry and illiberality is to be raised against him: it is ungenerous, forsooth, to revive the memory of these things; it is offensive to the British Roman Catholics—'all gentlemen' are of opinion that it ought not to be done!

The case stands thus:—certain gentlemen, who act as advocates, in and out of parliament, for the Romanists in their political claims, tell us there is nothing in the doctrines of the Papal church which can justly be considered obnoxious, nothing dangerous in its pre-

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which a Romish priest has recently composed 'in a plain style, for the use of the poor.' He tells his readers (p. 26) 'there is nothing in the Protestant religion that can make a man more holy or more virtuous. They have no *priests taken from among men, that they may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins*, (Heb. v. 50.) They have no sacrifice, nor sacraments, except baptism; and *that* they begin to make no account of, though without baptism they cannot be Christians. They receive no benefit when they go to the Lord's Supper, because they receive nothing but a sup of wine and a morsel of bread.

'Perhaps, you never heard of the Protestant charter-schools in Ireland. It is a fact, that every year no less than 25,000*l.* and the rents of several large estates are spent by the Protestant government, for the purpose of buying up poor Catholic children, who are transported from their parents, and carried in covered waggons from one end of the kingdom to the other, in order that they may never see their parents any more, and be brought up in the Protestant religion. This abominable practice tends to the violation of the laws of God and of nature: it breaks the ties of affection between parents and their children; and it often happens that these unfortunate children may, when they are grown up, go back to their own native place, and marry their brothers and sisters, or even their own parents, without knowing it.'—p. 53.

'Not only has the Protestant religion caused these crimes and oppressions, it has moreover made the people extremely wicked. Only look into our prisons!—About every eighty-fifth person in England and Wales, in the short space of thirteen years, has been committed for trial! These are the lamentable fruits of the Protestant religion which we see in these our days, and such they have been since the beginning of the Reformation and all along, for that the Protestant religion has always made men wicked from the first day it began, we can prove from Protestant writers themselves.'—pp. 54, 55.

'We read in the book of Common Prayer, that if a man wishes to save his soul, he must not believe the Protestant church, but the Catholic, for "Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith, which faith, except every one doth keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly."'—p. 115.

'The Bible does not contain all things necessary to salvation, and, consequently, can not be a sufficient rule of faith. Now, here let me ask a Protestant, can he with safety trust his salvation to a mere book, which he cannot prove to be the word of God; a book which he cannot understand; a book which the unlearned and unstable read to their own damnation; a book that has lost many of its parts; a book which is most shamefully corrupted, and which does not contain all things necessary to salvation?'—p. 126.

'The Gunpowder Plot was a Protestant plot, planned by the Protestant minister, Cecil, and discovered by a Catholic peer, Lord Mounteagle. Those who were deeply engaged in it were by no means Catholics; for, out of the sixteen persons, who were all that the Protestants could accuse, only nine at most knew that any gunpowder plot was intended; and the greater part of these were rash youths, who, for a long time, had conformed to the Protestant religion, and were looked upon as apostates and outcasts from the Catholic communion.'—p. 47.

In this spirit the whole book is written.

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tensions, nothing injurious in its principles: they assure us that the spirit by which that church is actuated, is no longer what it was; and upon the *solitary security of these assurances* we are called upon to give the Romanists political power. We demur at this, and ask whether that Church admits that it has erred and been deceived in former times, and has therefore abandoned those opinions which it formerly enforced with fire and sword? In reply, we are told by the Romanists themselves, that the Papal Church never can have erred, because it is infallible; and being infallible, consequently it can never change. Which of these conflicting statements are we to believe? that of the advocates, put forth for the direct purpose of furthering their cause, and supported by the evidence of their clients, when called upon to be examined with that view; or that of the Romish writers advanced in books, with more or less caution (according to the temper of the author) in those which are designed to meet the eyes of Protestant readers, or explicitly and fiercely proclaimed in those which are intended exclusively for readers of their own communion? The mind of that man must be strangely constituted, who can doubt which representation is the more credible. But there is the evidence of facts. We look to those countries wherein, unhappily for the inhabitants, the Papal religion is prevalent, as in Ireland; or dominant, either absolutely, as in Italy and Spain, or with certain limitations, as in France. It would be superfluous for us to speak of the tyranny of the priests in Ireland, the deplorable superstition of their people, the designs which are carrying on there, and the hopes which are avowed. With what passes in other countries the public are not so well acquainted; and, therefore, courageous statements are sometimes hazarded without fear of contradiction.

For example:—At a meeting of British Roman Catholics, held on Wednesday, Nov. 8, 1826, at the Crown and Anchor, the Rev. Mr. M'Donnell is reported by the Newspapers* to have said, that wherever the Protestant religion is dominant, there the spirit of intolerance is more malignant, while the countries professing the Roman Catholic Religion were animated by the most liberal sentiments. Upon this the orator was asked by a person in the crowd what he could say to Spain? He made answer, that '*if* there were Protestants in Spain, he was sure they would be admitted to equal rights with the Catholics.' It must be allowed that this little *if* is a significant word. There are *no* Protestants in Spain; and the reason *why* there are none, is, that all who were found there during the age of the Reformation were burnt alive, and any who should have been found there from that time to the present would

* We follow the Report in the New Times of Thursday, Nov. 9.

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have partaken the same fate. Whoever knows anything of Spain, knows that this is no vague and groundless assertion, but strictly and literally true. They who are not acquainted with that country may find a case in point in the notes to Mr. Blanco White's Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism; or they may refer to it at length in Llorente's Critical History of the Spanish Inquisition. The circumstances are briefly these:—Don Miguel Juan Antonio Solano, who was vicar of Esco in Arragon, a most useful and excellent man, having diligently studied the Scriptures during a long illness, was convinced by that study that the doctrines wherein the Romish differs from the Reformed Church have no foundation in Scripture, but are merely the inventions of men. He drew up an account of his opinions as thus formed, which he delivered into the hands of his diocesan and of the theological professors at Zaragoza. They, not from any desire to persecute, but for self-preservation, and in necessary obedience to the laws, denounced him to the Inquisition. He fled into France, but soon returned and presented himself to the Holy Office, that he might by their arguments be reclaimed, if he were in error, or abide the consequences of bearing witness to the truth. The inquisitor-general was a man strongly suspected of infidelity; but not being heart-hardened by the dreadful superstition which has so long been the disgrace and the curse of Spain, he was more desirous of saving Solano from martyrdom than Solano himself was of escaping it. Attempts were made to avoid passing sentence upon him, by obtaining a medical opinion that his mind was deranged; and by this and other humane endeavours the process was delayed, till a timely death saved him from the stake, and the inquisitors from the necessity of delivering him over to the secular arm. This case, which so well illustrates the Rev. Mr. M'Donnell's statement, occurred no longer ago than in the year 1805.

The spirit of popery is not more tolerant in those colonies which have broken their connexion with Spain, and proclaimed principles of political freedom as extensive as the most enthusiastic revolutionist could desire. Twelve months have hardly elapsed since the master of an English merchant-ship lost his life at Buenos Ayres, because he did not dismount in the street when the host was carried by, not knowing the custom of the country, and mistaking the procession for a funeral; a man stepped out of the procession, seized him by the thumb, and dragged him from off his horse with such violence that the joint was pulled from the socket and forced through the skin—in consequence of which tetanus was brought on, and death. And no longer ago than July last, the English at Bogotá, some four hundred in number, found

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found it necessary to arm themselves for their own defence, the priests having persuaded the people that the presence of these heretics had been the cause of a late earthquake! If we look nearer home, to a more enlightened and liberal country,—to that country where the Romish church exists under the modifications which, according to its apologists, disarm it of all that is dangerous to the temporal magistrate, or injurious to the rights of the subject,—in a word, to France, with its ecclesiastical liberties and its charter, we shall find, no longer ago than the year which has just expired, that a domiciliated stranger, having become in that country a convert to the reformed religion, was not allowed to profess it there. We allude to the case of * Prince Constantine of Salm-Salm, which, in November last, appeared in the English newspapers. He was settled with his family at Strasbourg, and because he would have joined the Lutheran church in that city, he was ordered to leave France. Accordingly he removed to Stutgard, and there renounced his communion with a church, of whose corruption he had been convinced by a diligent study of the Scriptures, and whose intolerance he had thus experienced.

This example, were there no other, would show what is the temper of the French clergy respecting toleration; at no time since the revocation of the edict of Nantes has it been so bad. At no time since the League has their spirit been so aspiring and so restless; and never at any time have they put forward more audacious or more blasphemous pretensions, as the Apocalypse of Sister Nativité may prove, nor supported those pretensions by more impious and palpable imposture, as we shall proceed to prove still further from her Deuteronomy. What Baronius tells us to observe of the old heretics was more true of the Romish priesthood in the days of those very heretics, and in his own days, and in the days of the Abbé Genet, the Abbé Barruel, and Dr. Milner:—'*quo minus veritate agere posse confiderent eo magis ad imposturas esse conversos, et inter alia complures falsas revelationes quasi sibi divinitus allatas, excogitasse.*'

It is proper to premise that this Deuteronomy has not passed through the hands of the Abbé Genet. That worthy personage died in 1817—the year in which the Apocalypse was published, leaving among the papers which, as it appears, he had sold to the publisher, a copy of the said Deuteronomy, not in the methodized form which he intended to have given it, but as he had

* An authentic statement of the 'Facts attending the conversion of his Highness the Prince of Salm-Salm from the Roman Catholic Religion to the Christian Evangelist Worship of the Confession of Augsburgh,' has been published since this paper was sent to the press. The pamphlet itself, and the preface of the translator, (the Rev. W. A. Evanson) are well worthy of attention.

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taken it down from the nun's dictation. A second copy was supplied by Madame Marie-Louise le Breton de Sainte Magdaleine, the last superior of the Urbanist nuns at Fougères, a lady who had no inconsiderable share in the management of the business. But at the same time the family of M. Binel, in whose house the nun died, sent up an account of her last will upon the subject, which was, that these papers should be delivered to the Abbé Genet, or if that could not be, to some other minister of the Lord possessed with the same spirit, that they might be arranged and corrected. 'To the Church alone,' said she, 'that is to say, to its ministers, they must be consigned. The will of the Lord is, that they should not appear such as they are, but that they should be digested in the same manner as the work. As I have no other will than that of God, and as I wish to die an obedient daughter of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, this is my last will; and I pray and request that they may be transmitted to the church, that is, to its ministers who are imbued with its spirit, for I would not that anything of mine, or rather of God's, (who, for his greater glory, has chosen to employ so feeble an instrument,) should appear, unless it had been approved by that Holy Church.' Accordingly the publisher thought it his duty, he says, in the first instance to submit the papers to such an examination, and they were therefore submitted *à plusieurs ecclésiastiques distingués par leurs talens, par leurs vertus, et par leurs connoissances théologiques.* After a deliberate examination, these persons agreed in thinking, that in re-touching, or methodizing, a work of this nature, there was a danger of altering the author's meaning; that it would be more conformable to truth, and more agreeable to the reader, to let the sister speak in her own words; and, finally, that though the sister, in her humility, would have taken shelter *sous la forme d'une rédaction empruntée, la gloire de Dieu demandoit qu'on présentât au public ses pensées sans aucune enveloppe étrangère.* They confined themselves, therefore, to the task of correcting the spelling and the language—and the Deuteronomy appears, as these worthy editors think it ought to do, for the glory of God (!), in its genuine form. Here then, it seems, the palm is not to be divided between the Abbé Genet and the nun. Of the talents or sense of the former, Mr. Butler assures us, he entertains a mean opinion, and herein he agrees with the editor of *l'Ami de la Religion et du Roi;* that editor, however, pronounces him to have been a virtuous man, and estimable upon many accounts. These deponents deliver no opinion upon his honesty; but with regard to the nun, Mr. Butler acquits her of fraud, or any intention to deceive: he believes her to have been a pious woman, and has no doubt that all her revelations were the effect

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effect of an exalted imagination. He goes further, and declares that they contain many passages *highly reprehensible.* This expression, and a candid admission in the Book of the Roman Catholic Church, that the proceedings of the inquisition were '*very objectionable,*' may remind the reader of 'that good man,' mentioned in the Guardian, 'who used to talk with charity of the greatest villains, nor was ever heard to speak with rigour of any one until he affirmed with severity that Nero was a wag!'

The nun herself lets out the secret in her Deuteronomy, that there were certain reprehensible parts in her first papers, which were burnt. There were passages there, she says, *qui ne convenaient nullement à des personnes séculières,* and there was a treatise upon the pure love of God, which had some resemblance to the Canticles. Nevertheless, when a priest, who was in her confidence, learnt that these papers had been destroyed, *il eut un chagrin que rien ne peut exprimer.* Long after this she had certain scruples, she says, which made her withhold from her confessor and amanuensis some things as unnecessary, though they had been revealed to her. For this reason our Lord appeared to her, not in a dream, but actually, and reminded her, article by article, of the matters which she had ventured to suppress. In great confusion and humility, she represented to him the pain and the repugnance which she felt in causing the revelations with which she was favoured to be written. The very repugnance, she was assured in reply, was a special grace conferred upon her at the entreaty of the Virgin Mary. Without that repugnance and that special grace, which accompanied her always when she was in the act of dictating, the devil, who from the beginning had been on the watch to assail her with a terrible temptation, would have puffed up her heart with vanity, occasioned by the extraordinary things which the Lord,—who tells her this! had revealed to her. He would have tempted her with a strong desire to dictate curious things, into which he would have infused matter of his own. 'See, my poor child,' says our Lord, 'what perilous assaults the spirit of perdition would have tried against you! That power which I have given you, and which is still accompanied with a certain degree of shame; that aversion for all things which appear extraordinary; and the desire which you have to be concealed from the eyes of men, all these preserve you from the mighty temptation which I have just described.' The nun fell on the ground before our Lord with increased shame, confusion, and grief, for having been so ungrateful to him and to the Virgin, and for having so often complained of the pain which it cost her to dictate her revealed knowledge. She now understood how it was that 'she would and she

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she would not,' and entirely resigned herself into his hands, to make, in spite of herself, whatever he should be pleased to require.

Her life, she says, would not be long enough to recount a tenth part of the apparitions which she had seen of our Saviour! More than twenty times she had seen him in the likeness of a priest in his alb and stole attired for mass. *Cela étoit significatif.* It was to inspire her with a grand esteem, a profound respect, and a singular veneration for the ministers of the Lord. It was to preserve her from all human affections towards them, during the many affairs which she had to transact with their assistance, not at confession alone, *mais surtout dans les entretiens que je serois obligée d'avoir avec eux seul à seul.* And the preventative was effectual: one of St. Thomas Aquinas's girdles could not have been more so. *Dieu voulut que je n'y portasse jamais rien d'humain, mais que je les visse en Dieu, et Dieu en eux!* In all fabrications of this kind, (for the reader will bear in mind that this is only one of a series,) whether the confessor dictates to the beata, or the beata to the confessor, one principal object is always to exalt the character of the priesthood; and this has seldom been done more zealously than by our nun of Fougères. Our Saviour appeared to her once in the form of the Pope when in full pontificals. *Cette fois-ci marque que notre saint Père le Pape représente véritablement notre Seigneur Jésus Christ.* A piercing and dreadful voice was heard, crying *Humiliez-vous!*—This was to denote the fear and respect, *jusqu'à l'anéantissement*, which is due to the Pope, as the head of the church, and to the church as to Christ himself.—Sometimes our Lord himself joined his voice to that of the herald who made this proclamation, *ce qui marque que la voix du Souverain Pontife est celle de Dieu, et que tout cela n'est qu'un.* Sister Nativité prostrated herself before him; the rest must be in her own words, lest we should be suspected of misrepresenting them. *Ce Souverain Pontife, me voyant tremblante et saisie de crainte, commença à me prendre les mains et à me caresser comme un bon père caresse son enfant. Comme j'entendois ce héraut qui crioit toujours, Humiliez-vous, je retirai mes petites mains d'entre les siennes pour me prosterner à ses pieds, que je baisai avec un amour respectueux. Ce Souverain Pontife me dit de me relever, et commença à me caresser encore plus tendrement, en me frottant les joues de ses mains sacrées, et en me prenant par le menton.*

Having thus beheld our Saviour himself in the appearance of a Pope, and of a simple priest, this instrument of priestcraft sees divinity embodied in the priests. By a supernatural light, a celestial intuition, which is bestowed upon her, she saw them at the moment of confession, transformed, as it were, into God! (*Je les vis comme transformés en Dieu.*) She sees them positively adored

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seating the person of our Lord and Saviour, holding in their hands the balance of God's justice and mercy, and at the moment of absolution issuing, as it were, out of themselves, to act as God, with all his authority and infinite power. Upon which she calls upon all *scélérats* and *impies*, meaning thereby all who are not Roman Catholics, to open their eyes, and behold the marvels and miracles in the adorable sacraments and mysteries of the papal faith. She has a revelation also upon the subject of confession, in case of impending death, when no priest should be at hand; a knotty point, according to the inspired Sister,—the devil, from the beginning of the church, having been always endeavouring to lead men into heresies upon the matter of confession. She informs mankind, therefore, in the name of the Lord, that a person at the point of death may make any communication to a layman concerning such matters of conscience as relate exclusively to worldly affairs; but he must on no account reveal a sin: if, for example, he has defrauded or robbed any one, he may only say that he owes that person such a sum, and direct payment to be made; but his secret sins he must not divulge to any unconsecrated ear—for by so doing, he would destroy his own reputation, which would be doing greater evil than that of destroying his neighbour's; and this precious maxim of morality is delivered in the name of the Lord! The most scandalous schismatic, however, will be saved, even without a priest, if he make publicly all the retractations and reparations which the church requires; the great purport of these revelations being to magnify the power of the church, and the authority of the priesthood.

And here we will dismiss the blasphemous part of this fabrication, and notice nothing more in the work except the information which it contains concerning the interior of a nunnery—information which may be of use to some of those parents who have not taken warning by the adventures of Mr. Loveday and his family.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu says, after visiting a nunnery at Vienna, 'I never in my life had so little charity for the Roman Catholic religion, as since I see the misery it occasions so many poor, unhappy women!' That nunneries are, indeed, among the very worst institutions of a bad religion is so notorious, that the recent disclosures from Pistoia were not required for bringing them into disrepute. Sister Nativité tells us, that the girls who present themselves voluntarily for admission, act frequently from a feeling of mortification, or of wounded vanity; wounded affection is what her own mind was incapable of conceiving. A knot of such novices she represents as under the devil's especial care; they form *des liaisons diaboliques* with each other, encourage each other to take the vows, and finally become nuns in name and appearance only.

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only. They see their acquaintances at the grate, where they converse upon forbidden subjects, and are supplied with novels and with books conformable to their inclinations; they receive also forbidden food there, with which they make entertainments, and give nocturnal parties in secret: others enter likewise, because they expect to live better there than they could do with their scanty fortunes in the world; and others are persuaded to enter by interested relations. Of the compulsion which in some cases is practised,—the predestination by which unnatural parents condemn a daughter, even from infancy, to perpetual imprisonment, the Sister says nothing; but she tells us, as a matter of revelation, what, if delivered as the result of her own observation and knowledge, might very well be believed, that in religious communities, whether of monks or nuns, those *qui sont à Notre Seigneur sont en plus petit nombre que celles du diable.*

But nuns, who are nuns indeed,—the lilies of the inclosed garden, who have not been touched even with the tip of the finger, nor breathed upon for fear of pollution,—these, she says, are objects of jealousy to the angels in heaven. And she lays down certain rules by which this purity, equal to that of the angels, is to be preserved. There was an elder nun who was kind to her during her noviciate, and whom, for that reason, she liked better than any of the other members of the convent, and took pleasure in rendering her any little service; but this she discovered was a disposition that the devil had infused, and which she must repent of. The *bonne mère* herself aided her in this pious resolution; withheld her hands one day, when Nativité, giving way *à quelques petites familiarités*, would have taken them, and read her a charitable lecture upon the impropriety of nuns using such marks of familiarity and friendship with each other, when it was their duty to love God, and nothing but God. In another place it is said, that a nun should never embrace any one, especially of the male kind, not even her brothers; an allowance is only made for sisters who may live at a distance, and whom she seldom sees, and for the little children of her near relations; but she must not embrace a boy if he be above twelve years old. *Elle ne doit jamais coucher avec des séculières, pas même avec des religieuses, à moins qu'il n'y ait une grande nécessité, et que ce ne fût qu'une fois en passant.* This rule was for those nuns whose communities were broken up during the revolution; and they were charged never to receive marriage-visits. For such nuns, Sister Nativité delivers revealed directions concerning their dress and diet; that they were to wear only white, black, or brown; that the stuffs or flannels which they wore were not to be striped; what shoes were to be worn, what stockings; how the head and neck were to be dressed, and what fashion

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fashion of the hood. Our Lord assured her, that if they only put in a single pin with a view to effect, it offended him, and was a sin which must be atoned for in purgatory, at least. They were never to drink liqueurs, wine, or coffee; never to sleep upon a soft bed, and always in the hood instead of a night-cap. A picture is given of the tyranny exercised in convents: any one who should oppose the abuses that were going on, is represented as the victim of his zeal; the other religionists conspire against him; the superiors are either parties against him, or are prejudiced by his enemies: he is condemned to be flogged a certain number of times by the community, to perpetual imprisonment in a dungeon, and to a bread and water diet for the remainder of his life. This account, and the advice with which it is followed, that neither monks nor nuns should be left under the jurisdiction of their respective provincials or superiors of the order, but placed under the authority of their respective ordinaries, is proof that the sister was in the hands of secular, and not regular directors. The Lord, she says, has made her understand this; but she did not dare to put it in writing, till she felt it necessary to be obedient to his will. Bad as the authority is, the picture probably is not overcharged. Llorente relates the history of an infamous capuchin who was condemned to run the gauntlet, and to five years of penitential confinement in a convent of his own order. He petitioned that he might continue for that time a prisoner of the Holy Office, and explained his motive for desiring what in common opinion would have been thought a severer degree of punishment, when the inquisitors told him they had passed a milder sentence. 'Having been a provincial and guardian,' said he, 'I know better than you do the treatment which I shall have to undergo in a convent; it will cost me my life!' The holy office did not think proper to commute the sentence, and his prediction was verified: he died in the third year of his confinement, having suffered more than death, and less than his deserts. Erasmus tells a story of the Franciscans burying one of their order alive!

Sister Nativité prophesies that the holy Roman Catholic church will extend itself into kingdoms where for many ages its power had ceased; and that it will produce fruit in abundance, sufficient to revenge itself for the outrages which it had suffered from the oppression of impiety, and the persecution of its enemies. In France it has acquired more influence than it possessed before the Revolution; and if that influence continues, Sister Nativité may be in a fair way for canonization. The publicity that we have given her has impeded the progress of her fame in this country, where, it appears, Mr. Butler is as ready to disclaim her on the part of his brethren, as Dr. Milner was to sanction her *ex officio*.

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Mr. Butler maintains that, however great the number or respectability of those who defend her revelations, still, as the doctrine in question is not an article of the (Roman) Catholic creed, the (Roman) Catholic body is not chargeable with it. And this, he says, 'is a position which he will never surrender.' It is not, however, quite so impregnable as the lines of Torres-Vedras. We have only to remind him that the present question relates not to the *doctrine*, but to the *practices*, of the Roman Catholic Church, and his position is turned.

It is probable that the Romish church will not canonize Sister Nativité because her revelations have been exposed in good time, and because a decided part is taken in them in favour of the secular clergy against the monastic authorities. This will weigh more against her than any argument that the Devil's advocate could adduce, even if that singular officer were to plead in good faith. But the Romish church is chargeable with the examples which this woman, and her impious accomplices, have followed,—with having encouraged the spirit in which they acted,—with having canonized the Sister Nativités, and rewarded the Abbé Genets of former ages. We asserted that this was a new piece from the old manufactory—a sample of that perpetual succession of miracles to which the Romanists appeal, as evincing theirs to be the true church; a proof of that perpetual succession of impostures with which the reformed churches reproach the church of Rome. This Mr. Butler has not *attempted* to answer. He leaves that assertion as he finds it. The Romish church, we repeat, is chargeable with numerous stories precisely of the same kind—with a series of them brought forth, age after age, by some juggling monk or friar, immediately to serve the purpose of his order or his convent, hardly less immediately to carry on the great scheme of papal usurpation, by accrediting every corruption of the papal church. There is the Blessed Elizabeth, of Schonauge, in the twelfth century; Margaret, of Cortona, in the thirteenth; Christina, of Stumbala, in the fourteenth; Veronica, in the fifteenth; Columba of Rieti, in the sixteenth; Maria-Madelina de' Pazzi, in the seventeenth—to instance only one in a century for six successive centuries. The list, were it necessary, might be doubled or quadrupled, or decupled, and every name in it would afford damning evidence of impious imposture, with all of which the Church of Rome is chargeable, because it has adopted the legends, by beatifying or canonizing the subjects. The agents have a place in its kalendar, the legends in its breviaries and in its bulls! Mr. Alban Butler was half ashamed of these, and Mr. Charles Butler is altogether so: but there they are; and it is a Jesuit's doctrine, that when an affair of this nature is confirmed by a bull, *nullus esse*

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potest ambigendi locus. There they are. The Romish church has placed them upon record; the Romish writers appeal to them in proof of their doctrines, as we appeal to Scripture. The saints in question (the Sister Nativités of former times, the Anne Moores and Joanna Southcotts of Romanism) have at this day their shrines, their altars, their images, their churches, their days in the kalendar, their offices in the liturgy. If the stories of their lives were credible, possible, unexceptionable upon every score, that of falsehood alone excepted,—being false, they would confute the pretension to infallibility in that church upon which they have imposed. But being, as they are, (and Mr. Butler will not venture to contradict us,) monstrous and loathsome for their blasphemous fictions, bearing as they do the stamp of daring impiety in their revolting and execrable representations, they prove something worse than error upon the Church of Rome. When we are gravely told that the Roman Catholic body, which is another name for the Roman Catholic Church, is not chargeable with the system of flagitious imposture of which these its acknowledged legends, and the lying miracles in number numberless with which its chronicles, its legendaries, and its breviaries are filled, are the proofs, the cool assertion reminds us of the Roman Catholic priest who maintained lately that the Church of Rome had never put man, woman, or child to death, from its first establishment to that very day! It was the secular arm, he said, and not the spiritual, which inflicted on heretics the penalty of death.

A wish of Luther's is recorded, that all those who are to preach the Gospel would diligently read what he calls the Popish abomination decrees and books, that they might understand the mystery of iniquity, which must be inconceivable from its extent and magnitude to all who have not bestowed some pains in considering it. In one respect alone the Papal church has approved its pretension to immutability: it repeals none of its decrees—it disavows none of its acts—it expresses neither shame nor contrition for its crimes—and it proceeds everywhere, as far as circumstances will permit, in the same course. Luther's advice is, therefore, as applicable at this day as it was in the age of the Reformation; and never at any time since that age has it been more necessary than at present that the character, and practices, and crimes of the Romish church should be thoroughly exposed and understood. Sister Nativité has afforded us some assistance in the needful work of exposing it; and we have now the satisfaction of introducing to Mr. Butler in particular, and to the British public in general, another personage, not less remarkable in herself, nor less serviceable on the present occasion—Sister Providence her name. Her history, and that of M. Boudon, who was her Abbé Genet,

Genet, form part of the *Bibliothèque Chrétienne, Morale et Historique, ou Collection de Bons Livres pour l'instruction et l'édification de la Jeunesse*, in one hundred volumes, which has lately been published in France, in pursuance of the system now carrying on by the ambitious part of the French clergy, and the fanatics under their guidance. In order to prepare the reader for the wonderful character of Sister Providence, and the extraordinary attitude in which she is exhibited, it is proper to premise some account of her biographer, M. Boudon, who was a person of great celebrity in his day, who is called by his* admirers '*l'homme de Dieu seul*;' and who, according to the author of his life, has long been canonized by the votes of all those who love virtue.

The author, M. Collet, who was *Prêtre de la Mission et Docteur en Théologie*, begins his work by saying, that the Church of Rome was groaning for her long barrenness, when the Lord in his mercy cast upon her one of those powerful looks which from the stones can raise up children to Abraham. Holy nuns, enlightened confessors, and famous pastors were raised up; and among the other lights of the age, Boudon was born in the year 1624, at La Fère, in Picardy. His father was lieutenant in the citadel in that town, which was then a place of some strength; his mother, who had been groaning for the same reason as the church, and for fifteen years, was promised a son by some majestic and mysterious female, who came to utter the prediction, and was never afterwards seen. The promised child had the happiness to be born on a Saturday, which day is consecrated to the honour of the Virgin Mary; and at his baptism he had the name of Henri Marie given him by his godmother, who was no less a personage than Henrietta Maria, afterwards unhappily the queen of Charles I., and who, with her mother, Queen Anne, of Austria, and her grandmother, the Dowager Queen Marie de Medicis, was present at the christening. In that ceremony he was devoted *très spécialement* to the Virgin, and as soon as he could be carried abroad, he was taken to the altar of Notre-dame de Liesse, being the image of the greatest reputation in those parts, and there again solemnly placed under the same celestial patroness. The effect was soon perceived; nothing but a special Providence saved him from the Devil, who even in infancy attacked, and repeatedly endeavoured to kill him by throwing him out of the cradle in the night. At the age of three, he discovered decided marks of piety and of devo-

* Mr. Alban Butler has spoken of Boudon as a person whose progress in an interior life is manifest from his works, and as one of those souls which our Lord 'has raised to the highest degree of familiarity in this life.' We refer to this testimony only as showing that the life of Sister Providence comes from a writer whose credit Mr. Charles Butler will not put aside as he would the Abbé Genet's.

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tion to his lady patroness. While he was yet very young his father died, and the widow, from prudential motives, as it appears by the narrative, lest her affairs should go to ruin, thought it expedient to marry a second time. Forgetting, however, her husband's name, and that of her own family, which could boast of four presidents, in as many sovereign courts, she cast her eyes upon a miserable villager. *La distance de ce dernier à celui qui l'avoit précédé avoit quelque chose de choquant:* she purchased, therefore, an office for him which ennobled him; and such was the humility of young Henri, and the manner in which he always spoke of this step-father, that if there had not been full proof of his real birth he would probably have past for the son of a surgeon. But, after all, says the Missionary Priest and Doctor of Theology, *comme on ne se choisit pas son père, sa vraie gloire n'en souffriroit qu'aux yeux du préjugé.*

At the age of seven, he was put to learn Latin, but as his parents had only mere natural motives for giving his education this direction, God gave him no inclination for study at that time. He was, however, beautiful and modest as angels are painted,—(the reader will perceive that we are faithfully following the language of the original)—afraid of sin, pure and chaste by temperament, and full of respect for the sacrament. Nevertheless, two sins there were which he committed at this early age, and of which he repented to the end of his days. The first was, that after assisting at mass he had drank the wine which was left in the *burette*, and from a sense of shame had sometimes concealed this act in his confessions. The other was, that he had once for an hour or two taken charge of some money belonging to a monk, who, by the rules of his order, ought not to have possessed any, and who intrusted it, therefore, to him when his superior was about to make a visitation of the convent. He trusted, however, that his patroness, the Virgin, would obtain for him remission of the first and greatest sin, seeing that he had acknowledged it with great sorrow in the general confession which he made before his first communion. Upon this occasion he made a vow of perpetual virginity,—being nine years old; and at the age of twelve, determining to qualify himself for an ecclesiastical life, he went to an image of the Virgin, with a Latin grammar in his hand, prayed her to bless the studies which he was about to begin—prayed also that he might never propose to himself any other object in them than the love of God, and thanked God and the Virgin that they had not permitted him to begin sooner, when there was no such intent to sanctify the undertaking. His mother, perceiving the assiduity with which he now applied himself to learning, sent him to Rouen, where he was placed at school with a priest

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a priest by name M. Havel, who devoted part of his property as well as his time, to the instruction of youth. Young Bourdon lodged with him, but received his provisions every week from home, by some of the villagers who frequented the market in that city. The allowance was always scanty, for his step-father, by whom it was apportioned, was neither kind nor provident; and scanty as it was, the boy always gave away the larger part of it so that the latter days of the week must always have been fast-days, if M. Havel's mother had not taken a pleasure in secretly providing him, though to do this she was obliged to watch the opportunity of his absence, because this imp of sanctity would never have allowed any woman, how virtuous soever, to enter his chamber!

At this early age he entered upon his vocation, and employed his leisure hours in instructing and preaching to the poor children of the town, and of his own village during the vacation. A baker's wife, hearing his fame, and hearing also how scantily he was supplied from home, gave him food from time to time, and, when her husband went out, invited him to hold a lecture at her house, where she collected a congregation of poor women. At the age of thirteen or fourteen, we are assured that he expounded to them most eloquently the mysteries of the faith, and prepared them to receive the communion. The next step was to visit the sick in the hospitals. But the greatest proof of that adroitness in managing the minds of men which he manifested in after-life, was displayed among his schoolfellows: he acquired a sufficient ascendancy over them to form what may be called a party of methodists in the school, whom, with some other boys not of the institution, he persuaded to enrol themselves in a fraternity called 'Our Lady's Congregation,' which the Jesuits had established for youth in their college. They were enrolled in a book, wherein all wrote their names, and many, with their own blood, making a vow of devoting it to the service of the Queen of Heaven and Earth—(the phrase is not ours, but M. Collet's, and strictly Roman Catholic); and they swore, in particular, that they would defend the doctrine of her immaculate conception. This was the sort of superstition, and this the spirit, which the Jesuits inspired and encouraged; and the revived order, with its new congregation, is at this time engaged in the same work. The boys who were thus trained had a little oratory in the master's house, where they assembled every day to render their homage to the Queen of Angels, and where they vied with each other in magnifying her name. Her glory and her greatness was the favourite topic of their conversation, and their chief pleasure was in visiting her churches and chapels. On holydays they performed these pilgrimages barefoot, singing

hymns

hymn to Our Lady as they went. On the days when the congregation assembled at the college, they were at the college-door by three or four in the morning, waiting till it should be opened, and passing the interval in prayer. *Trouve-t-on quelque chose de mieux dans les clôtures les plus régulières?* says M. Collet; and the question is aptly asked, for we find there the same misdirected devotion, and the same idle, or worse than idle, observances.

Boudon's enthusiasm went beyond this; for during this part of his life, his word may fairly be taken, and we may believe him to have been sincerely an enthusiast. He would sometimes steal out at night, with one or two of his more zealous associates, in search of some houseless mendicant: having found one, which was easily done in so large a place as Rouen, he would conduct the beggar secretly to his chamber, wash his feet, then dry them with his long hair, and then, by an exertion of that filthy piety which the Romish books always represent as heroic, drink some of the water in which they had been washed! He would then give the beggar his bed, lie on the floor himself, or pass the remainder of the night in prayer, catechise his guest early in the morning, and then dismiss him secretly as he had brought him in. He acknowledged afterwards the extreme imprudence and danger of such conduct, and yet appeared willing to have it believed that all had been done under the protection of a special providence, the house never having been robbed by any of the fellows whom he had thus introduced. '*C'est que ce qui se fait par charité, se trouve toujours bien fait,*' he used to say. '*Heureux oubli, qui nous fait perdre de vue nos intérêts pour ne penser qu'aux seuls intérêts de Jésus Christ!*' He used also, in his devotion to the sacrament, to spend part of the night at the church-doors, till his confessor forbade the practice. When he was in the third year of his academical course, his fervour of mind abated, temptations came upon him from within and troubles from without. He had enemies as well as disciples in the school, and their enmity was exasperated by the watchful eye which he kept over them and a young widow, whom he had converted from the Huguenot persuasion, and introduced as a servant at his master's establishment. She was handsome enough to attract some of the elder pensioners, and Boudon, perceiving their designs, *se trouva par-tout où il pouvoit y avoir du danger pour elle*, making it his particular business on holydays to watch for her protection. For this he became an object of suspicion and hatred. They regarded him as a hypocrite, and brought against him an accusation, for which, in spite of all his protestations of innocence, *il essuya, et d'une manière très rigoureuse, le dernier châtiment.* But his innocence was afterwards proved, and his master made all possible reparation for the injustice which he had committed.

More

More serious evils awaited him. The step-father would no longer suffer his mother to support him, the little allowance which he had hitherto received was withdrawn, and he was cast upon the world. There was a retired statesman, M. le Tanneur by name, who resided at Rouen, and as a useful mode of religious charity, opened his house for poor scholars, giving bed and board to those who stood in need of such assistance, and were deserving of it. Boudon applied to this good man, told his sad story, and was received into his family. Here he used to perform the Romish good work of flogging himself, as vigorously as Sancho laid on the trees, and the blood was frequently found in streams upon the floor of his chamber. He would have entered at this time into the Franciscan order, if they would have admitted him; but his constitution was thought too feeble, and his health too much impaired already, by the austerities which he had practised, to endure the rigour of their rule. His resolution was then taken to pursue his studies at the University of Paris. Some little assistance was afforded him by M. le Tanneur and by another person of similar benevolence, and to Paris he went as a poor scholar. It is one of the best parts of the Romish religion that it always provides means for such persons; and, however poor they may be, secures them from contempt. He found associates there whose feelings and habits of life accorded with his own; and he placed himself under the spiritual care of the Jesuit P. Bagot, who acted as confessor to most of the young Congregationists. P. Bagot appears to have been one of the better spirits of an order which has abounded with bad ones: he had been confessor to Louis XIII., but liked the office so little, that he obtained his dismissal as soon as he could; and he used to say, '*si l'on vous fait entrer à la cour par la porte, sauvez-vous par les fenêtres!*' Boudon had much to endure during his first year, being a stranger in Paris. He accounted himself well off when he could reckon upon twenty *sols* for his week's expenses, and not unfrequently he was reduced to ask charity in public. He begged in the church of Notre Dame one day, of a man who was evidently of high rank, and by whom he was repulsed with some severity; but the meekness with which he bore this repulse, touched the person to whom he addressed himself, and who was thereby induced to observe him. Perceiving him in an attitude of humble devotion behind one of the pillars, he went up to him, and inquired into his circumstances. It was M. de Montmorenci; and the conversation ended in his engaging Boudon to live in his family, and give lessons there to M. de Laval de Montmorenci, who was then commencing his ecclesiastical studies, and who was afterwards the first Bishop of Quebec.

After this he had no longer any difficulties on the score of his worldly

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worldly fortunes; the pupil with whom he was connected proved to be one after his own heart, and he was in a fair way to high honour in his intended profession, if he had been contented to keep the straight course. But Boudon chose to act the saint—a character which it is not difficult to play; but which required more discretion in France than in some other countries. He made a vow of poverty; in what sense it was made his biographer confesses himself unable to explain, but he says it was rigorously practised. It will presently be seen what sort of poverty this was. The last stage of hypocrisy is that in which men impose upon themselves as well as others. Boudon had begun in enthusiasm, he had discovered his own power, he felt how easy it was to act upon mankind if he addressed himself to their devotional feelings; and he had found, like William Huntington, the S. S. of recent celebrity, and like certain other professors, who have succeeded in the same line, that in this world's masquerade there is no warmer or more comfortable garb than a sheep's clothing. Upon leaving M. de Montmorenci, he formed an establishment of ecclesiastical students in the Fauxbourg St. Jacques; they were mostly youths of high family, whom he managed as he had done his schoolfellows at Rouen, and who appear to have been as sincere, and as enthusiastic under his directions as the first little knot of Methodists which Wesley collected at Oxford. They practised great austerities, exhibited that sort of ostentatious humility which excites admiration as well as scorn, and went about exhorting the people. Boudon himself became intimate with all those who were in the living odour of sanctity, the venerable Mother Madeleine de S. Joseph among others, who was already regarded as a saint, and who worked miracles after his death,—and the not less celebrated F. Fiacre, who was the father-in-prayer (if this new designation for an unheard-of character may be allowed) to Louis XIV., the said friar having been *si puissant auprès de Dieu que de l'aveu de tous les gens de bien, ce fut lui qui obtint à Anne d'Autriche un fils après vingt-deux ans de stérilité.* He found also an excellent coadjutor in a refugee from Lorraine, Claude by name, who, with his wife and daughter, had fled to Paris, from the miseries to which their poor country had been exposed. They were plundered by German soldiers on the way. Boudon, however, soon extricated them from their difficulties, by settling the wife in a convent, procuring a small dowry for the daughter, and setting up Claude for a saint. With great aptitude for the part, Claude was in danger of overdoing it. After spending the whole day at his prayers in the quarries, he found a table on his return providentially covered with excellent food,—a safe as well as agreeable proof of his sanctity. But his abstractions were such

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that he heard neither carriage nor cries of warning in the streets, and was, therefore, often in danger, and saved only by miracle; and once, in what is called a violent assault of holy love, he acted death so to the life, that the physician who was called in prescribed burying him; but, while they were debating where he should be interred, he gave signs of animation, and put an end to the scene. Finding that there was some risk in these exhibitions, Boudon prayed that Claude might be exempted in future from such marks of celestial favour, at least in public. Claude himself united in the supplication, and we are gravely assured that the prayer was granted.

Boudon's companions, or rather disciples, having formed themselves into a sort of ecclesiastical community, devoted themselves to the missionary service in foreign lands, and he let many of them depart to the east and to the west, upon their calling; while he, we are told, waited for his call. But whatever might be his real or pretended desire to be so employed, it was not till the thirtieth year of his age that he received ordination, and then not, of his own accord, but by the advice of a bishop and the injunctions of his confessor. The biographer says it was his intention to remain contented in the first humble grade of his profession, *lorsque Dieu voulut le placer au plutôt sur le chandelier de son Eglise.* His pupil, M. de Laval, who was Grand Archdeacon of Evreux, being about to vacate that dignity, and go abroad as a missionary, fixed upon Boudon for his successor. There were three obstacles to this,—his humility, his not being in priest's orders, and his poverty, for he had not taken a degree. The first was easily removed, Boudon being commanded to take upon himself the yoke of preferment. His patron removed the second by procuring a dispensation from Rome; and for the third, he drew, like our own S.S., upon the Bank of Faith. He had hardly prayed for the money, before a wealthy man supplied enough for taking a doctor's cap at Bourges, which seems to have been at that time a sort of Aberdeen or St. Andrews, where degrees were to be had upon the cheapest terms and upon the shortest notice. The appointment was not agreeable to the chapter of Evreux, for it appears that already, where some perceived in him the odour of sanctity, others smelt a rogue. M. de Laval, therefore, accompanied him to Evreux, for the purpose of introducing him; but neither this introduction, nor one of those misnamed miracles, which may so easily be true as they are likely to be false, could remove the prejudice which had been conceived against him; and when he returned to Evreux to take possession of his benefice, it was in such a garb that no decent hotel would take him in. He presented himself to be installed in a patched habit, which excited rumour and suspicion

picion in some, reverence in others; and he addressed a letter to the cures of the town, calling himself the meanest of men and of creatures, requesting their prayers for him, and saying that not himself but Christ must be Archdeacon of Evreux, and therefore he had offered the archdeaconry to the glorious Mother of God! Accordingly, he placed himself, his office, and all the parishes which belonged to his jurisdiction, under her holy protection; an act which savoured so strongly of fanaticism or cant, that some persons thought they ridiculed it sufficiently by printing the form itself upon a broad sheet.

Hitherto he had only received the first tonsure. He now retired to a Chartreuse, to prepare himself for further orders, and after four months' retirement, was successively ordained sub-deacon, deacon, and priest. He soon made himself popular as a preacher, and still more popular as a director of consciences. The most desperate cases yielded to his skill; and the spiritual Balm of Gilead which he administered was in such request, that his apartment was continually crowded by applicants, till, for fear of scandal, he was obliged to interdict all such visits. Among the persons under his direction, there were two who might alone, according to his biographer, have immortalized his name: Sister Providence, whom we shall presently introduce to the reader, and who is worthy to immortalize it, was one; the Princess del Bouillon, Turenne's niece, was the other: she regarded him as an angel sent from heaven to guide her in the way of salvation; she compelled him, greatly it is pretended against his inclination, to take up his abode in her house whenever he resided in Evreux; she followed him on foot through the streets, and accompanied him wherever her presence and her aid contributed to edification.

The civil wars had left everything connected with religion in a deplorable state. The diocese of Evreux is described as like most others at that time. You saw there ecclesiastics without virtue; a people without instruction and without morals; churches without ornaments; ceremonies without even a shadow of decency, and the cemeteries without inclosures. One part of his duty Boudon exercised well: he compelled those persons who held the great tithes to repair the churches effectually; he looked into the accounts of the churchwardens, and applied the receipts to provide proper ornaments for the church service; he removed out of the churches all unseemly pictures and images; put the whole interior in order, and inclosed the burial-grounds. Every where he established schools: he looked after the midwives, *dont l'emploi decide si souvent du salut éternel*,—in the language of Romish religion; he kept a list of all notorious sinners; ascertained the number of inhabitants in every parish and hamlet; looked after the

manners

manners of the people as well as their religious observances; became the arbitrator and peace-maker wherever he went; suffered no books to be read of which he disapproved, and interfered so far with the arrangements of the families which he visited, or rather inspected, that *il y multiplioit les lits, quand le sexe et l'age commençoient à l'exiger.* The existing race of priests in the diocese being little to his liking, he took measures for training up their successors in the way that he would have them go; and at length succeeded in causing a seminary to be established at Evreux; and after the example of S. Vincent de Paul, he instituted a custom of holding spiritual conferences for their mutual instruction.

When Boudon visited the diocese, he would have ridden an ass, if the manners of the age would have permitted it; but, because this would have been deemed indecorous, he contrived to make the desired display of ostentatious humility by riding as bad a horse as could be found; and having to accompany him, instead of such a servant as his station required, a man almost as meanly attired as he himself chose to appear. This was in the sphere of his duty; but Boudon, when he had finished his circuit, felt that sort of call to which inclination always lends a willing ear; and he commenced a course of itinerancy. Whither he should go was no matter of consideration; everywhere he was sure to find auditors and admirers; and by virtue of his vow of poverty, he had unlimited credit upon the Bank of Faith. Accordingly, when he set out upon one of these expeditions, he is represented as going, like a knight-errant, in any direction that the choice of the moment might determine. The spirit moved him, as a quaker would say; in the language of his biographer—*un sentiment qui tenoit de l'inspiration, le fixoit bientôt;* and when his course was thus fixed, he took especial care not to say where it was to lead him, because he had observed, that, if the secret transpired, the devil was sure to take advantage of it, and excite a feeling against him. Before he entered a town, he always performed an act of adoration to the Trinity, and to the holy angels; and before he left it, money poured in from all sides, and purses containing gold were laid upon his table. He often said that he might easily have amassed riches; and his biographer has here observed how easy it was to do without them. In the praises which are bestowed by Romish writers upon what is called religious poverty, it is not remembered that such poverty is equally exempt from anxiety and from want. These expeditions extended not only into most parts of France, but to the Low Countries also, Lorraine, and even to Bavaria.

Hitherto all had gone on in the smooth course of such sanctity. A cross, however, which he saw in the air, announced to him that he

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he was now to be disciplined in the school of affliction; and it was not long before this presage was verified. Preaching one day at Neubourg, he was taken ill in the midst of his discourse, and carried to the neighbouring chateau of a certain widow named Madame de Fourneaux; there he was given over by the physicians: he resigned his archdeaconry in favour of a person whom he judged worthy to succeed; a relic of St. Gaud was sent him by the brethren of the cathedral, by virtue of which, and of a vow to visit the tomb of the said saint, he recovered; and the resignation having been irregular, he was re-appointed to his office. But his residence at the chateau during his recovery gave occasion for scandal, set on foot, it is said, by some female devotees, who were offended at the preference which he had shown to the widow, in taking up his quarters with her, when others were desirous of entertaining him. Reports were spread that Madame de Fourneaux had injured her fortune by the extravagant expenses to which she went while he was her guest; and it was soon added, that the intercourse between the penitent and her director was of a very equivocal kind. These reports were eagerly taken up, and circulated by all who suspected or disliked Boudon. They were believed by the people, and a formal accusation against him was preferred before the bishop. The bishop, with all his prepossession in favour of Boudon, was shaken by the facts alleged against him; a female witness, however, deposed so strongly in exculpation of him, that he suspended his judgment, till the conduct of the accused parties themselves made the affair assume a serious character. The lady was impatient under the scandal, and ascribing it wholly to her envious neighbours, would gladly have made them feel that a person of her rank was not to be scandalized without danger of white sheets. She is represented as a pious person, fond of prayer, and ready to follow zealously any religious directions which might be given her, but who had more imagination than prudence—*elle étoit extrémement sensible, et c'étoit moins un vice du cœur, qu'un défaut du tempérament.* She was provoked, and very naturally, at the silence with which Boudon bore an accusation in which her character, as well as his own, was implicated, and she called upon him to justify himself and her, as a duty which he owed to both. Boudon and his biographer had very different notions of duty in this matter—*Ce parfait imitateur de Jésus Christ,* (we must here use language which we will not translate!) *avoit des sentimens bien opposés. Il avoit pris son parti, et ce parti étoit de porter sa croix à l'exemple du Sauveur.* Accordingly, in reply to her urgent entreaties, he exhorted her to be patient; told her that they must submit to be thought criminal while it pleased Providence; and that seeing their divine Master,

who

who was innocence itself, had been so cruelly treated, it was but fitting that sinners should not escape. This, which the biographer calls a sublime reply, was far from satisfactory to Madame de Fourneaux. She sought to vindicate herself by addressing warm memorials where they were likely to be serviceable; they produced something like a reprimand to the bishop, but the effect was that he looked more narrowly into the charges for the sake of justifying himself, convoked the most respectable of the clergy, secular and regular, in his diocese, and laid the affair before them. It is said that an artful enemy of the archdeacon's influenced their decision, which was that Boudon should be advised to resign his charge of grand vicar, and the honours with which the bishop had invested him, and quietly retire.

Boudon refused to do this. His answer, says the biographer, was such as should be expected from one who knew no other happiness than that of being nailed to the cross of his master. It was brief, and to this effect—that he could not conform to the advice given him, without doing an action unworthy of the honour which he had always proposed to himself, of being vilified for Christ's sake; and with that intent, his resolution was taken to abandon himself unreservedly and absolutely to all the designs of Providence. In consequence of this reply, he was formally deposed from the office of grand vicar, and the deposition was notified to him with all the publicity that could render it disgraceful. He is said to have received it with joy. Throughout this strange affair, it is observable that he made no declaration of innocence: to bear a false accusation thus, and to rejoice in it, is among the spurious virtues of the Romish Church; but whether innocent or guilty, Boudon well knew that this sort of dignified and sanctified silence would have its effect in time. The object of his enemies, and of those who believed him to be an arch-hypocrite, was to drive him out of the diocese. At their instigation, the bishop inhibited him from acting any longer as confessor to Madame de Fourneaux. This, it is said, was a great grief to Boudon, *qui la connoissoit à fonds*, and had hitherto by the most skilful management kept her in her senses. They were shaken by this affair: she went to the court, presented memorials to the king, and declared that Boudon still was and should be her director, and that she would never have any other. The bishop was persuaded that Boudon, in fact, continued to direct her conscience, (which was not the case,) and he forbade him any longer either to preach or confess in the diocese. Not satisfied with this, he sought to make him resign his archdeaconry, and the few friends whom Boudon still retained thought it better he should do so, than continue to war with public opinion. His reply was, *La croix ne nous doit pas*

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pas faire quitter les lieux où nous la portons. C'est tout le contraire, s'il y a quelque chose qui nous y doive arrêter, ce sont les souffrances." In this he was wiser than his friends. Professors of holiness, and professors of patriotism, when they are thoroughly versed in their trade, can outface infamy. He kept his ground; and instead of giving in his resignation, performed his visitations punctually, though, wherever he went, he was pointed at and shunned. Scarcely a priest could be found in Evreux who would hear him at confession; and when he went to Rouen, no *auberge* would admit him where he was known. The bishop spoke everywhere of him vehemently as of a detected hypocrite. His observation in reply was, *il faut le laisser faire, l'honorer beaucoup, en dire du bien, et demeurer en repos. Notre paix sera solide si nous la mettons dans la croix. Il est doux d'y vivre, il est encore plus doux d'y mourir, et nous n'avons plus que faire au monde, quand nous cessons de souffrir.* His biographer asks if this was ever the language of an impostor?

A singular affair, which came to light at this time, gave fresh occasion for scandal against him. There was a peasant girl, Marie by name, in the diocese of Evreux, who, from hearing certain lives of the saints read in her childhood, had taken what is called a decided turn for sanctity; and as she grew up, she became especially desirous of imitating the heroines of purity whom she admired so greatly. As soon as she was old enough for service, she was placed as a domestic in a good family at Rouen: there, though not handsome, she had the misfortune to please her master more than she desired; and having asked her confessor's advice, in conformity to his direction, she immediately withdrew from a place where she was found dangerous, and was herself in danger. The same mishap occurred in the next family which received her; and then she would have taken the habit among the Poor Clares, if they would have admitted her, but this they would not do—probably because she was too poor to make the vow of poverty. Upon this she told her story to the aunt of her mistress, a good old lady, who lived in the country, and being herself piously disposed, took Marie into her own service. Here she hoped to be safe, especially as there were no men-servants. But the old lady had a son, who, having finished his studies at Paris, returned in an unlucky hour. He also attempted to seduce this girl: failing in this, he laid Tarquinish hands upon her, and she was saved only from his violence by miracle; for she called upon the Virgin for protection, and immediately her strength was restored, and he fell helpless and almost lifeless to the ground. She left the house instantly, and, though it was at a season when the roads were broken up by a thaw, walked fourteen leagues to Rouen, where

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she arrived in such a state of exhaustion, that her confessor, or director rather, (which is the more significant designation,) did not at first recognize her. She told him that she saw no other means of living peaceably and safely than by putting on man's clothes; that she had bought a beggar's suit; would go and live in a remote village; content herself with the poorest fare, and trust that God would inspire some one to afford her the charity which she might need. She was neither afraid of scandal nor of detraction; she said, St. Pelagia had acted thus before her, and she would lead the life which that saint had led after her conversion. The director, who was not a little surprised at her adventures, told her the matter was too important for him to rely upon his own judgment, and requested that she would allow him to take counsel upon it. Accordingly he consulted P. Godefroy, 'a man of acknowledged capacity,' who having, in an edifying manner, discharged the office of Grand Penitenciary at Loretto, was at this time Rector of the Jesuits Noviciate at Rouen. *Ces deux sçavans Religieux eurent, tête-à-tête, une longue conférence sur cette matière, qui, graces à Dieu, n'exerce pas souvent les casuistes.* The rector, having listened to all the particulars of the case, pressed the director's hand, and said, *Mon Père, voilà une grande ame! il la faut laisser faire: ce dessein est la récompense d'une vertu héroïque; assurément Dieu en veut faire quelque chose de grand.*

Marie did not wait for this permission. A few days after, as her director came out of the confessional, he saw a youth in poor attire, with *sabots* on his feet, and a staff in his hand, enter the church, and pass a considerable time before what is called the most holy sacrament; observing that this youth, when leaving the church, looked at him with a significant smile, he recognized his penitent, and sent after her. She was overtaken on the road into the country; and he reproved her sharply for not having awaited the result of a consultation which had been held solely for the purpose of tranquillizing her conscience. She replied with great humility, that her first intention had been to do nothing till she should have heard his final opinion, but the apprehension of being subject to some new insults made her tremble; at her last communion she had felt an impulse to pursue this course which did not allow her to rest, and he ought not to feel any uneasiness on her account, for, being under the Virgin's protection, she was well assured that her sex would never be discovered till after her death. The director upon this no longer withheld the approbation which it had been agreed that he should grant. One difficulty, however, occurred when he was advising her; it was concerning the matter of confession. She had considered this, she said, and was determined never to reveal her secret to any other human being; it was

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was sufficient for her that God knew her, and she trusted in his mercy that she never should commit any sin which would render a disclosure necessary, and it was her intention always to confess in the masculine gender. The expression surprised him; and he was still more surprised, according to the story, when he remarked that the young woman, who had never learnt to read, never made the slightest mistake in genders during the whole interview. She asked him for a crucifix and a discipline, both of which he gave her, and also a print of our Lady of the Seven Sorrows; her last request was, that he would chuse a name for her, and he fixed upon Claude Petit; *Claude*, after himself—that she might the more surely remember him in her prayers, *Petit—afin qu'elle ne perdît jamais de vue son néant et sa bassesse.* This done, he charged her to apply to him in case of need, and then bade her farewell, committing her to God's protection. He took care, it is added, to provide for her a friend in case of his death, and with that view communicated the secret to a lady of great piety, who promised to afford her an asylum if it should ever be required.

Claude Petit's resolution was soon put to the test in his, or her, new character. She had the satisfaction of undergoing a trial to which some of the saints whom she was imitating had been exposed,—a satisfaction we are assured it was by the biographer, who relates the curious story from a memoir by the director. It was that of having a child fathered upon her: she submitted, as her exemplars had done, to the imputation, rather than disclose her secret, but its falsehood was afterwards discovered; and then, to avoid the sort of credit which she had obtained by her conduct in the affair, she removed to Evreux. There she lived with the reputation of a saint of the first order, being known by the name of Frère Claude; and there she died, apparently while yet a young woman, keeping up both her male and her saintly character to the last. The discovery of her sex after her death gave no scandal on the spot, it rather excited admiration: she was interred with funeral honours; a stone cross, instead of a wooden one, as a mark of honour, was planted upon her grave; and if she had flourished in a country where saints grew at that season, witnesses would not have been wanting to depose in favour of her canonization,—a curé having declared, in a written relation to the bishop, that one day, when she was attending mass at Rouen, the flame of divine love with which her heart was kindled, had visibly appeared. The miracle is not uncommon, and may be seen represented in many Catholic prints. The story, however, was turned to Boudon's discredit, against whom any scandal at this time found a ready reception. It was said that Marie had lived with him as a servant in this disguise; ballads about it were sung in the streets of

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Paris; lampoons upon him were sold even by his own publisher, and he was preached at in Evreux, when he himself was in the church.

In this case he seems to have been wronged. One of his accusers, too, in the affair of Madame de Fourneaux, was detected in an intrigue, and, upon a re-investigation, the bishop found cause to be satisfied that Bourdon had been wrongfully accused. With a part of the public, probably the greater part, his character soon stood higher than it had done before. An invitation to the court of Bavaria contributed to raise it. Mademoiselle de Bouillon, who had been one of the most zealous of his devotees, had, in her sixteenth year, married Maximilian, at this time Duke of Bavaria, and she carried, to the most melancholy and superstitious court of Europe, the sort of temper which Bourdon had encouraged. That perfect Frenchman, the *petit* Coulanges, with whom the readers of Madame de Sévigné's letters are so well acquainted, was at Munich a few years earlier, and describes the situation of the Electress, her predecessor, who had been brought up in a happier house, as very miserable. The court was like a convent for the joylessness and severity of its manners. They rose at six, attended mass at nine, dined at half-past ten, attended vespers every day, supped at six, at which hour none but the family were seen in the palace, and retired to bed at nine. This mode of life accorded well with the inclination of the new Duchess. She made a pilgrimage to Loretto, had a chapel built close to the palace after the pattern of the Flying House, and kept up the character of what was called the Holy Court. Nevertheless, says the biographer, in the bosom of glory and greatness, she found herself tried with some of those internal pains which fill the afflicted soul with perplexity and trouble: she had what may be called a nervous conscience. *Incertaine si elle marchoit dans les voies de Dieu, ou dans une route d'illusion, elle eut recours aux plus célèbres Directeurs qui fussent dans ses terres.* But the most experienced practitioners in conscience were puzzled. Her condition was an enigma to which these sages had no key; a Daniel was required, (this is the biographer's language,) and her poor director, prescribing what he perceived his patient wished him to prescribe, advised that Bourdon should be sent for. No other practitioner could feel the pulse of a soul with so fine a touch. He was so well acquainted with all the states through which such chosen vessels as the duchess usually pass, that a word or two from them made him understand what they did not understand themselves.

The great soul-doctor succeeded perfectly. *Il fut à-la-fois et le Directeur du Directeur méme, et de celle qui étoit sous sa conduite.* He encouraged the duchess *à marcher de grands pas:* she

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she had done so, one of her first actions in Bavaria having been to make a pilgrimage of threescore miles on foot. He regulated her practices of devotion, *ses devoirs envers le Prince son époux*, her obligations towards her subjects. He exhorted her to inspire a spirit of piety into her maids of honour, and not to tolerate anything but what was strictly within the bounds of the severest modesty. 'In a word he omitted nothing which could contribute to the real happiness of the duchess and all her court. The directions which he gave were so sure, that neither she nor her director could err if they observed them, and they were received as if they came from the lips of an angel.' When the duchess took him from Dyrkheim, where she was then residing, to Munich, he gave the most edifying proofs of his entire devotedness to spiritual things, for he would see none of the curiosities of the place, not even the state apartments of the palace in which he was lodged, nor the gardens, nor even the public library. But, *en récompense*, he visited the cathedral where every Saturday the office of the immaculate conception was performed by the canons; the Electoral chapel, where there were the entire bodies of no fewer than six-and-forty saints, not to mention one of St. John the Baptist's heads; and the Duke's chapel, which prided itself upon possessing nineteen heads, belonging to as many of the eleven thousand virgins. He visited also the *Filles de St. François de Sales*, less for *bienséance* than for religion, because they had in their treasury one of the fingers of St. Anne! *en fait de Reliques, il ne sçavoit qu'honorer, sans sçavoir philosopher*, and after mass, and a general communion, he exhibited this precious finger to the devotion of the faithful.

On his return to France, he made a circuit for the purpose of seeing the state of religion in Germany. At Augsbourg he saw *avec une sensible douleur la Religion mi-partie*, and the Romanists mingle with the Lutherans; but he had the pleasure of arriving on St. Uldaric's eve, of paying his respects to the relics in the principal church, and of adoring a famous wafer in which the miracle of carnification had been manifested. From thence he went into Saxony, in order to observe and weep for, and with his bitter tears repair a part of, the ravages which Luther had made there. He even went into the apartment where 'that profane and sanguinary reformer' was born! The grief which he there felt was compensated by his emotions at Œting where the chapel, dedicated by St. Rupert to the Queen of Angels, had been respected by the flames when the town was burnt. Such a profusion of miracles had ensued upon this, that the four sides of the cloisters could not afford room for all the authentic relations. The emperor and empress had recently visited the august sanctuary; votive offerings had been sent thither from all parts. France too had

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had sent its gifts, *et l'on juge bien qu'ils n'y tiennent pas le dernier rang*. Every year more than ninety thousand masses were performed there. During this tour in Germany, a remarkable adventure befell him. He arrived one evening, very much fatigued, at an inn, which happened to be so full, that only half a bed could be afforded him; contented with this, he took possession of his half; his intended companion, who was a Lutheran gentleman, spent part of the night at play, then retired to his chamber, and lay down beside the archdeacon, and immediately Boudon was thrust out of the bed by an invisible hand, which would not suffer him to be there with a heretic; so he past the night upon the floor: and the story is related as an instance of the prudence with which he could keep silence when it was not convenient to speak, for he was strongly tempted to set about converting the Lutheran, but abstained for two considerations; first, because it was dangerous to throw pearls before swine; and, secondly, because the heretic would have been rendered more criminal if he had rejected the proffered opportunity of grace.

He was, indeed, a good hater of heretics, and in his private as well as public devotions, prayed earnestly that all the enemies of the church, meaning thereby the Protestants, might be overthrown. Louis had the benefit of his intercessions with heaven in all his views; *et que ne pouvait pas la prière assidue d'un juste si puissant auprès de Dieu?* The books which he sent out to Quebec, when his first patron was bishop, saved that place from the English when Phipps attacked it; the Virgin, St. Joseph, and the holy angels, for all whom he had inspired the inhabitants with an ardent devotion, having miraculously interposed, in consequence, raised contrary winds, brought on snow-storms, and infused a panic into the invaders. Who knows what might have happened if he had been living when the battle of Blenheim was fought? A holy anger always possessed him when there was any question concerning heretical opinions. In matters of faith, he said, there was to be no reasoning; they who swerved in their belief from what the Pope and the Council of Trent had established, (for on these authorities his faith was built,) precipitated themselves into everlasting damnation. *Croyez-moi, si une fois vous en venez aux mains avec l'ennemi par le raisonnement, vous êtes pris, et votre perte est comme assuree.* But his zeal was in nothing so remarkable as for what a Jesuit has most properly called *The Marian Religion;* this he regarded as the strongest rampart against temptations: he regretted the liberty which was allowed upon this subject, when opinions were advanced which would formerly have excited indignation in the clergy, the people, and the universities, and have drawn down severe punishment; and he affirmed that God never

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never failed to favour with especial grace those who vindicated the purity of the Virgin. His language upon this subject not only exposed him to the reprehension of sober minds, but to a degree of scorn which he regarded as a triumph. There is a sort of humility which has been well called

A ragged cloak that Pride wears when deform'd,

and this was Boudon's dress. He called himself, in the common language of this mock virtue, the vilest of sinners, declaring that he was worse than the worst of devils, and that the worst place in hell was too good for him. Men never believe this when they say it; it is impossible that they should. As little was he to be believed in the extravagant desire which he expressed for shame and suffering. There was no joy, he said, equal to that of being made a bye-word of reproach and scorn, the opprobrium of men; the object of ridicule, and obloquy, and slander. But the height of joy would be to be imprisoned, put in irons, falsely accused of the greatest crimes, condemned for them, and executed upon a scaffold, in the midst of a great city. This language may well induce a suspicion that Boudon was not innocent of all the charges which were brought against him, and believed to the last by very many persons. The wish to suffer martyrdom is a natural stage of enthusiasm at certain times, and in certain minds, but a wish like that of Boudon's impeaches the honesty of the man that expresses it, if he be in his senses.

The particular devotion which he expressed and inculcated for the Virgin is represented by his biographer as partly cause and partly effect of that angelic purity for which he is extolled. He had no occasion to enrol himself in *the angelic* militia*, and put on St. Thomas Aquinas's girdle. He never fixed his eyes upon a woman: when his profession led him to converse with one, he looked to the right and left, never upon her; so that he did not know the faces of those who were under his religious care. He would not even suffer a man to shake hands with him. The pictures were in danger in the house of any wealthy person to which he had access; they were either put out of sight by his orders, or their drapery was reformed according to his direction. The images and pictures in churches, if they were not *dans la règle*, underwent this correction. He would not spare Rubens or Michael Angelo. He lived to the age of seventy-nine; but notwithstanding his high reputation at Munich, and the favour with

* This notable militia, be it here remarked, *is kept up at this time*. Lady Morgan, in her 'Italy', says, that she saw one of its worshipful companies carrying the *Sagro Cingolo* in procession at Vercelli; 'the confraternity,' she adds, 'is one of great reverence and celebrity;' and St. Thomas Aquinas's girdle is esteemed one 'of the most precious relics in the treasury of the cathedral.'

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which the Duchess of Orleans and the Queen of Portugal regarded him, (that Queen who assisted in deposing her husband, and then married his brother,) his character remained so doubtful, that it was openly said, if any attempt were made to get him canonised, matters enough to prevent it should be brought forward.

From this account of Boudon's life, which is derived wholly from a panegyrical biographer, the reader might doubt whether he were a thorough enthusiast, a thorough hypocrite, or a specimen of that common genus, the *tertium quid*, which holds its place as a hybrid between both. Better materials for forming a judgment might undoubtedly be found in the obscure literature of his age and country; he has, however, himself afforded full grounds for deciding upon his real character, in the life which he has written of Marie Angélique, that Sister Providence whose history has recently been published in the *Bibliothèque Chrétienne*, for the edification of the French people, and whom we shall now introduce to the Protestant public of these kingdoms, for their edification also. Mr. Butler has boasted of his position; we shall presently exhibit Sister Providence in a position which will surprise him.

M. Collet has most truly said that the management of this sister *servit beaucoup à faire éclater la grace et les talens du grand Archidiacre.* He has said of another of Boudon's biographical pieces, that it contains *des choses si singulières, si capables de faire connoître le genie et le caractère de celui qui l'a composé*, that he thought it his duty to give some account of the work. That work is sufficiently curious: it is the history of a widow bewitched in Lorraine, for bewitching whom, a surgeon and a woman were burnt, the latter confessing and penitent, the former denying his guilt to the last, and disdaining to procure the mercy of being strangled, by admitting the justice of his sentence. But this story, though dreadfully characteristic of the times, would prove only that Boudon believed, or affected to believe, what was then the common belief of his church and his countrymen; for it does not appear that he had any part in the transactions. What M. Collet says is strictly applicable to the life of Sister Providence. Boudon was her director as well as her biographer. The book is said, in the recent edition before us, to have been now first printed from the original manuscript, which had been preserved by the barefoot Carmelites of Notre-Dame de Bonsecours in Normandy; but a note to the life of Boudon says that it had been printed at Avignon in 1760.

indigne book is dedicated *à la Très Sainte et Suradorable Trinité*, have dinner that evinces the utmost piety in the writer, or the height

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height of impiety, if he knew that the relation thus solemnly introduced was, in any of its parts, deceptive and false. And in the middle of the book he exclaims, O my adorable Saviour, it is to make known the greatness of thy power and of thy divine love, in that which is most feeble, that I write these things! We shall now see what *these things* are.

The holy heroine of this history gave such early indications of sanctity, that her second birth may be said to have preceded her first, for when her mother was at mass, the unborn babe was always felt to rise up as soon as the portion of the gospel was read; a circumstance which, it is justly observed, will not appear astonishing to those who are conversant in the lives of the saints. The midwife also discovered, it is not explained how, that the child would be a saint. She was born at Evreux, 1650, on St. Teresa's eve, and in her very childhood discovered a disposition so decidedly religious, that she would hide herself in a barn, there to pass the time in solitary prayer; and though that barn happened to be a place of resort for the cats, even their cries, erotic or eriunic, *effroyables* as the biographer assures us that they were, could neither dismay nor disturb her. Her instincts were remarkably clean; she could not bear to see any thing dirty, or out of its place; but though this propensity might well be regarded as an indication of her inward purity, as soon as she began to apprehend that it was not compatible with the line of sanctity which she had proposed to take, she made little hoards of filth, that she might mortify herself by looking at it. At eight years old she laid her breakfast as an offering upon the altar of the Virgin, requesting her to present it to our Lord, which edifying act is the subject of a vignette in the engraved title-page. Soon after she went to the school of the Ursuline nuns, at Evreux; they taught her a number of practices of piety in honour of the immaculate mother of God, *c'est ce que l'on doit faire dans la voie ordinaire*, says her biographer; and he says also that our Lord and his Mother let her know, on many occasions, how agreeable these practices were to them. Already she was a *fille de grace*. About the fifteenth year of her age, *elle se laissa aller à la vanité*, not, however, in great matters; she took pleasure in adorning herself, she wished to be admired, and was afraid of passing for a devotee. She recovered from this lapse after a few months, upon occasion of a general confession, made to one of those missionaries who are the methodists of the French church, and contribute in no slight degree to its support. *Mais qui pourrait dire l'extréme faiblesse de la créature?* A year had hardly past before she relapsed into vanity, and she went so far in conformity to the mode

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mode of the world, that she actually wore ribands! 'Oh that was a sin, and a very great sin!' and when she confessed it to a priest, (who died in the odour of sanctity,) he told her she must lay them aside. Marie Angélique remonstrated against this injunction; she was then full of weakness, and surrounded with darkness, and she ventured to observe that such ornaments were not incompatible with devotion. The prudent confessor then said that at least she must think of quitting them some time hence; but when he fixed fifteen days for the term, the shock surprised her so, that she uttered a great cry. Nevertheless, she obeyed; and from that time, which was in her seventeenth year, her perseverance in a course of the highest mortification was never shaken.

She wished now to become a nun, and accordingly applied to be received as a *sœur converse* in a convent at Meaux. The household work, which in that capacity she was required to perform, proved too much for her strength, and she was obliged to leave it in an infirm state of health, and with a deafness, which, however, was ere long cured by some wine, blessed in the presence of the holy tear at Vendome. She continued, however, to have a strong desire for a religious life, and to have a particular affection for the Carmelite order, and a particular devotion towards its saints, including Elijah, whom they claim for their patriarch. Boudon says he could relate admirable proofs of the favour which she received from those saints, were it not for the incredulity concerning such things which prevailed in his age, for which reason he past them in silence. In his introduction he alludes to this sort of incredulity, saying, there were persons who maintained that extraordinary circumstances ought to be suppressed in the lives of the saints; but to this he replies, that there never was a saint who had not some extraordinary graces, and, therefore, that their lives would be of little value if those circumstances were kept out of sight, by means of which they had attained their saintship: accordingly, though he has thought proper not to relate the Carmelite miracles which were wrought in favour of his spiritual pupil, he has proceeded upon the principle of relating her extraordinary graces and adventures in all other parts of her biography. Her call was now to what he denominates a high perfection. She was admirable for the grace which ran from her in full measure and overflowing, for mortifying her senses. The scraps of meat which had been thrown aside by others, she collected for her own food, and seasoned them with soot instead of salt, to render them the more unsavoury. She mixed gall and candle-grease in her pottage. Other practices of the same kind are related as exploits of saintly virtue, which were, in the very act, miraculously rewarded. They are

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are too loathsome to be expressed in our language, but the original passages * are inserted below for the satisfaction of those who might otherwise be disposed to think that we have spoken too severely of this nasty superstition. Such passages are common in the lives of the Romish saints; but it is worthy of especial notice that the book from which these are extracted, is part of a *Bibliothèque Chrétienne*, at this time publishing, not for the Spaniards or Portugueze, but for the instruction and edification of the youth of France.

Her humility is the next virtue which her biographer brings forward. *Elle portait dans les rues des immondices pour les vider.* She wore a dress which made the children hoot after her in the streets. She would throw herself on the ground to ask pardon for trifling faults, and which had been involuntarily committed. One day she requested a lady with whom she had *beaucoup de liaisons de grâces*, to lend her a secret apartment, and engage some honest countrywoman to flog her there. A countrywoman was soon found, who, being told that she was wanted to administer penance to a great sinner, read her a lecture upon patience and repentance, tied her up, and flogged her to her heart's content:—there is a print of this exploit, and the words engraved under it are *humilité de la sœur Marie Angélique.* Now, forasmuch as there is nothing which the Devil, who is pride itself, detests more than this virtue of humility, he made Marie Angélique rebel sometimes against the humiliations which her director, or his deputies in his absence, prescribed. The Devil exercised an extraordinary power over Marie Angélique, and to counteract him, her spiritual directors had recourse to extraordinary means. Against these means she revolted furiously; for in such cases he influenced her body in a manner which her mind

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* *Elle prit la résolution, pour se vaincre, de panser la tête d'une jeune fille qui avait une gale affreuse; elle mettait de cette gale dans sa bouche, et enfin elle la mangeait: mais que Dieu est bon, qu'il est doux à ceux qui l'aiment! Elle a assuré qu'en se mortifiant de la sorte, il avait répandu tant de douceur sur une chose qui naturellement lui devait causer une peine extrême, que jamais elle n'avait rien mangé qui fut si agréable à son goût, et que même elle ne pouvait pas s'imaginer aucun mets, pour délicat qu'il pût être, qui en approchât. Elle se surmontait encore à sucer des linges qui avaient servi à des cautères, et qui étaient pleins de pus qui en sortait; et en continuant de cette manière à se vaincre avec tant de générosité, Dieu, tout bon, continuait de sa part à la favoriser, lui faisant trouver des délices en ce qui doit donner naturellement plus d'horreur. Elle ne pouvait faire réflection sur cette conduite de l'aimable Providence divine, sans entrer dans des étonnemens de ses admirables bontés. Que Dieu est bon, s'écriait elle, de se contenter de si peu que la créature fait pour son service! Que ses libéralités sont surprenantes à son égard, puisqu'il récompense si délicieusement, et avec tant de promptitude, les petits efforts qu'elle fait, avec son secours, de se surmonter pour sa gloire. Elle a souvent mangé des crachats qui étaient dans les églises, et ailleurs; et elle l'a fait tant de fois, qu'à la fin, elle y était comme accoutumée, et n'en recevait presque plus de peine*, pp. 88,89. These *vilains crachats* are frequently spoken of.

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could not controul: she would beat herself against the wall or the ground, and having, at such times, as little command of her temper as of her limbs, broke out into disobedient and contemptuous words against those who prescribed acts of submission to counteract this infused spirit of pride. One day she was ordered to lie down, that she might be trodden under foot. Boudon does not explain whether he was the person who laid this command upon her, but he expresses neither disapprobation nor surprise at it; it seems to have been quite in the course of discipline which he pursued: the devil, however, threw her into such contortions, that it was not possible to make her undergo the intended act of penance.

The disobedience was not only extraneous, but internal; while the sense of duty made her obey, against her will, her judgment, and even her conscience. And here the Father Confessor says, *Il est vrai que c'est un mal d'agir contre ce que la conscience dicte, mais c'est quand elle n'est pas réglée par des personnes que l'on doit croire; car pour lors, non seulement ce n'est pas un mal, mais une vertu solide de se soumettre;* that is, it is a virtue to act against your conscience, if the confessor commands you so to do! Her obedience was so perfect, that being ill one day, she told her director that she thought if he commanded her to be well she could be so; and accordingly when he laid his commands upon her, well she was. This must have been only to show her sense and power of obedience, not from any desire to be free from sickness, for Boudon himself was not more desirous of sufferings. Her earnest wish was to have them in abundance; and in this respect she was fully gratified, for angels and devils concurred in tormenting her in all imaginable and unimaginable ways. *Les combats que notre sœur a eus avec les demons ont été grands.* There was one who stuck close to her during two years, in the shape of a terrible dog covered with green scales: he had fiery eyes, an open mouth, and a magnificent tail, twisted, and carried erect. Sometimes a whole swarm beset her like bees; St. Anthony himself was not assailed by them more continually, nor in greater force; her biographer, indeed, compares her to him in that respect. They appeared to her in all horrible shapes; they beat her, they threw her down stairs, they pricked her with invisible awls, and stabbed her with invisible knives: the wounds, of course, were as little to be seen as the instruments and beings that inflicted them; but their reality was proved by the agony which she felt, and to which her director bears testimony, in a book dedicated to, and interspersed with prayers to, the Trinity! Sometimes they abstracted all warmth from her body, leaving it like ice; then suddenly infused a heat exceeding that of all fevers, as if Phlegethon were

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were flowing in every vein. They caused such universal cramp in all her muscles, that while the fit was on her, she was contracted to the size of a half-grown girl. Sometimes she felt them gnawing at every limb, and eating her very entrails; at others, they occasioned such a specific gravity in her limbs, that she could no more move them than if they were of lead. Whole nights she lay with a vessel of holy water in her hand, to defend herself against them; but once she put them to flight by an act of unexpected humility, for she abased herself before the most hideous of the party,—thinking that her ingratitude to God made her the worse of the two; and such an heroic act of piety was more than they could endure. But the most refined malice of the devil was, that he compelled her to do many things in which her will had not the slightest part, and which, nevertheless, caused her the greatest mortification, for which the most mortifying penances were enjoined by those to whose spiritual superintendence M. Boudon (her Abbé Genet) had consigned her during his absence.

Diré aqui, as an old Spaniard says, *una maldad grande del Demonio*. Marie Angelique, among her many virtues, was remarkable both for her inward and outward purity. It is the subject of a whole chapter. It is a special gift of God, says her Abbé Genet, to understand the value of this angelic virtue, and an inestimable grace to be favoured with it. That virtue she possessed in perfection; and in such horror did she hold anything which could sully it, that she would not allow any one even to take her by the hand. The devils had no hope of overcoming this virtue, but they resolved to outrage it; and with a refined malignity, sought to effect this, in the presence of credible witnesses, by setting her upon her head. An immediate miracle was wrought; one of which, we believe, no former example can be found. The law of gravitation was suspended with regard to her clothes, they remained stiff and immoveable as the marble drapery of a statue; the blood might be brought into Sister Providence's face by the peculiar attitude in which she was placed, but there was not the slightest occasion for a blush. We have before hinted at this position. There should have been a print of it, as an unique miracle. It would have embellished the book more than the offering of her breakfast, or than her flogging; have edified the reader as much, and surprised him more. We have exaggerated nothing in this account, and for those who may call for vouchers, the passage,* in Tartuffe's own language, may be seen below.

Can

* *La sœur Marie Angélique avait la grâce d'être du nombre des âmes qui marchent dans la lumière, et qui découvrent les illusions de la vie présente; elle a vécu et est morte vierge, et elle portait un si grand éloignement de ce qui en pouvait ternir, en la moindre*

Can it now be doubtful in what class M. Boudon, *l'homme de Dieu seul*, whose life of Sister Providence is part of the *Bibliothèque Chrétienne*, should be placed? Can it be doubted that he, like the Abbé Genet, is one of those men who have kept up the system of fraud and delusion in the Romish Church, that system which was in the beginning, is now, and ever will be, while that church remains unreformed? But there is fuller proof in store. The woman who was under his direction, not being contented with the suffering which the devils inflicted upon her, prayed for more, and Elijah and S. Juan de la Cruz appeared to her, and assured her that her great desires should be fulfilled. *Elle était immolée de la sorte sous les coups qu'elle recevait de la terre et de l'enfer: mais le Ciel voulut encore s'y joindre les saints, et les anges bienheureux aideront à sacrifier cette victime.* Accordingly, the angels fastened her up with invisible cords, while she flogged herself, not by the dozen lashes, or the hundred, but for four hours, as fast as her arm could work, which it could do on such occasions by aid of the angels, though it was paralytic and useless for all other purposes. Being ordered to visit certain relics of St. Maure, that she might obtain relief from a violent head-ache which afflicted her, she performed the pilgrimage, but prayed for an augmentation of the pain, and succeeded in obtaining it. But the great and extraordinary favour which was granted her, was that, like the venerable sister Marguerite du Saint Sacrement, (for one impostor, as well as one fool, make many,) she was allowed to participate in all the sufferings of all the martyrs; and with this notable advantage over sister Marguerite,—that what she endured or enjoyed only for fourteen or fifteen months, Sister Providence was privileged to partake during many years. She went through a practical course of martyrology in the order of the Romish kalendar; and on each day throughout the year, she endured precisely such sufferings, in kind and degree, as the saints had endured, whose sufferings and martyrdom are on that day commemorated by the Romish church—all this by special favour of Heaven!

Nous pouvons assurer, says her precious director, *que tout ce que nous pouvons dire, est bien au-dessous des tourmens qu'elle a portés!* She was stoned on St. Stephen's day: there were, indeed, no visible stones, but she fell to the ground as if she had been

moindre manière, la pureté, qu'elle n'eût pu souffrir qu'on lui eût pris la main. Dieu, tout bon, qui est la pureté même, a voulu marquer plusieurs fois et en des occasions différentes, par des assistances spéciales, combien les chastes inclinations de notre sœur lui étaient agréables; car les démons lui renversaient le corps de telle façon qu'elle avait la tête en bas, et les pieds en haut; jamais aucune partie de ses habits n'est tombée; et ils restaient en cette posture comme s'ils eussent été à ses pieds; ce qui a été vu de plusieurs personnes dignes de foi. p. 135.

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knocked down with a stone; she lay like a person overwhelmed with them, and the bruises were seen on every part of her body. On St. John's day, she felt as if she were dipt in a cauldron of boiling oil: on St. Sebastian's, her arms were fastened tightly behind her by an invisible force, while she was a mark for the invisible arrows which pierced her through and through. On St. Laurence's she was broiled, (and well browned in the broiling;) on St. Bartholomew's she was flayed; crucifixion she endured, not only with our Lord, St. Andrew, and St. Peter, but with all the saints who are stated in Romish books to have received the stigmata. On Innocents day she endured a thousand deaths,—these the worthy biographer has specified: he has not stated that, on the day of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, she underwent decapitation eleven thousand times, which, reckoning the day (in November) at twelve hours, would be about fifteen times a minute; but he has observed, that upon All Saints' day, which was a repetition day of all that she went through in the rest of the year, her sufferings were *incroyables*. She could not be touched in the side, where she was pierced invisibly with a spear, nor on the head and feet where the nails in her mysterious crucifixion were driven, without putting her to extreme pain. Boudon protests with great sincerity (these are his words), that her torments could not be expressed; that they far exceeded all that he was writing concerning them, and that he passed over many other favours of the same kind in silence! In what state of intellect are the people for whom such things are written? In what state of conscience are the men who write, and the men who publish them?

These were favours vouchsafed to her by special grace; but she was privileged also to suffer vicariously for the sins of others. It seemed to her that our Saviour took out her heart and pressed it, and that a stream of blood came forth and fell upon a number of persons, some of whom she knew, and others were not known to her. This was not a mere vision; it was accompanied with extreme pain, both in body and mind; and in course of time, *l'expérience des choses qui lui furent montrées a fait assez connoître que la lumière qui lui fut donnée était véritable.* She suffered for ecclesiastical persons, for monks and nuns, for women of rank, for *bourgeois*, for artisans, and for people of the lowest rank. She suffered for individuals and for whole communities. Boudon thought himself bound to say that what he has said must not be applied to any community in the town of Evreux, nor even to individuals there, for it was for persons in other provinces, and even in other nations; sometimes they were known to her, and sometimes their names were revealed to her, if they were strangers; their sins were laid upon her, to be visited on her with an appropriate sort of purga-

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purgatorial pain. Thus when she suffered for the avaricious, she was tormented with an insatiate desire for riches and the good things of this world; when for the *gourmands*, with a raging hunger, which the devil exasperated by presenting delicious food before her eyes, and making the savour reach her nostrils; yet, at such times, whatever she ate tasted like gall. She suffered for blasphemers, and for those who communicated unworthily. *Elle a souffert d'une manière extraordinaire pour les impurs;* and what she endured for the vanity of persons of her own sex, was *d'une façon si effrayante qu'on aurait de la peine à le dire.* The venerable Marguerite du St. Sacrement, who was her prototype, had, indeed, a revelation, that women who were vain of their beauty were the devil's delight, and that hell was paved with them. She suffered for the profanation of churches, for false doctrine, for relaxation in convents; and as if all this suffering for the living were not sufficient, she suffered for the souls in purgatory.

For all this she had her reward. Our Lord appeared to her, *s'appliquant à sa téte, à ses mains, à ses pieds, en lui faisant entendre qu'il s'appliquait à elle comme à sa croix vivante.* He made her understand that, as he could no longer suffer for sinners himself in his natural body, he continued his passion in the persons of those chosen vessels which formed his mystical body. At another time, after a vivifying communion, *il lui sembla que son divin amour avait fait un grand vide en tout ce qu'elle était, et qu'ensuite cet adorable Sauveur la remplissait entièrement, s'insinuant dans tout son corps et dans toute son ame, de telle manière qu'il lui paraissait qu'on lui donnait un esprit nouveau, et un corps nouveau, et qu'en cet état elle ne vivait plus, mais que Jésus vivait en elle.* Such impieties we leave in the language in which we find them; nor is it necessary to follow this book through more of its extravagant and impious details. Being fully qualified for a public exhibition, under the direction of so distinguished a master as Boudon, Sister Marie Angélique at length made a vow of abandoning herself to the care of Providence. The ceremony was performed in the church of the Ursuline nuns, after a mass at which Boudon officiated. The written form which she subscribed is given. There is an account of the fulness of delight which she felt in soul and body immediately afterwards, *semblable à une liqueur qui se répand de tous côtés;* and shortly after a second vow of doing every thing solely for the honour of God was taken with equal *éclat* and similar consequences. On this occasion it was that she took the name of Sister Providence.

Boudon has introduced this life with a preliminary discourse, which he entitles *Eclaircissement des Graces extraordinaires dont il*

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il eut parlé en cette vie; and one precious *éclaircissement* it certainly contains. The Sister had such holy sentiments of herself, he says, that at her death she would have perplexed any other confessor but her director, who, by a remarkable guidance of Providence, arrived *tout à propos,* from a long journey, to assist her in the awful passage into eternity; for she accused herself in so astonishing a manner, *qu'il fallait la connaître à fond pour ne la pas prendre pour une grande pécheresse.* Here then the truth appears. The woman at her death would have fain acknowledged her wickedness, and confessed that she had been a vile and impious impostor,—but her director and accomplice was there—*tout à propos*—to receive and stifle the confession. *Habemus reum et confitentem.*

We have thus produced further proof of that villainous system which the Genets and Boudons of all ages have carried on in the Romish Church, and which the Milners have always been ready to approve. And let it be borne in mind that the history of Sister Providence is not a legend of the dark ages, nor of an ignorant country; the proof against that church would even in that case be the same; but this is of modern date, and recent publication. It occurred in the flourishing years of Louis XIV., just before that atrocious and never-to-be-forgotten persecution which ensued upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The book is fresh from the press, and (we repeat it) it is part of a Christian library, published for the instruction and edification of the youth of France. Could such practices exist—could such books be circulated—could such a superstition stand, if the people were permitted to read the scriptures? And can we wonder that where such things are practised—where such books are circulated—where such a superstition is established, infidelity should there extensively prevail, and men reject with contempt and indignation a religion which they can understand only as it is presented to them, and which they see connected with, and disgraced by, such loathsome representations, such extravagant falsehoods, such impious impostures?

ART. II.—*Sketches in Persia, from the Journals of a Traveller in the East.* London. 1827. 2 vols. post 8vo.

ALTHOUGH the two journals of Mr. Morier, the travels of Sir Robert Kerr Porter, the history of Persia, by Sir John Malcolm, and last, though far from the least entertaining, the adventures of Hajji Baba, had put us in possession of ample information on the present condition of Persia, and its inhabi-

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tants, we are assured that no one can read the 'Sketches in Persia' without feeling with us, that the author of them has made a valuable addition to our stock of knowledge. New and important views of the political and moral condition of the Persians, as a nation, are here presented with all the soundness of graver compositions, and with all the interest, without the tendency to caricature, of our amusing friend, the Hajji.

The 'Sketches' profess to be extracts from the journals of a gentleman who accompanied Sir John Malcolm on his two missions to the court of Persia, as Envoy from the governor-general: the first in 1800, during the administration of Lord Wellesley, and the second in 1809, during that of Lord Minto. The author was evidently very much in the society and confidence of the Envoy; indeed, some pretend to find internal evidence in the work before us, that he can be no other than the Envoy himself. The same acute observers and collators have endeavoured to persuade us, that the amusing adventures of Hajji Baba have been also produced from the note-book of another British Envoy. Both these gentlemen (they tell us), having tried, under their own names, the appetite of the public with certain *pièces de resistance*, in the shape of ponderous quartos, have dressed up the choicer parts of their memoranda, in the lighter form of unassuming private adventures—By this proceeding (assuming it to have taken place) the public at large have been much benefitted: for, while the studious few will still continue to labour through the dignified quartos, general readers will be satisfied with the livelier pictures of life and manners to be found in the journals of the Hajji, and the 'Traveller in the East.'

This last author performed his two visits to Persia under very different circumstances. In the year 1800, Captain Malcolm was despatched to Persia to form an offensive alliance between that power and the British Government against the Afghans, neighbours actually troublesome to the former, and likely to become so to the latter. In this object community of interest insured success; nor did the proposed exclusion of the French, with whom the king of Persia and his people had then no intercourse, from the Persian territories, present any difficulty. On the whole, therefore, the mission, and the Envoy himself, highly gifted as he was with personal qualities, and with knowledge of oriental manners, supplied too with the means of satisfying the present-loving monarch and his ministers, were received throughout the country with every honour and attention that good-will could bestow and self-interest suggest. In 1809, material changes had taken place at the court of Tehraun. The French and the English had not only become competitors for the

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the exclusive alliance of the Shah of Persia, but the English authorities were rivals amongst themselves for the management of any alliance that might be concluded. Sir Harford Jones, who had been appointed Envoy Extraordinary by his majesty, subject to instructions from the supreme government of India, had taken upon himself to proceed on his mission in direct opposition to the opinion of the governor-general, Lord Minto; and although the expulsion of the French embassy had been effected by him, General Malcolm was sent to dispossess him of the superintendence of the execution of the treaty which he had negotiated. It may, therefore, be well imagined, that the scenes of the second negotiation were not so gratifying as those of the first; and had the author, in the work before us, preserved a continued narrative, the colouring might probably have been less favourable to Persia. There can be little question, that all the gorgeous trappings of an oriental embassy, the well-stored bales of broad cloths, and staple English manufactures, which never fail to accompany a representative of the East India Company; and lastly, the pre-eminent qualities for Asiatic diplomacy belonging to the Envoy himself, were required to obtain a reception equal to that which was spontaneously given to the first mission from India. From the second mission, however, we derive the interesting notice on Kurdistan, and above all, the history of Ahmed, the cobler, from the lips of the accomplished Moollah Udeenah, the royal story-teller, with which these volumes terminate; and, therefore, whatever may have been the diplomatic consequences of this collision of English *Eelchees*,* it is difficult for us, as readers, to regret, that the mission from the Government of India persisted in its advance to the capital of The King of Kings, The Shadow of God, The Centre to which all the world is turned, and The Asylum of the Universe—for such are the simple colloquial designations of his Persian majesty.

The author of the 'Sketches' did not, from the circumstance of being an ambassador, or at least belonging to an embassy, see much of mixed company, or private society in Persia; his acquaintance was of short duration with the few men of rank whose official duties brought them into communication with him: with the Persian secretaries and servants attached to the mission, his intercourse was necessarily more uninterrupted, as well as intimate; and it is to the conversations between the Envoy and these persons, that we are indebted for some of the most interesting discussions on manners and character. Under such circumstances we are not to look for the amusing details of domestic life, or the vicissitudes of per-

* Eelchee signifies in Persian an Envoy.

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sonal fortune, to be found in the adventures of Hajji Baba, who, starting from his paternal shop of Kerbala Hoossein, the Ispahan barber, has no hesitation in avowing his own total want of integrity, and with one solitary exception, of good feeling, under the plea, however, that such is the national character. It is to this sweeping apology for his own baseness which is implied, though not stated, throughout the adventures of Hajji Baba, that we decidedly object: we cannot but view the indiscriminate imputation of falsehood, avarice, and cruelty to all classes in Persia, from the king to the peasant, as neither consistent with charity, nor borne out by facts. It is not just to apply the standard of English civilization in the nineteenth century to the Persian nation: let the Shah and his people be estimated by a state of society more analogous to their actual condition; let us try public and private conduct by the measures and manners of England under the last of the Plantagenets, the Tudors, or even the Stuarts. Instances of avarice, profligacy, and cruelty in English monarchs and nobles, might be brought forward, which, touched by the caricaturing genius of the Hajji, could combine, in an equal degree, amusement and disgust. In this comparison we might bring together the mockery of justice which sent Anne Boleyn to the scaffold, in order that the matrimonial depravity of the eighth Henry might be gratified with a new subject, and the death of the unfortunate Zeenab. At the same time we will venture to pronounce that horrible incident as contrary to the general fidelity of description observed through the adventures of Hajji Baba; the proceeding is altogether Turkish: such mysterious cruelty belongs rather to Seraglio Point than to Tehraun. The monarch of Persia is certainly despotic, but he exercises his despotism personally and in public; he lives a feudal monarch, surrounded by his nobility; he disclaims concealment; and if the public know anything of his feelings towards the inmates of the *underoon* (or women's apartments), those feelings will be rather displayed in the regard shown to the dancing girl Tootee,* than in the midnight murder of the unhappy Zeenab.

* 'A young dancing girl, from Shiraz, named Tootee, was raised from her humble rank to a place in the royal seraglio. Tootee, who, from her profession must, in her earlier years, have been seen by many, is said to have been of an elegant and delicate form, with a fine voice, and a face that indicated feeling and intelligence. She gained the heart of her royal lover, and, according to fame, gave him all her own in return. While she lived, others were neglected: but this fair flower soon drooped and died. The grief of the king was excessive. He directed her to be interred near the shrine of the holy shah, Abdool Azeem, which is within five miles of the capital. His visits to this shrine have, since this event, become more frequent than before; whether they are from respect to the remains of the saint, or from fond regret of his beloved Tootee, cannot be determined; but he is often observed to sit upon her tomb in the apparent enjoyment of a melancholy pleasure.'—*Sketches*, vol. ii. p. 149.

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To us, Persia appears infinitely the most interesting country of Asia. No part of the national institutions are worn out. The Toorkish king's government, (we use the word Toorkish in distinction from Turkish,) his court, his army, and his people, are entire; the degree in which the energies or weaknesses of the social organization may be displayed, will be determined by the character of the reigning sovereign, and the condition of the neighbouring states; bnt the means that enabled Nadir Shah to reach Delhi as a conqueror, remain, with little diminution, to this day in the hands of Futteh Allee Shah. Persia, in this view, differs from Turkey: the latter empire is bound together merely by religious feelings; there is no character to be called strictly national, there is, properly speaking, no *national* literature—no body of local recollections still familiar, though lost as to foundation in the fabulous ages of antiquity. The Osmanlis are Mahommedans and soldiers, and they have been conquerors, but they are not a nation. The Persians, on the contrary, possess abundantly all the characteristics of a separate and an ancient people. Roostum is as much the model of heroes, and Jumsheed of monarchs, among the modern as the ancient Persians; and most probably the lovers of national traditions and legendary lore will be of opinion that the habitual recitations from popular tales and poems by all classes in Persia, have given its principal interest and value to the work before us. In fact, the Persians may be described as lovers of literature. We learn from these Sketches, that allusions to the works of Sâdee, the odes of Hafiz, and to the Shah-nameh of Firdoosee, form such frequent topics of conversation in society, that a want of acquaintance with such authors would reflect quite as much discredit upon a Persian gentleman as the ignorance of Pope or Shakspeare would upon a person of corresponding rank in England.

The gorgeous equipment and numerous suite which formerly belonged to embassies in Europe were surpassed by the retinue of an Eelchee, such as our author accompanied, from the Governor-general of India: he had—besides the usual attendance of secretaries, English and Persian—his master of the horse, his master of the chase, a chief muleteer and chief tent-pitcher, a chief running footman, besides hosts of grooms and footmen, both running and for service at table. The mules to carry his baggage amounted to hundreds, while the horses for state or travel were but little less numerous. As soon as he had landed at Muscat, the Arabs poured in from the neighbouring villages to sell their horses; the serving men hastened from the other side of the mountains to obtain places in his household or stables; the nobles at the viceregal court of Shiraz, aware of the well-filled chests and treasury

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treasury of the Indian Eelchee, intrigued for the honour of the Mihmandaree, or charge of the diplomatic guest: poets, too, of which there are no lack in Persia, looked through their rhyming repositories for votive offerings to the wealthy stranger. In short, from the Shahzadu (or king's son) to the peasant, all in the provinces of Delishistan and Fars were aroused into activity and pleasing expectation. If the attendance of the Eelchee was in a style of feudal magnificence, his amusements were of the same character. These consisted of hunting and hawking; and the combination of hawks and dogs in catching the antelope is thus amusingly described:—

'The huntsmen proceed to a large plain, or rather desert, near the sea-side; they have hawks and greyhounds, the former carried in the usual manner—on the hand of the huntsman; the latter led in a leash by a horseman, generally the same who carries the hawk. When the antelope is seen, they endeavour to get as near as possible; but the animal, the moment it observes them, goes off at a rate that seems swifter than the wind; the horsemen are instantly at full speed, having slipped the dogs. If it is a single deer, they at the same time fly the hawks; but if a herd, they wait till the dogs have fixed on a particular antelope. The hawks, skimming along near the ground, soon reach the deer, at whose head they pounce in succession, and sometimes with a violence that knocks it over. At all events they confuse the animal so much as to stop its speed in such a degree that the dogs can come up; and in an instant men, horses, dogs, and hawks surround the unfortunate deer, against which their united efforts have been combined. The part of the chase that surprised me most was the extraordinary combination of the hawks and dogs, which throughout seemed to look to each other for aid. This, I was told, was the result of long and skilful training.'—vol. i. p. 52.

It is, however, impossible to travel far in these regions without having more painful matters forced upon our attention. The punishments inflicted in Persia, either in the course of judicial process or individual vengeance, have a character of cruelty revolting to every human feeling; and yet this barbarism can scarcely be deemed peculiar to Persia, but rather belongs to a state of society to be found in the history of the feudal monarchies of Europe. Amongst these barbarous punishments deprivation of sight appears to be reserved chiefly for persons of high rank, and for political occasions; while the bastinado, or, as it is termed in the Persian idiom, Nakhoon puroondun, 'making the toe-nails fly,' is common to all classes, and all offences, from petty larceny to embezzlement of the revenue. The bastinado is also used, as the thumbscrews were of old among ourselves, to quicken the tardy discharge into the royal coffers of individual wealth, extortionately or illegally acquired. In the case of Reza Kooli Khan,

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vol. i. p. 89, who, as governor of the district and town of Kazeroon, met our Eelchee on his journey to Sheeraz, loss of sight appears to have materially contributed to his personal security and comfort. His official situation was, indeed, due to his sufferings in the cause of the reigning family, but he himself thus attributes the stability of his fortunes to his blindness:—

'Here I am in affluence, and enjoying a repose to which men who can see are in this country perfect strangers. If there is a deficiency of revenue, or any real or alleged cause, for which another governor would be removed, beaten, or put to death, the king says, "Never mind, it is poor blind Reza Kooli; let him alone." So you observe, Eelchee, that I have no reason to complain, being, in fact, better defended from misfortune, by the loss of my two eyes, than I could be by the possession of twenty of the clearest in Persia.'—vol. i. pp. 91.

The next dignitary whom our Eelchee encounters must also detain us for a moment. Mahomed Reza Khan, with whom our author had become acquainted in 1800, and who, then at the age of sixty-eight, was consuming daily a quantity of opium, which, in the opinion of the physician of the mission, was enough 'to poison thirty persons unaccustomed to that drug,'—this very gentleman comes out to meet the envoy on his second mission, with all the briskness of a young cavalier, (vol. i. p. 95,) having augmented the dose four-fold, laughing at the predictions of the Frank doctor, and presenting, at near eighty years of age, a very seductive instance of the pleasing effects of opium on the human constitution. It is much to be regretted that our author did not ascertain the number of grains contained in the handful of pills, which the old nobleman, with all the audacity of a veteran toper, crammed into his mouth, in order that the solid dose of the Persian might have been compared with the liquid one of the English Opium-eater.

We may now pass on to Sheeraz, the capital of the province of Fars, or Persia Proper, called by the Persians Darool Ilm, or seat of learning, and the most interesting city in the kingdom. Near it are the tombs of Hafiz and Sâdee, the two most popular poets and moralists of Persia: its inhabitants are distinguished for their learning and courage; the fragrance and abundance of its roses are only equalled by the beauty of its women, and the melodious chaunts of its nightingales. Although the luxuriant and exquisite produce of its vineyards be left to the manipulation of a few wretched Armenians, the wine of Sheeraz, which excited the imagination of the mystic Hafiz, has acquired a reputation at the tables of Europe. Being the residence of one of the king's sons, who is viceroy of the province, and whose court is modelled upon that of Tehraun, Sheeraz has very naturally been a scene of much diplomatic importance to English Eelchees; and it is here that our author

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author represents himself as having been drilled, with the rest of the gentlemen of the mission, 'in the important science denominated the "kaidûe nishest o barkhaust," or the art of sitting and rising,'—by the bye, no easy practice, there being no chairs for tight-pantalooned Europeans. The Eelchee was himself an adept in this 'important science,' and upon his authority we are informed that—

'The regulations of our risings and standings, and movings and reseatings were, however, of comparative less importance than the time and manner of smoking our kelliâns* and taking our coffee. It is quite astonishing how much depends upon coffee and tobacco in Persia. Men are gratified or offended, according to the mode in which these favourite refreshments are offered. You welcome a visiter, or send him off, by the way in which you call for a pipe and a cup of coffee. Then you mark, in the most minute manner, every shade of attention and consideration, by the mode in which he is treated. If he be above you, you present these refreshments yourself; and if a little below you, and you wish to pay him attention, you leave him to smoke his own pipe, but the servant gives him, according to your condescending nod, the first cup of coffee. If much inferior, you keep your distance, and maintain your rank by taking the first cup of coffee yourself, and then, directing the servant by a wave of the hand, to help the guest. When a visiter arrives, the coffee and pipe are called for to welcome him; a second call for these articles announces that he may depart, but this part of the ceremony varies according to the relative rank and intimacy of the parties.'—vol. i. p. 120.

Our readers will, perhaps, not regret to have the forms of salutation in words added to this kelliân practice, and we, therefore, on the unpublished authority of another traveller, here add them. The first expression addressed to the visiter of high, but equal rank, is—'you have exalted me;' the second, as he advances further into the room, 'you have adorned me;' as he is about to sit down, 'you have undergone much trouble;' when seated, 'is your condition happy?' and lastly, a second anxious inquiry, 'do you experience no uneasiness?' Then commence the kelliân manœuvres, followed by coffee.

It may well be imagined that as the place of sitting on any public occasion is a matter of high importance in Persia, nearness to the prince was the criterion of respect at Sheeraz; and our author gives an animated description of the deceptious proceeding of the prince's minister, in regard to the Eelchee's seat at his first audience. It had been covenanted that the Eelchee's right thigh was to rest on the edge of the felt carpet upon which the prince sat. The master of the ceremonies, with the connivance of the minister, interposed his own person between the Eelchee and the felt carpet: the latter

* Kelliân is the Persian pipe.

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was too polished a courtier to struggle for his right at the moment, but his indignation was expressed afterwards so forcibly, as to produce a most humble apology from the minister, and the more important concession to the Eelchee of resting his thigh, not upon the edge, but upon the very felt itself, at the next interview. On receiving this satisfaction, the Eelchee employed the pen of his accomplished Persian secretary, Meerza Aga Meer, to express to the minister 'that everything disagreeable was erased from the tablet of the memory of the Eelchee, on which nothing was now written but the golden leaves of amity and concord.' But our author, who, however much he admired the Eelchee's knowledge of oriental ceremonial and justifiable tenacity on points of etiquette, appears to be by no means a formal personage himself, is anxious to rescue the Persians from the imputation of habitual gravity and ceremoniousness.—

'It must not be supposed (says he) from what has been stated, that the Persians are all grave, formal persons. They are the most cheerful people in the world, and they delight in familiar conversation; and every sort of recreation appears, like that of children, increased by those occasional restraints to which their customs condemn them. They contrive every means to add to the pleasures of the social hours; and, as far as society can be agreeable, divested of its chief ornament, females, it is to be met with in this country. Princes, chiefs, and officers of state, while they pride themselves, and with justice, on their superior manners, use their utmost efforts to make themselves pleasant companions. Poets, historians, astrologers, wits, and reciters of stories and fables, who have acquired eminence, are not only admitted to the first circles, but honoured. It is not uncommon to see a nobleman of high rank give precedence to a man of wit and letters, who is expected to amuse and instruct the company; and the latter, confident in those acquirements to which he owes his distinction, shows, by his manner and observations, that usage has given him a right to the place he occupies.'—vol. i. p. 127.

The vicinity of the tombs of Hafiz and Sâdee, and the residence of the mission at the classic city of Persia, naturally suggest to the author a disquisition on Persian literature, and more especially on the claim of the Persian nation to originality in the composition of fairy tales and moral apologues. He decides in favour of the superior claims of the Sanscrit fabulists and novelists; but as the Sanscrit language remains, while the Pehlivi, or ancient Persian, has, with the exception of a few words to be found in the Shah-nameh and other ancient poems, disappeared, we think there are not sufficient grounds for an affirmative decision. Similarity of incident will not determine the question; for the human imagination has, in the East and West, peopled the air, the woods, the desert, and the mountains, with the same species of beings: the jins, the deevs, the ghouls of Persia, are the fairies,

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fairies, the giants, and the ogres of our fairy legends and chivalric romances. Magicians have also played their part with equal probability and activity in Asia and in Europe: if they have disappeared in the latter, and retain their dominion in the former, the explanation is to be found in the comparative state of society and knowledge. On the whole, therefore, the parent source of these amusing fictions is to be found in the universal characteristics of the human mind, which, when it has advanced beyond the first necessities of social life, seeks to derive gratification from the livelier powers of the intellect: every scene is then peopled with imaginary beings—bodily strength, power of locomotion, command over the elements, exceeding those of mankind, are conferred upon these beings; but man, being the painter, as in the fable, he is still, in some splendid instances, victorious over these combinations. Thus, as is observed by the author of the 'Sketches,' Hercules and Roostum have succession of labours to encounter and overcome—monsters to destroy, and opposing hosts to annihilate by the club of the one, or the mace of the other.

In the literature of Persia, the poem of the Shah-nameh, or Book of Kings, occupies the first place, and our author observes—

'No translation in verse can convey to the mere English reader any just impression of the whole poem of the Shah-nameh. The idiom in which it is written, and the allusions and metaphors with which it abounds, are too foreign to our language and taste to admit of success in such an undertaking; but a prose translation of this great work is a desideratum, and select passages might bear a poetical form. He, however, who attempts such a task, will not be successful, unless possessed of a genius that raises him above the mechanical effort of a versifier. If ever such a translator devote himself to the beauties of this poem, he will find much to gratify himself and others.'—vol. ii. p. 95.

The description of the battle recited by Joozee Bey, and translated in page 206, vol. i., certainly gives a very fair specimen of the general style of Firdoosee, and does much to encourage the undertaking recommended by the author; and we have no hesitation in saying, that a prose translation of the Shah-nameh would be more interesting to European readers, than the extravagant achievements of Antar. Whatever may be the relative merits assigned to the Persian poet in the western world, the practice of reciting his verses before engaging in battle, proves that he enjoys as high a reputation among his countrymen as the poets of ancient Greece, or the bards of northern Europe. He is the Homer of the Persians, and his verses are as familiar among the military class, as if their preservation depended merely upon oral tradition. We will conclude our remarks upon Firdoosee by quoting a passage

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sage from our author, in which another species of merit is assigned to him :—

'It is only justice to this great poet, to observe, that the exuberance of his fertile imagination, though it led him to amplify and adorn his subject, never made him false to the task he had undertaken,—that of embodying in his great work all that remained of the fabulous and historical traditions and writings of his country. We cannot have a stronger proof of his adherence to this principle than his passing over, almost in silence, the four centuries which elapsed between the death of Alexander the Great and the rise of Ardesheer, or Artaxerxes, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty. Adverting to the history of the Parthian kings, he observes, when both their root and branches ceased to flourish, their deeds remained unrecorded by any unexperienced historian; and nothing but their names have I either heard or perused in the annals of the King of Persia.'—vol. i. p. 234.

As it is not our purpose to advert to Persian authors, except such as are noticed in the work before us, we shall confine our remarks to Sâdee and Hafiz. Of the first, Khan Sahib, an Indian gentleman, of Persian family, and attached to the mission as *companion to the envoy*, observes, vol. ii. p. 97,—

'Sâdee has, as you state, a great reputation in Persia; but it is rather as a wise man, and a moralist, than a poet. He seeks by fiction to adorn, not encumber truth; and the admiration of the reader is invariably given to the sentiment more than to the language in which it is clothed. As a proof,' continued my friend, 'that this is just, let us take two stanzas. In the first of these, Sâdee thus describes himself:—

'"The snows of age rest upon my head,
Yet my disposition still makes me young."

'In these lines, marked as they are by simplicity and beauty, the thought, not the expression, is what we most admire. In the second, when addressing sovereigns, he says,—

'"Be merciful, and learn to conquer without an army.
Seize upon the hearts of mankind, and be the world's conqueror."

'The boldness and sublimity of the lesson, conveyed in this couplet, predominates over the poetry, and this is the case through the works of Sâdee.'

Meerza Aga Meer, who has every right to be considered as a Persian gentleman and scholar, being asked by the envoy:—

'"Have you no laws but the Koran, and the traditions upon that volume?" replies, "We have the maxims of Sâdee; were I to judge from my own observations, I should say, that these stories and maxims, which are known to all, from the king to the peasant, have as full as great an effect in restraining the arbitrary and unjust exercise of power as the laws of the prophet."'—vol. i. p. 132.

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The work of Sâdee that is most known to European readers, is the Goolistan, or Rose-Garden, consisting of short tales, anecdotes, and apologues, interspersed with epigrams in verse. These epigrams are constantly quoted in familiar conversation, and, indeed, many epigrams are given in quotation to Sâdee, that are not to be met with in the Goolistan, or even the Kooleeyat, a general collection of his works. Sâdee, in the species of composition upon which his talents have been employed, may challenge competition with any writer of the East. The following apologue is a fair specimen of his graver style :—

'One day, as I was in the bath, a friend of mine put into my hand a piece of scented clay. I took it, and said to it, Art thou musk or ambergris, for I am charmed with thy perfume? It answered, I was a despicable piece of clay, but I was some time in company of the rose; the sweet quality of my companion was communicated to me, otherwise I should be only a bit of clay, as I appear to be.'—vol. i. p. 159. and the epigram, quoted by Hajee Hoosein,—'Alas, for him that's gone, and has not done his work. The drum for mounting has sounded, and he has not made up his load'—(p. 216,) as applied to eastern manners, happily illustrates the danger of negligence in discharging the active duties of life.*

The merits of Hafiz, the other poet whose tomb contributes to give a character of classic locality to Sheeraz, are thus compared by our author, with those of Sâdee :—

'How different are the sweet musical strains of Hafiz, whose fame rests upon the creative fancy of his imagination, and the easy flow of his numbers! He delights us by the very scorn with which he rejects all sobriety of thought, and all continuity of subject. As a poet, he is one of the first favourites of his countrymen, whose enthusiastic admiration is given to passages in his works that your taste would condemn; for instance, when referring to the fiction, which relates that the tulip first sprung up in the soil which was moistened with the blood of Ferdâh, the celebrated lover of Sheereen, he says,—

'"Perhaps the tulip feared the evils of destiny,
Thence while it lives, it bears the wine goblet on its stalk."—

'"Hafiz," said Khan Sahib, "has the singular good fortune of being alike praised by saints and sinners. His odes are sung by the

* It will be observed, that we have not exactly followed the translation of this epigram by our author. The Arabic word, 'rihlet,' which he has rendered by 'departure,' literally means, loading or mounting a camel, and is, therefore, particularly applicable here, as the whole point of the epigram consists in the comparison of the sudden close of an ill-spent life, to the state of the traveller who is found unprepared, when the rest of the caravan are actually mounting their camels. Our author has, we conceive, fallen into an error, not uncommon to translators from oriental writers, who, in the belief that idiomatic expressions and epithets would be unintelligible or distasteful to their readers, substitute others destructive of the peculiar character, and often, as in this instance, of the force of the original.

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young and the joyous, who, by taking them in the literal sense, find nothing but an excitement to pass the spring of life in the enjoyment of the world's luxuries: while the contemplative sage, considering this poet as a religious enthusiast, attaches a mystical meaning to every line, and repeats his odes as he would an orison."'

The truth is, that Hafiz, like Horace, wrote odes on various subjects, amatory, moral, convivial, and local, and the probable reason for a mystical meaning being attached to his compositions, is, that his praise of wine is too special, if literally taken, to admit of his being quoted or admired by any orthodox Mahomedan. From the variety of subjects upon which the odes have been composed, his works are admirably adapted for decision by lot, and the instance given, by which the dispute as to whether the character of his works did not exclude the poet himself from religious burial, is fortunately chosen.—'The volume of odes was produced, and it was opened by a person whose eyes were bound; seven pages were counted back, when the heaven-directed finger pointed to one of his inspired stanzas:—

'"Withdraw not your steps from the obsequies of Hafiz:
Though immersed in sin he will rise into paradise."

'The admirers of the poet shouted with delight, and those who had doubted, joined in carrying his remains to a shrine near Shiraz, where, from that day to this, his tomb is visited by pilgrims of all classes and ages.'—vol. ii. p. 101.

The great Latin poet has said,—

'Exegi monumentum ære perennius,
Non omnis moriar; multaque pars mei,
Vitabit Libitinam.'

And Hafiz, with the same confidence of genius, thus claims lasting fame for his works.

'Blythely sing, oh Hafiz; you have uttered odes, you have strung pearls, and Heaven has encircled you with the crown of the Pleiades.'

He is unquestionably the Horace of the East, and notwithstanding the difference of national manners, and consequent difference of poetic illustration, he is the oriental writer with whose works a European scholar will most wish to become familiar.

Our author has given two specimens of prose composition, the one an extract from the History of the Kaianian Dynasty, and the other, a translation of the preamble to the treaty, concluded by Sir John Malcolm: the former remarkable for simplicity of style and description; and the latter overwhelmed with wordiness and bad taste. This latter style, we are told, is called the Rungeen Ibazut, or florid composition, and is the style of all official correspondence and state-papers. If a knowledge of the ceremonial of 'sitting down and getting up' be essential to a diplomatist in Persia,

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Persia, a familiarity with the gradations of epistolary compositions is equally so: whether a letter addressed to a foreign envoy be styled 'Rukm,' or a 'Moorasila,' determines whether he be considered the representative of an equal or inferior potentate; and we recommend the preamble of the treaty to the perusal of our readers, for the reason assigned by the author.

'This preamble is not less remarkable for its flowery diction than for the art by which it saves the dignity of the King of Persia from the appearance of treating with any one below the rank of a monarch. It is also curious to observe, that, after introducing the King of England, how skilfully he is limited to an undisputed sovereignty of the seas, that his power may not clash with that of the mighty Khoosroo of the day, "whose saddle is the moon, and whose stirrup is the new moon" in his dominion over the earth.'—vol. i. p. 157.

In the philosophical, or rather metaphysical, works of the Persians, a logical severity and precision of style is affected; but clearness is unfortunately lost from the abstruseness and mysticism with which all subjects relating to the intellectual faculties are uniformly treated. It may be satisfactory or mortifying, as the case may be, to know that there is scarcely a metaphysical mystery belonging to Europe, that has not found an original author or expounder in the colleges of Persia.

The readers of the 'Sketches' will, however, feel most interest in the oral narrative style of the Persians. The story-tellers of Persia may be classed with the improvvisatori of Italy; and the degree in which Derveesh Suffer commanded the attention of English gentlemen ignorant of the Persian language, proves him to have been a great master in his art.

'Two gentlemen rose to leave the party, when he was commencing; he asked the cause of their departure; "They do not understand Persian," I said. "That is of no consequence," he replied; "entreat them to stay, and they will soon find that their ignorance of the language does not place them beyond my power." His wishes were explained, and the result proved he was correct; they were nearly as much entertained as others, and had their feelings almost equally excited; such was his admirable expression of countenance, and so varied the intonations of his voice.'—vol. i. p. 199.

Our readers will, we think, agree with us that the tales of Abdallah of Khorasan, Hajee Saleh the ill-tempered, and Ahmed the cobler, introduced into these volumes, justify the estimation in which such men as Derveesh Suffer, and Moollah Udeenah, the royal story-teller, are held by the Persians, amongst whom the scarcity and scanty diffusion of daily literature, the exclusion of women from mixed society, and the state of general civilization must greatly limit the topics of conversation and sources of intellectual

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lectual amusement. It therefore appears, that amongst all classes the professional story-teller finds an occupation and a livelihood; —and assuredly the task of Moollah Udeenah is most arduous— he has to amuse a well-read and fastidious monarch during long journies on horseback; repetition, probably, will be seldom tolerated; and the tale must be suited to the varying temperament of the royal listener. Moollah Udeenah has no sinecure, and as, up to our author's acquaintance with him, he continued in high favour, we may safely ascribe to him a fertility of invention and of memory, scarcely surpassed by the fair Sheherzade.

Before we dismiss the literature of Persia, and its connexion with the court, we must allude to the king's Poet, or, as he is styled, the King of Poets: his duties much exceed that of an European laureate. One birth-day ode will not entitle him to his salary and perquisites; his duty is to record in heroic verse the events of each year of his majesty's reign; he is, moreover, in frequent attendance, to transpose into verse the various conceits of the royal imagination. In addition to all this, it is expected that he should satisfy the royal taste by original compositions on all the various topics to which poetry can be applied; and of the suddenness of the calls made upon him we will give the following instance, from a manuscript journal in our possession. The king of Persia, on the first day of his occupying a room, the sides of which had been entirely covered with mirrors, commanded his poet instantly to make a distich in praise of the apartment. The royal order was obeyed, and a distich to the following effect was recited:—

'Why, O room, art thou more celebrated than the palace of Cæsar or Jemsheed?'

'Because thou reflectest on all sides the person of the King of Kings.'

Who can deny that this happy effort of genius well deserved that the poet's mouth should be stuffed with sugar-candy, as is described by Hajji Baba, on a similar occasion? But it is time to leave Sheeraz.—

'Nine splendidly dressed Jelloodârs, or grooms, under the direction of a Meer Akhoor, or master of the horse, led nine beautiful horses, richly caparisoned, with saddles and bridles finely ornamented with gold and silver. Next came eight Shâtirs, or running-footmen, dressed in tunics of yellow cloth, trimmed with silver; and then the Eelchee and suite, followed by a large escort of cavalry, with kettle-drums and trumpets. On the flanks of this state-line of march were all kind of Meerzâs, or secretaries, and attendants. Amongst the most essential of the latter were the Paish-Khidmets, or personal servants, who prepared kelliâns, or pipes, for the Eelchee and the gentlemen of his train. These were mounted, and carried before them

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them, fixed like holsters, two large cases, which contained their kelliâns, and all the implements thereto appertaining. The most extraordinary part of their equipment was two small iron chaffing-dishes filled with charcoal, which hung by chains, dangling below their stirrups. From these grates they lighted the kelliân, which they held in their hands, presenting their masters with the end of a long pliant tube, through which the latter smoked, while the Paish-Kidmets rode a few paces in the rear.'—vol. i. p. 208.

Such was the cavalcade with which the mission left Sheeraz and journeyed through the country. Foreign ambassadors being considered in Persia the guests of the monarch, provisions are supplied, not at the royal expense, but by the inhabitants of the villages through which they may pass, and the alarm at the approach of this numerous retinue must have been proportionately great. In the case of our friend the Eelchee, it was unfounded, as he not only declined receiving the seeoorsat, or travelling provisions, but paid for the porterage of the costly mirrors and other presents from the governor-general to the king of Persia. Deserved popularity was acquired by this conduct, and at Akleed the Eelchee was gratified by the honest expression of the general satisfaction from the old chronicler of the village.

'Akleed (says our author) is situated in a beautiful valley, surrounded by hills, and watered by clear rivulets. The gardens and groves in this town and its vicinity give it an inviting appearance to a traveller in Persia; which, with the exception of Mazenderan and other provinces on the Caspian, may generally be described as an arid country, without one great river, and few perennial streams.'

We have selected this passage, as containing a brief and correct description of the general face of the country in Persia. Plains partially covered with scanty pasturage, separated from each other by equally ill-clothed mountains, with an occasional intervening valley like Akleed—such is the present aspect of Persia, and such are the local circumstances that have determined so large a portion of her population to a pastoral life. The absence of great rivers renders extended cultivation and condensation of inhabitants dependent upon aqueducts, requiring great labour to form, and constant attention to keep up. Persia, however, since the good days of the Suffavean dynasty, has, except during the reign of the present king, been so constantly the theatre of civil war, that there has been no leisure for internal improvement; and as the security of the monarch still depends upon the obedience and numbers of the Eelyats, or pastoral tribes, who constitute the military population, and whose habits are incompatible with the steady pursuit either of agriculture or commerce, there is little motive, even if the inclination existed, to give active encouragement

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encouragement to the arts of peace. The very selection of Tehraun, instead of the storied and famed Isfahan, for the residence of the sovereign, is no trifling proof how much direct and frequent intercourse with, and controul over, the military tribes, are preferred to beauty of situation, fertility of country, and even royal magnificence. 'Nothing (says our author) can exceed in beauty and fertility the country in the vicinity of Isfahan, and the first appearance of that city is very imposing. All that is noble meets the eye; the groves, avenues, and spreading orchards, with which it abounds, concealing the ruins of this once-famed capital. A nearer view, however, dispels the illusion; but still much remains of wealth, if not of splendour, and, were I so disposed, I might write a volume on its beautiful environs, its palaces splendid even in decay, its college with massy gates of silver, its magnificent bridges, its baths, its arched bazars, its fountains, its far-famed river Zindeh-rood, and the gardens on its banks, shaded with lofty sycamores, and filled with every flower and fruit of the temperate zone.'—vol. ii. p. 250.—Tehraun, on the contrary, appeared to him to offer little to the view, that was either grand or pleasing. The palace alone attracted any portion of his admiration. It is, however, well situated for watching the whole line of military tribes which are in periodical movement, from the shores of the Caspian to the frontiers of the Turkish dominions, and which, combined with the poverty of the country, are the defence of Persia against foreign attack or conquest.—Notwithstanding the absence of the court, and the depopulation of a great portion of the city, Isfahan is still the first city in the kingdom. According to our author, its inhabitants are 'active and industrious;' they are considered the best manufacturers and the worst soldiers in Persia. Of their ready wit he relates the following anecdote.

'Some years ago, this city was governed by a brother of the celebrated Hajee Ibrahim, whose family at that time held several of the first offices in the kingdom, and I heard that minister tell the Eelchee the following anecdote:—A shopkeeper, he said, went to his brother to represent that he could not pay an impost: "You must pay it, like others," said the governor, "or leave the city." "Where can I go?" asked the man; "To Shiraz, or Cashan."—"Your nephew rules one city and your brother the other."—"Go to the king, and complain, if you like."—"Your brother, the hajee, is prime-minister."—"Then go to hell!" said the enraged governor.—"Hajee Merhoom, the pious pilgrim, your father, is dead," retorted the undaunted Isfahânee." "My friend," said the governor, bursting into a laugh, "I will pay the impost myself, since you declare my family keeps you from all redress, both in this world and the next."'—vol. i. p. 255.

Our author, in describing the sensation produced by the arrival of the mission at Isfahan, talks loosely of the more than

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half of its two hundred thousand inhabitants, that 'poured forth in the gayest attire' to the 'istikbal,' or meeting with the Eelchee. Mr. Morier, in his graver work, and upon data derived from the daily consumption of animal food, estimates the population at sixty-thousand—only one-sixth of the amount stated by Chardin. That such may be the actual difference is exceedingly probable, from the fact that at least four-fifths of the space within the walls are now uninhabited. Foreign conquest by the Afghans, and civil war, during the struggle for the throne, after the death of Nadir Shah, have left only melancholy ruins of that splendour and wealth which made Isfahan the first city in Asia, during the reign of Shah Abbas. We, however, learn from modern travellers that the bazars are still very extensive, and that they are covered in for an extent of two miles. The government of this city and of the neighbouring districts is an office of great trust, and is of special importance, from the superior productiveness of the revenue, as compared with the rest of Persia. Shah Abbas, as we learn from our author, was so strictly the contemporary of the former prosperity of Isfahan, that every ancient palace, college, mosque, caravansera, and bridge, has some reference to his person or court. The late second minister at the court of Tehraun, Hajee Mahommed Hoossein, bears an equally conspicuous part in the modern circumstances of the city and province. This minister was originally a small shopkeeper at Isfahan, and by his industry and talent succeeded in accumulating the means of purchasing his way through the various gradations of municipal employment to those of Governor of the province (Beglerbeg) and Finance minister. The permanency of the royal favour towards him has been secured by the productiveness of the revenue under his government, and the largeness of his personal offerings to the Shah. Our author, after adverting to the marvellous story of the two mules loaded with treasure, which strayed into Hajee Mahomed Hoossein's yard, while still a private individual, and the detention of which furnished the capital for his future acquisitions, thus describes him:—

'Hajji Mahomed Hoossein is a man of great simplicity of manners, and neither has, nor pretends to, any of that wit or brilliancy in conversation, for which many of the Persians are so distinguished. He is rather dull in company, and appears what he really is, a plain man of business. A friend of mine one day breakfasting with him, was surprised to hear him say to a poor man who brought a pair of slippers to sell, "Sit down, my honest friend, and take your breakfast; we will bargain about the slippers afterwards." This admission of inferiors to their society at meals is not, however, uncommon with men of rank in Persia. It arises out of a sense of the sacred duties of hospitality,

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tality, and out of parade, if they have not the reality of that humility so strongly inculcated in the Koran. Besides, their character and condition often disposes them to relax with those beneath them, and even with menial servants, whom they admit to a familiarity, which at first view appears contradictory to those impressions we have of their haughty character.'—vol. ii. p. 184.

The rise of individuals in Persia from the lowest to the highest station in society is, however, by no means so common in Persia as in Turkey. The circumstance of the king's being the chief of one of the great military tribes has given a feudal character to his court; and the great offices of the household and army are generally filled either by the chiefs themselves, or by some distinguished members of the tribes. The council of ministers, on the other hand, is composed of well-educated Meerzas, or civilians; and the ignorance which Mr. Morier attributes to Hajjee Mahomed Hoossein was a peculiarity, redeemed by his general ability and financial talents.

Cashan, the principal city between Isfahan and Tehraun, is remarkable for the size and renown of its scorpions, the cowardice of its inhabitants, and the skill of its silk weavers. May you be stung by a scorpion of Cashan! we are told by our author, is a common malediction in Persia; but its consequences are quite national, as the courteous scorpions do not, according to the learned Ameen Ragee, in the 'Huft Ukleem, or seven climates,' molest strangers. Our author gives the Persian cosmographer the benefit of the circumstance that the whole party left Cashan without being stung, but leaves a fact in natural history, so susceptible of doubt, to future and more scientific travellers. While the citizens of Shiraz are noted for their bravery and literary taste, and the Isfahanees for their cunning disputations, the Cashanees appear to be so pre-eminent in cowardice, as to have a place in history on that account:

—'When Nadir Shah returned from India, he published a proclamation, permitting the followers of his army to return to their homes. It is narrated that thirty thousand of those who belonged to Cashan and Isfahan, applied to this monarch for a guard of a hundred musketeers to escort them safe to their wives and children. "Cowards," exclaimed he, in a fury, "would I were a robber again, for the sake of waylaying and plundering you all! Is not my success a miracle," said he, to those around him, "with such a set of dastards in my camp?'"

An anecdote, however, follows of individual courage, which justifies the conclusion come to by the narrator, Mahomed Khan Burgashatee, that—'it is possible the son of a weaver, if properly brought up, may be a brave man: nevertheless, (adds this candid person,) there can be no doubt these silk manufactories give bad habits, and spoil many a good soldier.'—vol. ii. p. 4.

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The Burgashatee, though otherwise a good and respectable man, had obviously very imperfect notions on subjects of political economy, and the comparative productiveness of the different classes of society. He naturally belonged to the landed interest, and the *philosopher* will readily recognise in his indifference to the encouragement of manufactures, the same narrow and prejudiced views that impose the painful necessity of so many long speeches and longer pamphlets in our own country.

Many of our readers must have become familiar with the Turkomans, or Turcomans, (as the name is variously written,) from the capture and residence of Hajji Baba amongst those plunderers. The accuracy of his description will be confirmed by the lamentations of the inhabitant of the village of Sinsin, one of the few survivors of the last foray, and by the blunt communications of Rahman Beg, the Turkoman horse-dealer.—(Vide vol. ii. p. 9—27.) The modern Turkomans can scarcely be said to be consolidated under any one government: they are rather an aggregation of independent tribes, possessing a common language, common usages, and, still more, a common disposition to plunder all persons and places within a twelve or fifteen days' ride, at a rate of near one hundred miles a day. A sort of spiritual superiority is, however, admitted in the prince at Bokhara. The late prince, Beggee Jan, exercised an authority over the Turkomans, very analogous to that possessed by Mahomed over the Arabs. With the pretensions of a religious instructor, and the habits of an ascetic, he had the powers of a sovereign; and his son, who endeavoured to retain the latter, without submitting to the irksomeness of the former, has run great risks of losing the inheritance and influence bequeathed to him by his father. It is a curious fact, as stated by Mr. Morier, that the revenue of this spiritual prince is derived from a capitation tax, levied on five hundred Jew families, resident at Bokhara. The principal Turkoman tribes on the frontier of Persia, are the Yamut, (to which Rahman Beg belonged,) and the Guklan, consisting of from eight to ten thousand families. Mr. Morier, who visited Astrabad, and who, therefore, had the best means of obtaining correct information, describes the Turkomans, not only as breeders of horses and cattle, but as great collectors of corn, so much so, as to supply any deficiency of the season in the neighbouring provinces of Charasan. We, however, suppose that our present author's acquaintance, Rahman Beg, did not belong to the agricultural class, as his communications turned upon forays, war-songs, and the usual complaints of modern degeneracy, and the growth of quiet peasant-like habits.*

Although

* He gives the following account of the preparations for a distant foray:—'Before proceeding

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Although the inroads of the Turkomans have, from the cessation of struggles for the crown, been less frequent during the reign of the present Shah, these tribes of plunderers continue a source of constant apprehension. The news of war from without, or of commotion within, becomes an immediate bond of union among the Turkomans, who, under such circumstances, are ever ready to convert insulated or trifling forays into one combined and general attack upon the Persian territory and property. And, no doubt, the knowledge of this fact has had its share of influence in leading the Russian government to establish relations with the prince at Bokhara.

'The Turkomans,' says our author, 'are fond of music and dancing: the celebrated song of the Koor is chaunted when they go to battle, and is said to have a wonderful effect in exciting the courage of this rude race.' The burthen of this song, as communicated by Rahman Beg, is the wonderful history of the son of a poor blind man, who was the most successful bandit of his day, but who, though equal to a combat with hundreds, was, when opposed to thousands, compelled to rely on the fleetness of his horse Kerat for safety. The effect produced by such songs necessarily reminds us of the habits of the Scandinavian and Celtic ancestors of the nations of modern Europe; and the antiquarian and the philosopher may trace the similarity either to a common origin, or to the general principles of human nature, with data equally satisfactory for the maintenance of their respective positions.

It is to be regretted that our author has been so brief in his notice of the Eelyats, or wandering tribes of Persia. He says—'They are like the Turkomans, but somewhat less barbarous. They have often been described, and one good picture of this race serves for all, for they are little subject to change; and while every tradition, and every work on the ancient history of Persia, proves that many of its more southern inhabitants, particularly those of the mountains of Kerman and Looristan, have been Nomades, or wandering tribes, from time immemorial, we find, in the Turkish Eelyats, who have overrun the northern provinces, the language, the habits, and the appearance of the Tartar race to which they belong. The qualities most prized amongst these tribes, are courage in men and chastity in women. The females who dwell in tents wear no veils. They welcome

proceeding on a foray, they knead a number of small hard balls of barley-meal, which, when wanted, they soak in water, and this serves as food to both themselves and their horses. It is a frequent practice with them in crossing the deserts, where no water is to be found, to open a vein in the shoulder of the horse, and to drink a little blood; which, according to their opinion, benefits, rather than injures, the animal, while it refreshes the rider. On my appearing to doubt this fact, Rahman Beg showed me several old horses, on which there were numerous marks of having been bled; and he assured me that they never had recourse to phlebotomy, but on such occasions as have been stated.'—vol. ii. p. 19.

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strangers'; are very hospitable; and their manner, though confident, is by no means immodest.'

He adds an anecdote of boldness and skill in horsemanship in one of the young women, which proved her to be, in the language of the Persian Mehmandar, 'a soldier's daughter, worthy to be a mother of soldiers':—

'"Mount that horse," said the mehmander, pointing to one with a bridle, but without a saddle, "and show this European Eelchee the difference between a girl of a tribe and a citizen's daughter." She instantly sprung upon the animal, and setting off at full speed, did not stop till she had reached the summit of a small hill in the vicinity, which was covered with loose stones. When there, she waved her hand over her head, and came down the hill at the same rate at which she had ascended it. Nothing could be more dangerous than the ground over which she galloped; but she appeared quite fearless, and seemed delighted at having had an opportunity of vindicating the females of her tribe from the reproach of being like the ladies of cities.'—vol. ii. p. 21.

As the author has above observed, the Eelyats of the north and south of Persia date their occupancy of the country from different periods, the one very remote, the other comparatively recent. Our limits will not allow of our discussing the questionable assertion of our author, that those of the north have obviously a Tartar origin, especially as one of the proofs of that origin is said to be found in their features, which we, on the contrary, are well assured exhibit no difference from those of Europeans. The best division of these tribes appears to be into Toorkish and Persian, (properly so called,) the former ranging from the Caspian to Kurdistan, and the latter from the southern extremity of Persia to the borders of the Arabian Irak. The former may be said to be seated on the thrones of Istambol and Tehraun, while the royal pretensions of the latter have been eclipsed with the Zund family, in Persia. These southern or Persian tribes have not yet become reconciled to the rule of a Toorkish family, and the memory of Lootf Ulee Khan, the last of the Zund family who contended, with a chance of success, for the throne, still lives in the hearts of the tribes of Looristan; while his military achievements and romantic adventures mingle, in their traditions and songs, with the more ancient and fabulous exploits of Roostum and his son Sohrab. Rumours of internal commotions, or a foreign invasion, always find these tribes ready to shake off the yoke; and the good fortune or ability of Futteh Allee Shah has been in no instance more strongly displayed, than in controlling these hereditary feelings of disaffection. The connexion between a chief and the rest of an Eelyât tribe is precisely analogous to that which prevailed among the Highland clans of Scotland;

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land; and the visit which the Eelchee paid to his Mehmandar, Mihrab Khan Ufshar, (vol. ii. p. 83, *et seq.*) at the family strong-hold of Hashem, gave our author an opportunity of witnessing the domestic habits of a Persian chief. As, in the ancient times of the Highlands, plundering the neighbourhood is the most gratifying occupation, and the present settled state of the monarchy, which allows of no *lifting*, but by authority, was evidently matter of serious regret to Mihrab Khan, who, however, did not despair of seeing ere he died more troublous, and therefore better times, that would leave the defenceless peasantry at the mercy of his ruthless Afshars. Although the Eelyâts, as Mahomedans, avail themselves of the plurality of wives, and other licenses permitted by the Koran, great difference is made between the children of a noble and a plebeian mother. The issue of the former succeed to the chieftainship, while the latter are treated scarcely with more consideration than if positively illegitimate. The same conduct is observed in the royal tribe of Kajar; and the right of succession to the throne, vested in Abbas Meerza, in opposition to the claim of eldership in his half-brother, Mahomed Ali Meerza, was derived from the circumstance of the mother of the former being of the royal clan.

The 15th chapter of the 'Sketches' contains, in the form of a conversation between the author, Meerza Aga Meer, and Khan Sahib, a very interesting and amusing discussion on the comparative condition of women in Persia and England—the object of the two latter being to show, that neither seclusion from the public view, nor even plurality of wives, bring with them the degree of discomfort and absence of reasonable influence in the wife over the husband that might be expected. Meerza Aga Meer justly remarks, in regard to the seclusion of women, that the free admission to society so prized in England would, from the difference of habits and feeling, be deemed discreditable and inconvenient by women of character in Persia. The right to a share in the husband's property is fully secured to the wife, and the dower remains at her disposal: on the ground, therefore, that property brings influence, the Meerza contends that a full proportion has been assigned to the wife; and, in fact, when we compare the allusions of the Meerza and his companions, to the shrill tone of command often heard in a Persian family, with the description of the domestic life of the king's physician in Hajji Baba, the autocracy of the Mahomedan husband does seem to be reduced *almost* to the level of marital authority in Europe. Although the Mahomedan law allows great facility for divorce, we have the Meerza's authority for believing that divorces are 'very rare in Persia, it being deemed a greater scandal

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scandal for a man to put away his wife, than for a woman to be divorced. The reason is obvious; for, as the exposure of any circumstance, however trivial, relating to the 'anderoon,' or female apartments, is most cautiously avoided, the legal and public investigation which precedes a divorce must be proportionably distressing. We are told that—'The usual ground of such a proceeding is a sudden fit of passion or jealousy. When it happens that a husband wishes to recover his wife whom he had divorced in a passion, a convenient husband is sought; but the law forbids a mockery being made of such marriages. They may be short in duration, but the parties must live, during the period they are united, as man and wife.'—(vol. ii. p. 59.) And the amusing story of Hajji Salu Kej-Khoolk, 'or the cross-grained,' is introduced as illustrating the scrape into which an old and passionate divorcer may fall, if the temporary husband prove, as in the case of Omar, entirely satisfactory to the lady.—p. 62.

The city of Koom, which was visited by the author, contains the shrine of Fatima the Immaculate, the sister of Imaum Mehdee, one of the inspired and immediate descendants of Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomet. This shrine holds a high rank among the holy places, a pilgrimage to which the Persians, as followers of Ali, deem an act of acceptable devotion. The cupola of the tomb is richly gilt, and the interior is guarded and attended by a suitable number of priests. It is a sanctuary for the greatest criminals, and refuge is often taken there against the resentment of the Shah himself. Such places are also resorted to by chiefs of tribes, and other persons of rank, as an asylum against demands of military, or other public service, with which they are not disposed to comply. This has been the case recently with some chiefs, who were disinclined to encounter the hazards of the Russian war. From the privilege attached to these holy places, and from the respect with which the Sheik ool Islam, or chief of the religion, was deservedly treated by all classes at Shiraz, (vide 'Sketches,' vol. i.) together with the sanctity and authority attached to the position of a Moostuhid,* we may infer that, although the priesthood, or men of the law (for the terms are convertible among the Mahomedans), do not constitute a body of Oolema, as at Constantinople, they are not without influence, even with the Shah himself; and, indeed, we shall have occasion, hereafter, to notice a striking and recent instance of the degree in which such influence can be exerted. The great difference between Persia and Turkey, in this respect,

* This term is not easily conveyed in English: the word is the present participle of an Arabian verb, signifying 'giving witness.' The Moostuhid is a holy man, giving, in his conduct and religious knowledge, evidence of divine inspiration: such high pretensions, as may well be conceived, are rarely put forward; and when admitted, must be supported by unsullied purity of life and undoubted ability.

appears

appears to be, that while the Oolema at Constantinople are used as an organ by the Sultan for enforcing his decrees among the people, and from this very circumstance have derived an authority occasionally employed to resist his measures—in Persia no such use is made of the respect attached to the priesthood, in support of the government, and, therefore, no pretext is afforded for their general interference as a body with public affairs.

We must now hurry our readers over the Pooli-dellac, or barber's bridge, built by the barber of Shah Abbas, and through the desert tract called the valley of death, infested by Persian ghools or ogres, and draw near to Tehraun.

'The period of entering Tehraun had been long fixed by the Eelchee, who had consulted an eminent astrologer at Isfahan upon this subject. The wise man, after casting his nativity, and comparing what he found written in the book of his destiny with the object of his mission, which he had been told was the establishment of friendly intercourse with Persia, declared, by a paper given under his hand, for which he was no doubt well paid, "That, provided the Eelchee entered the gate of Tehraun at forty-five minutes past two o'clock, *p.m.* on the 13th November, 1800, success would attend his negotiation, and he would accomplish all his wishes.' * * * *

'I heard Aga Meer whisper the Eelchee, "You have yet ten minutes —a little slower." Quicker, was afterwards pronounced in an under tone. Again I heard "Slower,"—then "Now," and the charger of the Eelchee put his foot over the threshold of the gate of Tehraun. "'Al-hamd-ool-illah!" (Thanks be to God!) said the Meer, with a delighted countenance; "as it was the very moment, how fortunate!"' —vol. ii. p. 111.

Few of our readers will, we believe, regret the deference shown by the Eelchee to the prejudices of the Persians, as the dramatic effect of the entry into Tehraun is thereby much heightened. In the exercise, however, of a graver consideration, we must refuse our assent to its propriety, inasmuch as we feel assured that no public object could have been forwarded by such compliance: in fact, the progress made in real business, during the years that elapsed between the first and second mission of the same Eelchee, rendered, we apprehend, the aid of an astrologer utterly unnecessary on the latter occasion; and more recent European missions, whether British or Russian, have been left to find their way into Tehraun with a lamentable indifference to the aspect of the heavenly bodies. Respect for the prejudices or customs of Asiatic nations, with whom diplomatic intercourse is maintained, cannot be too strongly inculcated; but the practical adoption of their belief in judicial astrology appears a piece of mummery at once undignified and useless. There is, however, a gorgeousness and picturesque combination belonging to the ceremonial of the Persian

sian court very attractive to a lively imagination; there is also much to gratify the individual intrusted with the duty of national representation; and we find, therefore, that the Eelchee very readily submitted to have himself, and his proceedings, considered as under the special influence of the heavenly bodies.

Having fairly entered the capital, the envoy became the guest of the then prime-minister, Hajji Ibrahim, whose history, as illustrative of the vicissitudes of fortune in Persia, deserves notice. This man was originally a magistrate of a district in the city of Shiraz, and at the time when the contest for the throne was still pending between the princes of the Zund family and Aga Mahomed, the Uncle of the present king succeeded in holding the city for the latter; this circumstance decided the war, for to it the late king, Aga Mahomed, was indebted for his throne. Hajji Ibrahim became chief minister to Aga Mahomed, and continued for many years in the same office with his successor. Two years after the departure of the first mission, Hajji Ibrahim fell a victim either to the fears or the intrigues of his enemies, or to the reputation of his wealth. He himself was put to a cruel death, and 'his brothers and sons were, according to the barbarous usage of Persia, included in this sentence. These, though residing in different parts of the kingdom, were all seized (so well arranged was the plan) on the same day, and the same hour. Some were put to death, others lost their eyes: all their property was confiscated.'—vol. ii. p. 155.

Having given this instance of royal ingratitude, it is satisfactory to turn to actions of a totally opposite character, displayed in the conduct of the present king to his clansman, Mahomed Hussein Khan, the chief of Merv (vide vol. ii. p. 190.) His adventures, as related to the Eelchee by the chief himself, and as having occurred during the present generation, prove that the state of society and manners have undergone little change since the days of the Emperor Baber; some of the vicissitudes of whose life, as described in his commentaries, bear, although on a greater scale, a strong resemblance to those of this expatriated chieftain. He is the last of a branch of the Kajir tribe, to whom the defence of the frontier city of Merv, against the attacks of the Tartars, on the Oxus, had been intrusted since the time of Shah Tamasp, who had the ill fortune to be taken prisoner, together with all his immediate family, by Beggee Jan, the prince of Bokhara. Imminent danger of his life soon followed captivity, and he could often from his dungeon hear the ferocious Beggee Jan vociferating, 'Bring me the head of Mahomed Hussein Khan.' His escape from Bokhara was most difficult: he himself says,—

'I had only three friends living in the town on whom I could depend; I proceeded to the door of one, but he was asleep, and I durst not

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not make the noise necessary to awake him. When I came to the house of the second, I learnt that Beggee Jân had sent for him; and the third, I was informed by his domestics, having heard of my situation, had hastened to the scene, in the expectation of contributing to my escape. . . . . Hopeless and wearied, I wandered all that night about the streets of Bokhara, and a hundred times heard it proclaimed, that ten thousand pieces of gold should be the reward of him who brought me to Beggee Jân. . . . . It was towards morning when I went out of the gates of the city, accompanied only by my nephew. We concealed ourselves in a cornfield till the evening, and then, though worn out with hunger, anxiety, and fatigue, we took the road leading to Sheher-Sebz. I was barefooted, and unaccustomed to walk; but my situation gave me a power of exertion beyond what I could have believed.'—vol. ii. p. 195.

After a variety of adventures, he reached Persia in total beggary, and soon learned the fate of his family, whom he had left at Bokhara :—

'The cruel tyrant, enraged at my escape, had first imprisoned my family in wells, and afterwards put every one to death, upbraiding them with my having taken refuge in Persia, a country towards which he ever entertained a spirit of the most inveterate hostility. I proceeded (said the khan, hardly able to conclude his narration) with a broken heart to the capital of Persia, where the noble and generous conduct of the king affords me all the consolation I can receive in this world, in which I am, though apparently surrounded with every luxury and every honour, a desolate man.'—vol. ii. p. 202.

The king treated Mahomed Hussein with all the respect and regard due to his former rank and present misfortunes : 'he went into mourning for his family, and every Omrah of the Kajir tribe was ordered to pay him a visit of condolence; and even Abbas Meerza (the heir-apparent) was desired by his father to wait upon and console the afflicted stranger and guest.' His present situation is that of the 'Nedeem, or chosen companion to the king;' and our author concludes this very interesting narrative by saying, that 'the whole conduct of the Shah towards this unfortunate chief does great honour to his head and heart.'

We must now proceed to the reception of the mission at the court of the Shah. After describing the array of military and civil authorities, that extended a distance of half a mile from the palace—an array of which our author emphatically says, 'It was the state of Asia with the discipline of Europe,' he thus introduces us to the hall of audience :—

'A canal flowed in the centre of a garden, which supplied a number of fountains; to the right and left of which were broad paved walks, and beyond these were rows of trees. Between the trees and the high wall encircling the palace, files of matchlock men were drawn up

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up; and within the avenues, from the gate to the hall of audience, all the princes, nobles, courtiers, and officers of state were marshalled in separate lines, according to their rank, from the lowest officer of the king's guard, who occupied the place nearest the entrance, to the heir apparent, Abbas Meerza, who stood on the right of his brothers, and within a few paces of the throne.'—vol. ii. p. 128.

All surrounding splendour was forgotten in the Shah himself:—

'He appeared to be above the middle size, his age little more than thirty, his complexion rather fair, his features were regular and fine, with an expression denoting quickness and intelligence. His beard attracted much of our attention; it was full, black, and glossy, and flowed to his middle. His dress baffled all description: the ground of his robes was white; but he was so covered with jewels of an extraordinary size, and their splendour, from his being seated where the rays of the sun played upon them, was so dazzling, that it was impossible to distinguish the minute parts which combined to give such amazing brilliancy to his whole figure.'—vol. ii. p. 128.

The formality of the reception was soon interrupted by the affability of the king, and we may perhaps add the curiosity of the man. The ûnderoon, or women's apartment, occupies so much of the time and attention of the Persian monarch, that his inquiries were immediately directed to the pursuits and condition of his brother of England in this respect; and, as we shall hereafter find, the domestic life of an English king appeared to the Shah as destitute of enjoyment, as his political condition. '"I have heard a report (said he) which I cannot believe, that your king has only one wife." "No Christian prince can have more," said the Eelchee. "O, I know that, but he may have a little lady." "Our gracious king, George the Third," replied the envoy, "is an example to his subjects of attention to morality and religion in this respect as in every other." "This may all be very proper," concluded his majesty of Persia, laughing, "but certainly I should not like to be king of such a country."'

Our Eelchee was certainly the perfection of Eelchees. The heavens were propitious to his entrance into the capital; and at his egress from his first audience, the accident of his mistaking the king's giant, a man above eight feet high, 'for one of the paintings of Roostum and his club,' was turned to very good account by his mehmandar, who said,—

'"Admirable! nothing could be better! the fools wished to try to startle you with giants and clubs stuck up against a wall. They are rightly served; your eye hardly rested upon him for a moment, evidently not thinking him worthy of your notice. I shall tell them (he added, with a feeling that showed he considered his honour was associated with that of the person of whom he had charge) that such men are quite common in your country, and that this giant would hardly be tall enough for one of the guards of the king of England."'

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In the next interview with the king, the conversation, though equally void of formality, turned upon the graver subject of royal power; and the king, after attentively listening to, and perfectly comprehending the description given of the British constitution, thus shortly and powerfully contrasted his own situation with that of the king of England:—'"Your king is, I see, only the first magistrate of the country." "Your majesty," said the Eelchee, "has exactly defined his situation." "Such a condition of power," said he, smiling, "has permanence, but it has no enjoyment: mine is enjoyment. There, you see Sûlimân Khan Kajir, and several other of the first chiefs of the kingdom, I can cut all their heads off; can I not?" said he, addressing them. "Assuredly, point of adoration of the world, if it is your pleasure."' Such sincerity and simplicity are quite delightful; and it is difficult to say which is most worthy of admiration, the decapitating declaration of the monarch, or the ready assent of the courtiers: though for the latter there was certainly a very pressing reason, namely, the possibility of the 'point of adoration of the world' having recourse to the 'argumentum ad hominem,' and proving the truth of his position, by ordering a head or two to be struck off, for the ocular conviction of the Eelchee.

It will be satisfactory for the reformers of the world to know, that the office of a king of Persia is no sinecure:—

'He must have two courts every day, one public and another private. He receives at the first the salutations of all his sons, nobles, ministers, and public officers; and at this public levee strangers are presented. At the second, in which his ministers and favourites only attend, business is transacted.'—(vol. ii. p. 141.) But, moreover, he daily holds a *third* levee, at which more than three hundred ladies of different ranks, and we may add nations, nay complexions, are present. Of these, only two have the privilege of sitting before the king; one being the mother of the heir-apparent. Our author further says:—'There are in the seraglio female officers of every description:—a lady of requests, a lady of the ceremonies, and my lady chief constable. The duty of the first is to introduce the young strangers to the notice of their lord and sovereign; the second marshals all in their station, according to their dignity and consideration; and the third is armed with an authority which, if fame speaks true, is not unfrequently called into action.'—(vol. i. p. 147.) Such occupations within doors and without must, with the most fastidious, remove the Persian monarch from the class of sinecurists: indeed, we question whether his duties are more than remunerated by the possession of the Deria-e-Noor, sea of light, a diamond weighing 186 carats; and of the Taj-e-Mah, crown of the moon, weighing 146 carats, together with the power of cutting off Soliman Khan Kajir's head, whenever such a conceit may present itself to the royal imagination.

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It is to be regretted that our author has passed so slightly over the reception of the second mission, more especially as the scene was the king's camp, and therefore more calculated to exhibit the peculiar state and habits of the Toorkish monarch. The two great plains usually selected for the summer encampments of the shah of Persia are those of Sultania and Oujoon, the one in the province of Irak, the other in that of Aderbijan. The distance between these plains or pastures is almost one hundred and fifty miles. In both, a small palace has been erected, on a hillock artificially formed, for the residence of the shah and his immediate personal attendants. An ûndeêoon, or apartments for women, is included in the building. The shah is the only person accommodated in a house, or accompanied by women. Around this building is spread the camp, consisting of tents and pavilions of all colours and denominations. The privilege of a screen to surround the tent or pavilion is confined to the princes of the royal family. We quote the following passage, describing the distribution of the encampment, from Mr. Morier's Journal, vol. ii. p. 278.

'As the king's army was mostly composed of men drawn from the different tribes, each tribe was encamped in separate divisions; the Bakhtiarees, the Afshars, the Irakees, the Shah-r-pesends, were all stationed by lots or compartments; but notwithstanding this attempt at regularity, such was the intermixture of men and cattle, tents, shops and hot-baths, of the instruments of war and of the luxuries of private ease, that all appearance of order was lost. The tents of the horsemen were known by their long spears being stuck upright at their entrance, those of the infantry by their muskets and matchlocks. Twelve pieces of artillery were situated in the midst of tents and confusion; and although they were arranged in line, yet nothing could have got them clear of the camp, if they had been required to act at a moment's warning.'

The king of Persia on one occasion, when Mr. Morier visited Oujoon, had 40,000 soldiers, chiefly cavalry, in his camp; the followers were nearly as numerous; every tent was so pitched as to face the palace, in order, as Mr. Morier says, that each person on coming forth, should bow the head in submissive adoration of majesty. If the personal appearance and retinue of the Shah be imposing at Tehraun, we are disposed to think, from the above account, that the scene is still more striking in the camp; and, under this impression, we add the following extract from a manuscript journal to which we have before referred.

'I stood upon a small eminence in the plain, from whence I had a complete view of his majesty as he commenced his first day's journey from Sultanieh to Oujoon. The tents and baggage of the army had all moved off; what might be considered the élite of the numerous cavalry remained to escort the king. It was divided into two large bodies, which

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which, from the irregularity of their order of march, had the appearance of two clouds of cavalry. The one preceded, and the other followed, the more immediate body-guard and retinue of the king. The appearance of the body-guard, mounted on superb horses, perfectly equipped and dressed in brocade suits, studded with gold, would have been worthy the meeting between our eighth Henry, and Francis the first at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. A number of led horses, and of running footmen, the latter in dresses at once handsome and convenient, preceded the king by about fifty yards, leaving that interval between them and his person. The Shatir Bashee, or chief footman, walked by the side of his horse, and a second unoccupied space of fifty yards intervened between the king and the other detachment of the guard, thus leaving the eye of the beholder to rest separately and distinctly on the person of majesty. He wore on this day a pelisse of purple velvet braided with small diamonds: these were in such profusion, that the reflection of the sun's rays effectually prevented the irreverence of a continued gaze. It was altogether a most animated and splendid pageant, realizing the brilliant descriptions of our friends Moollah Adeenah and Durweish Suffer.'

We have already contrasted the general character of the Turkish people and government with that of Persia, and there is no public circumstance in which the difference is more striking than in the condition of the princes of the royal family. While in Constantinople the heir of the empire is immured in the seraglio during the life of the reigning monarch, in Persia he and his brothers are intrusted with the government of provinces, and every means taken to qualify them for succession to the throne. History presents us with numerous examples of the jealousy entertained by barbarian, and even civilized monarchs, of their sons: * this feeling seems, happily, unknown to the Shah of Persia, more especially with regard to the heir-apparent, Abbas Meerza, who, for the last twenty years, has had the almost uncontrolled management of the north-west frontier of the kingdom, and consequently of the relations, whether of war or peace, with Russia. Abbas Meerza, naturally attributing the successes of the Russians

* We wish we could add, that the heir of Persia finally ascends the throne for which he is thus allowed to prepare himself, without the perpetration of domestic horrors. That such is not likely to be the case even with Abbas Meerza, a touching little anecdote, in a book which reaches us while these sheets are passing through the press, may sufficiently prove:—

'The lady of Dr. Macneil, the physician to the mission, was one day in the Zenanah, when she observed one of the princes, a boy of ten years of age, with a handkerchief tied over his eyes, groping about the apartment. Upon inquiring what he was doing, he said, that as he knew that when the Shah, his father, died, he should have his eyes put out, he was now trying how he could do without them.'—*Travels from India to England, in* 1825-6, *&c. by J. A. Alexander, Esq., Lieut. 13th Light Dragoons* (p. 210.)—a performance obviously very juvenile, but containing many lively and interesting descriptions, more particularly of scenes in Burmah and Asia Minor.

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(comprising, according to our author, an extension of frontier within ten years, 'from the north of the Caucasus to the banks of the Araxes, a space of above four hundred miles') to the superiority of military discipline, has been anxious to form and maintain a body of regular infantry, sufficient to cope with his European enemy: this attempt was first commenced under the French officers attached to the mission of General Gardanne, and has been continued up to the present day by officers of the English army. An increased activity to this system of military improvement was given by the means conveyed to the prince on the second mission of our Eelchee. The Eelchee, however, though the instrument through which the wishes of the Shah and Prince Abbas Meerza were gratified, was decidedly adverse to the system itself, and was honest enough to express his opinion to the prince, reminding him of the different principle of defence adopted by his great-uncle, Aga Mahomed Khan, when a Russian army, under Valerian Zuboff, crossed the Araxes, and encamped on the plains of Moghan, in the month of November, 1796. That active monarch, notwithstanding the severity of the season, immediately assembled his army, and while he professed to the different military commanders his determination of attacking the Russians, and at once 'cutting them to pieces with their conquering swords,' thus unveiled his real intention to his prime minister, Hajji Ibrahim:—

'Can a man of your wisdom believe I will ever run my head against their walls of steel, and expose my irregular army to be destroyed by their cannon and disciplined troops? I know better: their shot shall never reach me, but they shall possess no country beyond its ranges: they shall not know sleep; and let them march where they choose, I will surround them with a desert.'—vol. ii. p. 210.

We thoroughly agree with Sir John Malcolm in believing this to be the only system of defence applicable to the nature of the country, and of the government; and although the English officers employed in disciplining the Persian troops have, notwithstanding the absence of that main sinew of a regular army, regular payment, so advanced the efficiency of the infantry and artillery, as in one or two instances to present, under their personal conduct and heroic example, a formidable resistance to the Russians, the principle laid down by Aga Mahommed Khan remains unshaken, and the Persians must, therefore, like their Parthian ancestors, rely upon a harassing and retreating system of warfare for the defence of their country against the disciplined legions of Europe. Horse-artillery,* as a substitute for swivels, I

* This corps of horse-artillery reached such a state of efficiency, as to save, on more than one occasion, the army of Abbas Meerza from annihilation. The destruction of an entire Russian battalion was one of their exploits.

mounted

mounted on camels, already long used in Persia, was, perhaps, the only arm that could be advantageously borrowed from European war; and the knowledge and use of this natural and effective support to an army principally composed of horse, has been introduced among the Persians by one of the English officers who accompanied our friend the Eelchee, and who, from his stature, was jocosely compared to a date tree by an Arab of the Deshistan. —vol. i. p. 20.

The eighteen miles of road to the town of Maragha, from the shore of the lake of Ooroomiah, (for the description of which, and of the curious petrifying springs in its neighbourhood, we refer our readers to the 'Journals' of Mr. Morier, vol. ii. page 184 to 186,) were beguiled to the Eelchee and his immediate companions by the tale of 'Ahmed the Cobler,' related to them by Moollah Adeenah. It would be injustice to the tale itself, and to the accomplished narrator, to seduce any one from the perusal of the whole, either by selection or abridgment. The moral, as illustrated in the conduct and fate of the two wives of the cobler, is excellent; and it is difficult to believe that the female sex is undervalued by a people amongst whom, even in works of fiction, such models of feminine and conjugal virtue, as that of the princess in this tale, are familiar and appreciated. The structure of this admirable tale is equal to anything in the Arabian Nights.

The determination of the Eelchee, on the second mission, to deviate from the usual route to Bagdad, and pass through Kurdistan, has furnished materials to our author for a short and interesting chapter on the present state of Kurdistan,—the ancient Gordyæa,—which, as our author observes, 'derives celebrity from the sword and pen of Xenophon.' In more modern times, it possesses historical and romantic interest from being the country of Saladin, the worthy rival in arms of our Lion-hearted Richard. Saladin, according to a Persian manuscript given to the Eelchee by the Kurd chief of Mooheznee, was the son of the police magistrate of the town of Tehreet, who had been obliged, in consequence of an affray, in which a man of a powerful family had been slain by his brother, to fly to Mosul. This brother, Asaad-oo-deen (lion of the faith), subsequently was placed in command of the army sent by the Prince of Balbec, Noor-oo-deen (light of the faith), to assist the Walee, better known in European story as the Soldan of Egypt, then 'warring,' according to the Mahomedan writer, 'with the accursed infidels of Europe.' Asaad-oo-deen obtained such favour with the Wely, that he became his vizier, in which office he was succeeded by his nephew, Saladin or Saleh-oo-deen (the armour of the faith). The talents of Saladin soon raised him to the complete management

of the affairs of Egypt, and when in this elevated station, he sent for his father, who had remained at Mosul. The soldan himself went out to meet the old man; 'for that prince thought that he could not too highly honour the parent of the man to whom he ascribed the glory and the safety of his country.' Saladin, on the death of the Walee, succeeded to the throne; and having been driven into war by the jealousy of the former patron of his uncle, the Prince of Balbec, on the death of the latter added Syria by conquest to Egypt.

'Thus originated the power of the celebrated Saladin. His recovery of Jerusalem, the siege of Ascalon, and his wars with those who are termed infidels, are given at a great length, and the boldest of the Christian heroes are often represented as flying before his victorious sword. I looked through this volume for an account of the wonderful achievements of our gallant Richard, and some mention of his fair sister, Matilda, but I looked in vain; and the omission produced no favourable impression of an author who could pass over subjects so dear to every English reader of the wars of Palestine.'—vol. ii. p. 261.

Among the Kurds, plundering is considered a national occupation; and we learn from the manuscript journal before mentioned, that, in the event of a ragged stranger being met with trespassing on the Kurdish frontier, he is severely beaten for not having brought sufficient property to make him worth robbing. Among such tribes, and such habits, we cannot wonder that even the imposing appearance and following of the Indian envoy did not altogether secure his sumpter mules from depredation. In this, as on all other occasions, the Eelchee united the manful assertion of his rights and dignity with munificence and policy: 'nine head persons of hamlets and petty tribes' of the district where the robbery was committed, were seized by him, and kept in durance, until satisfaction was made by the actual restoration of the greatest part of the property, and a payment in money for what could not be discovered. The money was disbursed by the collector of the district. Here the generosity of the Eelchee got the better of his indignation, and he returned to the collector the amount of his personal loss. 'The prisoners were moreover released and feasted; and, opening the packages of English manufactures'—(perhaps a rash proceeding, notwithstanding the recent example)—he made 'small but valued presents to several of their wives and children, who had followed them to the camp.' It is certainly a very fine situation to be an Eelchee from India, who, attended by an escort of cavalry, and supplied with chests of treasure and bales of goods, can thus intimidate or captivate, as he pleases, the veriest robbers in the habitable world.

'Sennah, the capital of the province, (*i. e.* of Ardelan, in Kurdistan,)

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distant,) is so surrounded by hills, that the town is not seen till you are close to the suburbs. We were pleased with its appearance: the houses are well built; and the gardens and cultivation in the vicinity came in strong and pleasing contrast with the rugged lands through which we had travelled for the last eight days.'—vol. ii. p. 274.—Here the Eelchee was received with the greatest respect; two sons of the Walee were sent to meet him; and the eldest, a boy of ten years of age, showed the precocity of manners so observable among children in the East. The Walee returned the visit of the Eelchee, and invited him to dinner. A particular description is given of the hall in which the banquet was held (p. 277); and we may well conceive that the mixture of princely dignity and domestic simplicity belonging to the situation and character of the Kurdish prince must have given a peculiar zest to this entertainment, after the gorgeous but ceremonious reception at the Persian court.

'He appeared to have great pride in introducing the eelchee to the persons by whom he was surrounded. None of them, he said, counted less than eight or nine generations in the service of his family, and some of them had been its firm and attached adherents during a period of four centuries. "My country," he concluded, "is above two hundred miles in length, and nearly as much in breadth. We owe and pay allegiance to the kings of Persia, but we are exempted from that severity of rule which often ruins our neighbours, who possess rich plains and wealthy cities. Ardelan presents little temptation to an invader. It abounds in nothing," he added smiling, "but brave men and hardy horses."'—vol. ii. p. 277.

There are some families of Nestorian Christians resident at Sennah, who have for centuries enjoyed toleration and protection under the mild rule of the princes of Ardelan, to whom we may therefore, in gratitude, apply the Persian proverb, 'May their shadow never be less.'

With Kurdistan our author concludes these volumes, holding out, however, the prospect of hereafter adding sketches of the other provinces of Persia visited by the mission, as well as of imperial Bagdad and famed Balsora.* The condition required by him as an encouragement, we are sure, has been fulfilled; for the Sketches of Persia, unless our own gratification in the perusal has misled our judgment, have afforded amusement and instruction to all classes of readers, and must make them anxious for the publication of the remainder. Our task would also terminate with Kurdistan, did we not conceive that some notice of the actual state of public affairs in Persia might prove acceptable to such of our

* Balsora is rather a curious corruption, by transposition of letters, from Ul-Busra.

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readers as, in common with ourselves, view with anxiety all events bearing upon the interests of the British empire in India.

Sixteen years have elapsed since the author of the 'Sketches' left Persia; and the period has been fertile in events by which the future political condition of that country, and its connexion with Great Britain, must be determined. Indeed, at the present moment a crisis has arisen, upon the result of which the independence of Persia may probably rest. The defence of India from attack by the north-western frontier was the original motive for cultivating a connexion with the Shah of Persia; the gigantic ambition of Buonaparte, which embraced the eastern as well as the western world in his scheme of conquest, directed his negotiations to the court of Tehraun; and while his influence predominated over the fears or the inclinations of the cabinet of St. Petersburgh, he possessed the means of offering to the Shah protection against Russia, in return for co-operation in the invasion of India. Failure or indifference, on the part of Buonaparte, to arrest the progress of Russian hostilities, opened the minds of the king of Persia and his ministers to the expediency of accepting the proposals of the English government, to do that by positive aid, which the French emperor had undertaken to effect through influence.

The preliminary treaty in 1809 was negotiated and concluded by Sir Harford Jones, upon this principle. The object of the connexion was, however, strictly defensive, and involved no other condition but that of affording a stipulated aid in money or troops during an invasion of the Persian territories by an European enemy. Russia being at this time at war with England, there was no scrupulousness as to the nature of the assistance yielded to Persia, and in addition to a subsidy, British officers were supplied, to instruct the Shah's troops. On the change in the political affairs of Europe, which made Russia the ally of England against the common enemy, it became desirable that hostilities between Russia and Persia, involving England as a party, should be terminated; and the treaty of Gulistan, concluded under the mediation of the English ambassador, was the consequence of this feeling. Russia gained accession of territory by this treaty, and while the outline of the future boundary was sketched generally in words, the geographical details were left for actual survey. The present relations between Great Britain and Persia rest upon the definitive treaty of Tehraun, of 1814, in which the defensive provisions of the preliminary treaty are renewed, together with the admission of a right on the part of Great Britain, to employ, in the event of an invasion of the Persian territory by an European power not at war with Great Britain, the

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the means of friendly negotiations for the purpose of obtaining redress; and the liability to the subsidy only exists in case of the failure of such negotiation. The actual survey, and consequent settlement of the boundary, have never been completed; and the present hostilities between Russia and Persia have arisen from a territorial dispute, comparatively insignificant in itself, but to which local intrigues, and religious exasperation at the moment, have given an importance likely to become highly injurious in its consequences to Persia. Our readers may rely upon the accuracy of the following statement of the occurrences immediately preceding the commencement of hostilities; and as illustrative of the influence of religious feeling upon public measures in Persia, the statement can scarcely be deemed irrelevant to the object of the present Article. A tract of pasture-ground near the lake of Gokcha, in the province of Erivan, the dominion of which probably remained with Persia, *under the general outline of boundary expressed in the treaty of Gulistan*, had been occupied by a tribe subject to Russia, *with the sufferance of the Persian authorities:* the positive cession of this very tract to Russia had, among other questions of boundary, been negotiated and stipulated for by the Persian and Russian governors of the frontier provinces, Prince Abbas Meerza and General Yermoloff. The cession was not, however, confirmed by the Shah, and the temporary occupation was refused. In this occupation, however, the governor-general of Georgia persisted. To enforce the rights of Persia to the disputed pasturage, the Shah, notwithstanding the entreaty of the Russian ambassador at his court, that a reference upon the point should be made to the Emperor at St. Petersburgh, declared war, and invaded the Russian territories. The collateral causes by which the Shah was induced to adopt this extreme proceeding were, first, the known disaffection of the chiefs and Mahomedan inhabitants of the provinces recently ceded to Russia; and secondly, the effect produced upon the mind of the king and his subjects generally, by the exhortations and presence of the Syyud, or chief priest of the holy shrine of Kerbela, who arrived at the royal camp while the question of war and peace was under actual discussion. The following account is from an eye-witness of the reception given to this holy man:—

'On the 11th, Aga Syyud Mahomed arrived; a vast number of people, and most of the infantry, without regimentals or arms, went out to meet him. The Shah sent out his own tukhti reewan (litter) for the Syyud; and some princes, and many of the chief people of the court did honour to his entry. Much enthusiasm was manifested by the populace. To the Syyud's person they could not get access,

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access, but they kissed the litter, kissed the ladder by which he ascended to it, and collected the dust which had the impressions of the mule's feet that bore him. The people cried out, beat their breasts, and the litter was brought close to the Shah's door, that the Syyud might descend without being overwhelmed by the populace. Six or seven of the chief priests entered the court with him, and one of them insisted on going in on his mule. An officer of my acquaintance, who happened to be there on the spot, prevented him. He said that the ordinary attendants of his Majesty seemed quite to have lost sight of their duty to their sovereign, and were occupied in paying their devotion to the Syyud. The Shah came to the door of the court to receive him, and the enthusiasm of the populace seemed to be communicated to the royal hearts, as the Shah and the Prince Royal wept bitterly in speaking of the misfortunes of the Faithful under the Russian government. Aga Syyud Mahomed, with a suite of one thousand moollahs (priests), have a separate encampment. Two princes have, by order of the Shah, pitched near him, professedly to prevent the intrusion of the populace, but secretly to prevent too general a manifestation of public esteem and consideration. Another detachment of holy men, under Moollah Almed, of Maragha, reached this yesterday, covered with winding sheets, and we hear that the heads of the religion of most of the principal cities are flocking to this point. The Shah has twice visited the Syyud, and on one occasion his Majesty said, "I am anxious to shed the spoonful of blood that remains in my weak body, in this holy cause; and it is my wish to have in my winding-sheet a written evidence from you, that the inquiring angels may at once recognize my zeal, forgive my sins, and admit, without delay, my entrance into heaven."

In reading the above description, it is impossible not to be struck with the similarity to the language and conduct of European monarchs during the age of the Crusades; and it is not surprising that the graver considerations of policy should have been neglected under the excitement of religious enthusiasm. The Syyud must also have found in the state of the Mahomedan provinces recently acquired by Russia, and the supposed confusion attendant on the death of the Emperor Alexander, topics for combining motives of probable worldly advantage with the promise of heavenly favour. The decision was taken for war, and the first successes of the Persians justified the expectation of assistance from the Mahomedan population; the further progress of the campaign has, however, been most disastrous, and Tebriz, the second city in political importance to Tehraun, by the latest account, was threatened with attack. This, however, is probably only a demonstration, as Russia will naturally look to Erivan, as the most useful acquisition, and as a sufficient indemnification for the hostilities into which she has certainly in some measure been forced.

Erivan,

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Erivan, the capital of Persian Armenia, is so situated as to command the entrance into the Turkish and Persian territories; the surrounding district is fertile, and although the present fort is untenable against a regular attack, the position is susceptible of being made almost impregnable to the attempts of either Turks or Persians. The precipitancy of the Shah has, as far as the subsidiary treaty is concerned, deprived him of a right to the stipulated assistance of Great Britain, and consequently left him at the mercy of a powerful and offended neighbour. It is not, however, to be anticipated, that the conquest of Persia, even if it were practicable, or even that any very large cession of Persian territory can enter into the immediate views of Russia. The present hostilities must have shown the unsettled state, as to allegiance, of the Mahomedan population on her own frontier, and must diminish the zeal for further conquest in the same direction. To this feeling must be added the conviction that the integrity of Persia is so important to England, as an outwork to the British empire in India, that although present circumstances may not allow of authoritative or direct interference, means might hereafter be found, even under a diminution of territory, to render the Shah of Persia in reality a more troublesome neighbour to Russia than he has hitherto been. The exaction, therefore, of severe terms by Russia, on the close of the present hostilities, would probably impose on England the necessity of a more intimate and commanding connexion with Persia, as an equipoise to the diminution of her natural strength; and there can be little doubt that both the Shah and his people would readily purchase protection from neighbours, collectively and individually odious, even by acknowledged dependance upon a nation respected for its power, and happily placed at too great a distance to be regarded with any feelings of jealousy.

ART. III.—1. *An Essay on the Application of Capital to Land.* By Sir Edward West. 8vo. London.

2. *Remarks on Certain Modern Theories respecting Rents and Prices.* London and Edinburgh. 8vo. 1827.

3. *The Principles of Agriculture.* By William Bland, Jun. 8vo. 1827.

NO man who has paid the least attention to the conduct of the periodical press in this country during the last five years, can have failed to observe the persevering efforts which have been made to persuade the public that the prosperity and wealth of this empire owe their origin and increase principally, if not exclusively, to

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tal to our manufacturing and commercial industry. Upon this misrepresentation of the sources of public wealth, is grounded an attempt to elevate the interests of manufactures and commerce on the depression, if not the ruin, of those of agriculture. Not indeed, is the attempt much to be wondered at. The class of writers who labour in this cause are generally, if not universally, the denizens of cities: their companions are mostly persons who are, or have been, concerned in manufactures or trade; and hence they are unavoidably and unconsciously led to set an undue relative importance upon the industry of that class with whom they principally associate. Above all, the bulk of their readers are engaged in commercial pursuits; and, probably, many among them who may entertain more correct views upon these subjects, are compelled to sacrifice the interests of truth to the prejudices of those whose good opinion they find it profitable to court. Such, we apprehend, are the true sources of the efforts which we see daily made to depreciate agricultural industry in the estimation of the public. Whatever may be its weight in the Chapel of St. Stephen, it is manifest that the interests of this most important branch of internal economy are not fairly represented in the Republic of Letters. When we consider the wealth and number of the persons employed in the cultivation of the soil, it must be admitted that they bear no proportion whatever as a reading public to the other classes of the community.

We must advert to another circumstance which tends to produce among wits and speechmongers by profession, an unjustly low estimate of the importance of agriculture. To perceive the growth of manufactures and commerce, requires a much feebler exertion of intellect than to trace the progress of agriculture; and every one knows that among the people to whom we have alluded 'de non apparentibus ac de non existentibus eadem est ratio.' Every new manufacturing establishment presents a tangible object which arrests attention; but where a waste has been inclosed and rendered productive, or the produce of land already in cultivation has been increased perhaps four or five-fold, by the introduction of an improved system of husbandry, the circumstance may easily remain unknown to any one except the immediate occupier—it attracts even at the best but the passing notice of a very contracted circle of neighbours, and leaves no marks by which it may be traced at a distant period. Materials exist in abundance which enable us to obtain a correct and distinct view of the increase, which, during any given period, has taken place in the commerce and manufactures of the country; but we possess no such precise data whereon to found an estimate of the addition which, within the same period, a more extended and skilful husbandry

may

may have made to the produce of the soil. If it were possible to procure such data, we can entertain no sort of doubt that the results of the capital, the skill, and the perseverance applied to British agriculture, from about the middle of the last century down to the present time, would clearly appear to be quite as important as the advantages which are acknowledged to have been derived within the same period of time, from the capital, the ingenuity, and the energy employed in British manufactures and commerce. But, because the public do not see the augmentation which an improved system of husbandry has made to the produce of the soil, in the same tangible manner in which they see the increase that has taken place in the commerce and cotton mills of the country, they are too easily led by persons who, from interest or prejudice, wish to deceive them, to believe that no such addition has in fact been made.

The efforts of the class of writers to whom we have alluded have proved the source of much heart-burning and discontent. They have split the community into parties and factions; each of which is taught to view its own interest as distinct from, if not diametrically opposed to, the good of the whole. The owners and occupiers of land are induced to look upon the manufacturers of this country as a body which endeavours to deprive them of the fair returns which they are entitled to derive from the cultivation of the soil; while the latter, in their turn, are taught to view the former as a greedy and insatiable class, eager to rob them of the profits which they have a right to expect from their capital. The corn-grower and cotton-spinner are thus, in too many instances, trained to regard each other, if not as enemies who should be annihilated, at least as rivals who ought to be watched, and, if possible, circumvented. Nothing, however, can, in truth, be more unreasonable than the jealousy thus excited between two classes, whose interests, when correctly viewed, will be found knit together in bonds that cannot be severed without serious injury to both. At a moment, therefore, when much mischievous industry is exerted in sowing discord, we think it our duty to point out, as distinctly as we can, how firmly the welfare of the one class is bound up in the prosperity of their neighbours; how inevitably the depression of either of these important interests must in the end reach and affect the other.

It will not, we think, prove impracticable to convince every inquirer, whose mind is not enslaved by the most invincible prejudices, that, whether we refer to the extent of the capital embarked in agriculture, or to the productive character of the labour employed in tillage, the cultivation of the soil is more important to the community at large than the most ingenious operations of

the manufacturer, or the most successful speculations of the mere chapman.

From the way in which these matters are sometimes treated, it might be imagined that manufactures are in themselves productive; that they make an addition to the quantity of the food required for the support of the population of any country. We should have thought that even a child might perceive the absurdity of such a notion. The application of the most ingenious machinery ever invented by the wit of man to the fabrication of cotton or cloth, never can, by any possibility, add one grain to the quantity of corn grown upon an acre of land; its effect is merely to enable the owner of agricultural produce to fabricate a given quantity of wrought commodities with a smaller consumption of corn and beef. No proposition can, we think, be clearer than that the fruits and vegetable productions of the earth constitute the fundamental riches of any country; and that all states owe infinitely more to agriculture than to any other profession of life. When the matter is impartially investigated, it will appear that grain of every kind, flesh meat, wine, oil, and a long list of et cetera, all proceed originally from the cultivating and watchful care of the peasant; and that the manufacturer merely exercises his industry upon the productions of the cultivator. Thus art stands indebted to the husbandman for materials to work upon, and what it adds to nature establishes only a species of wealth subsisting by mutual convention or compact, subject to the vicissitudes of time and the caprice of custom. Agriculture alone can stand its ground amidst these revolutions; for the cultivation of the earth must always command attention in some place or other: if discouraged and depressed in one country, it will necessarily take refuge in another. About two centuries ago, Gabriel Plattes very sensibly observed, 'that wheat and other useful grain, like the flux and reflux of the ocean, will force their way in some place or other; if you check them in Europe, they may break forth in Tartary or the West Indies.' A French writer, with equal good sense, observes, that 'agriculture, destroyed by various causes, traverses the earth, flying from place to place where it is oppressed, and taking up its rest where it is permitted to breathe freely—it reigns at present where nothing was formerly to be seen but deserts; and places in which it once reigned are now only deserts.'

The introduction and general cultivation of artificial grasses, and the alternate system of green crops and tillage, mutually supporting each other,—the green crops providing an immense addition to the food consumed by cattle, which, in their turn, give a great increase of manure for enriching the soil,—have made an incalculable

incalculable addition to the produce of land in this country; whilst the use of better implements, and the application of machinery to various agricultural operations formerly performed by the hand, have considerably reduced the number of men and animals which must otherwise have been employed in the prosecution of an improved and extended tillage.*

It may not be amiss, perhaps, to present our readers with a few specimens of what has been effected since the commencement of the eighteenth century by the exertions and skill of the agriculturists of this country. The north-eastern angle of the county of Norfolk contains much excellent land, intermixed with a large proportion of soil of very inferior quality. Until the commencement of the last century, this extensive tract of land continued very nearly in a state of nature; and its improvement dates from the introduction of the turnip as an object of field tillage. Until the beginning of the eighteenth century, this valuable root was cultivated among us only in gardens or other small spots, for culinary purposes; but Lord Townshend, attending King George the First on one of his excursions to Ger-

* Harrison, in his 'Description of Britain,' notices the increased attention paid, even in his time, to agriculture:—'Certainely,' says he, 'the soyle is even nowe, in these our dayes, growne to bee muche more fruitefull than it hath been in times paste; the cause is, that for oure countriemen are growne to bee more paineful, skilful, and careful, thorowe recompence of gayne: insomuch that my synchroni, or time felowes, clear reap at this present great commoditye in a little roume; whereas, of late years a great compass hath yielded but small profite, and this only thorowe the idle and negligent occupation of such as manured and had the same in occupying.'

He elsewhere remarks the improved condition of the farmer, and embellishes his recital with such lively touches of the rural character and economy of his times, that we are tempted to transcribe the passage:—

'So common were all sorts of treene vessels in old time, that a man should hardly find four pieces of pewter (of which one peradventure, was a salte) in a good farmer's house: and yet, for all this frugality (if it may be so justly called), they were scarce able to live and pay their rents, at their days, without selling of a cow, or a horse, or more, although they paid but four pounds, at the uttermost, by the year. Such, also, was their poverty, that if some one old farmer had been at the alehouse, a thing greatly used in these days, amongst six or seven of his neighbours, and there, in a bravery to show what store he had, did cast down his purse, and therein a noble, or six shillings in silver, unto them, it was very likely that all the rest could not lay down so much against it. Whereas in my time, although, peradventure, four pound of oak rent be improved to forty or fifty pounds, yet will the farmer think his gains very small toward the midst of his term, if he have not six or seven years' rent lying by him, therewith to purchase a new lease: besides, a fair garnish of pewter on his cowboard, three or four feather beds, so many coverlets and carpets of tapestry, a silver salte, a bowle for wine, (if not a whole nest,) and a dozen of spoons to furnish up the sute. This also he taketh to be his own clear: for what stock soever of money he gathereth in all his years, it is often seen that the landlord will take such order with him for the same, when he reneweth his lease, (which is commonly eight or ten years before it be expired,) with it is now almost grown to a custom, that if he come not to his lord so long before, another shall step in for a reversion, and so defeat him outright,) that it shall never trouble him more than the hair of his beard, when the barber hath washed and shaven it from his chin.'—*Harrison's England*, p. 199.

old many,

many, in the quality of secretary of state, observed the turnip cultivated in open and extensive fields, as fodder for cattle, and spreading fertility over lands naturally barren; and on his return to England, he brought over with him some of the seed, and strongly recommended the practice which he had witnessed to the adoption of his own tenants, who occupied a soil similar to that of Hanover. The experiment succeeded; the cultivation of field turnips gradually spread over the whole county of Norfolk; and in the course of time it has made its way into every other district of England. The reputation of the county as an agricultural district dates from the vast improvements of heaths, wastes, sheep-walks, and warrens, by inclosure and manuring—the fruit of the zealous exertions of Lord Townshend and a few neighbouring land-owners—which were, ere long, happily imitated by others. Since these improvements were effected, rents have risen in that county from one or two shillings to fifteen or twenty shillings per acre; a country of sheep-walks and rabbit-warrens has been rendered highly productive; and, by dint of management, what was thus gained has been preserved and improved even to the present moment. Some of the finest corn-crops in the world are now grown on lands which, before the introduction of the turnip husbandry, produced a very scanty supply of grass for a few lean and half-starved rabbits. Mr. Colquhoun, in his 'Statistical Researches,' estimated the value of the turnip crop annually grown in this country at fourteen millions; but when we further recollect that it enables the agriculturist to reclaim and cultivate land which, without its aid, would remain in a hopeless state of natural barrenness; that it leaves the land so clean and in such fine condition, as almost to insure a good crop of barley and a kind plant of clover, and that this clover is found a most excellent preparative for wheat, it will appear that the subsequent advantages derived from a crop of turnips must infinitely exceed its estimated value as fodder for cattle. If we were, therefore, asked to point out the individual who, in modern times, has proved the greatest benefactor to the community, we should not hesitate to fix upon the ingenious nobleman, whom the wits and courtiers of his own day were pleased to laugh at as 'Turnip Townshend.' In something less than one hundred years, the agricultural practice which he introduced from Hanover, has spread itself throughout this country, and now yields an annual return which, probably, exceeds the interest of our national debt.

There are few individuals who hold a more distinguished place among agricultural improvers than the Earl of Egremont: forty years ago, the Stag Park, at Petworth, consisting of between

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700 and 800 acres of land, presented a wild forest scene, overspread with furze, stunted timber, and rubbish, and would have been dear if let at five shillings per acre. Somewhere about 1790, the noble owner of this unproductive tract undertook to improve it: the timber was felled; the underwood grubbed; every part of the ground has been since effectually drained; and the whole inclosed and divided into proper fields by neat and regular white-thorn hedges. Under a well-arranged system of tillage, it yields barley, tares, and turnips—clover, rye, chicory, rape, and other artificial grasses, in great profusion; the crops are so luxuriant, that few tracts which let even for thirty shillings per acre, can be considered more productive. Ten quarters of oats and five quarters of wheat are now raised upon an acre of land on which a sheep would have starved before this improvement.

Little more than fifty years ago, Clumber Park, which belongs to his grace the Duke of Newcastle, and contains no less than 4000 acres of land, was a black, dreary, unproductive heath, within the limits of the ancient and once extensive forest of Sherwood. About 1760, the genius of agriculture lighted upon this desolate waste: a magnificent mansion was built by the noble owner; the heath disappeared; 2000 acres were planted, which now exhibit the agreeable appearance of thriving timber of very large dimensions, and the remaining 2000 acres, under a spirited and intelligent system of husbandry, yield excellent crops of different grains and grasses: besides other live stock, the sheep fed on a district which half a century ago was perfectly barren, amount at least to four thousand annually.

The parish of Elford, in Staffordshire, contains about 1900 acres of land. Until the year 1765, when an act was obtained for inclosing it, the greater part was common-field, and constantly under the plough: it yielded but little rent, paid with much difficulty by a tenantry in very low circumstances. Since the inclosure, the rents have risen five-fold, while the occupiers have, in an equal ratio, increased in opulence. Of the land in this parish, about 500 acres are annually in tillage; these are stated to produce now as much grain for the market as the whole parish did in its open state. The cheese now made exceeds, in the proportion of three to one, the quantity made before the inclosure; and the proportion of beef and mutton has been augmented in the ratio of at least ten to one. For although many sheep were sometimes kept in the common-fields, they were so liable to the rot, that they produced little profit to the farmer or food for the community.

We should be unjust to our northern neighbours if we omitted some mention of the spirited exertions which, since the middle of the

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the last century, they also have made in furthering the progress of agriculture. In a district where a host of eager imitators and rivals have subsequently raised themselves to distinction as cultivators, no man deserves more honourable mention than the late Mr. Barclay, of Ury, in Kincardineshire. Naturally gifted with a frame of body unusually powerful and athletic, and with a mind ardent, vigorous, and comprehensive, he applied his great energies to the pursuits of agriculture, with a degree of perseverance and success which have been seldom equalled—never surpassed. In the year 1760, he succeeded his father in the estate of Ury, which lies on both sides of the water of Cowie. At that time there was, except a few old trees around the mansion-house, scarcely a single shrub of any value on the whole property. The Cowie, running about three miles through the lands of Ury, had, in the lapse of ages, worn for itself a deep channel. Through the whole extent of this course, springs of water from the circumjacent grounds were continually oozing to the banks, where they formed marshes and quagmires; which, from time to time, bursting, were precipitated by land-slips into the river. Thus every year the river made encroachments upon the overhanging banks, from which pieces periodically slipped into the stream, to be washed away and swept into the sea. These banks, in their natural state, merely produced a few alders of little value, and some coarse aquatic plants, useless, even had they been accessible, as food for cattle. The banks of this river, throughout the whole length of the property, shelve towards the stream in a way which renders them much too steep for tillage. They extend in some places thirty, in others one hundred, yards from the edge of the stream to the top of the declivity; on a mean average taken at the base, both sides are found to extend about one hundred yards in breadth, which, being multiplied by the length of the channel, (three miles,) form a hollow dell, containing fully one hundred acres. Soon after his succession, Mr. Barclay undertook to improve a tract which since the beginning of time had been thus unprofitable to the owner, and useless to the public. He drained the swamps of the banks, and planted the whole with deciduous trees, with oak, ash, and elm. These are abundantly sheltered by the natural warmth of the hollow, which is rendered still more mild from its various windings, occasioning one part to be continually protected under the cover of another, from whatever quarter the wind may blow. Nothing can now exceed the prosperous state of this beautiful plantation. Many of the trees are already fifteen or twenty inches in diameter, and from thirty to forty feet in height below the branches. The whole, amounting, perhaps, to 400,000 trees, thrive exceedingly; and there is every rational prospect that 100,000, at least, will arrive

at

to complete maturity. The ultimate value must be very great. In less than thirty years hence the timber on this tract of 100 acres, originally barren and unproductive, will probably be worth more than the whole of the arable part of the Ury estate. Nor must it be forgotten that, in addition to the direct profit which the owner will in the end derive from this plantation, it forms an effectual barrier for his lands, against the formerly continual and most destructive ravages of the Cowie.

The arable land had been divided into a number of small farms; each tenant having a right of pasturage on the contiguous hills. The tillage was very superficially performed with imperfect implements. Almost every field was incumbered with obstructions of one kind or other: such as pools of stagnant water; quaigmires, where the cattle were continually in danger of losing their lives; great baulks or slips of unploughed land between the ridges; but above all, stones, which abounded not merely on the surface, but through the whole depth of the soil. There were no inclosures. No lime was used as manure. The only crops grown were bear and oats. There was no cart nor wheel-carriage of any kind; nor was there a road upon which, had they existed, they could have been used. No spot could have been pointed out abounding more in the evils and inconveniences of the ancient system of tillage, or enjoying fewer of the advantages of modern husbandry, than the lands of Ury. On succeeding to this estate, Mr. Barclay, who had acquired correct ideas of husbandry on the well-cultivated plains of Norfolk, set about its improvement with a spirit determined to overcome every obstacle. For this purpose, in addition to the lands already in the occupation of the family, he took into his own management all the farms in the vicinity of the mansion as the leases expired. The estate of Ury consists of about 1900 acres, 1000 of which he planted with timber, the value of which is now estimated at 100,000*l.* The whole of what was originally in tillage never exceeded 450 acres; this portion he rendered infinitely more productive by an improved system of husbandry: and by inclosing, draining, removing stones, and filling ponds, he reclaimed the remaining 450 acres from a state of barrenness and waste, and rendered them in a high degree fertile and productive. And the result of these efforts appears to be, that an estate which, when this gentleman succeeded to it, would not have let for more than 200*l.* is now estimated at 1800*l.* per annum,—independently of the immense value of its woods and plantations.

We cannot enter, as we easily might, more fully into details which may possibly appear to some of our readers already too minute and trifling; but which we are convinced others will consider

sider interesting, as proofs of the success with which the cultivators of this kingdom have, from the middle of the last century down to the present period, exerted themselves in augmenting the produce of the soil. The instances we have mentioned are, no doubt, highly creditable to the individuals concerned in them; but we bring these forward merely as *specimens* of the results of that spirit of improvement which, for the last seventy years, has been spreading with constantly increasing rapidity throughout the empire. In every district similar exertions have been made—equal eagerness has been evinced to improve the cultivation of the soil and augment its produce. Some idea may be obtained of the energy with which agriculture has been pursued in this country, by looking at the numbers of enclosure bills passed during the progress of the last century. The first act for the inclosure of land, according to the modern system, is that of Ropley, in the county of Southampton, Anno 1709-10.—'The Report of the Committee on Waste Lands,' published in 1796, states that the number of inclosure bills passed up to that year amounted to 1776; and estimates the whole quantity of land inclosed at 2,837,837 acres, or about 1600 acres under the operation of each act. That our readers may have a complete view of this subject, we subjoin a statement of the number of inclosure bills which have been passed in each year subsequently to that period.

Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.	
1797	85	Brought forward	1467	
1798	48	1813	111	
1799	69	1814	112	
1800	80	1815	75	
1801	122	1816	43	
1802	96	1817	30	
1803	104	1818	98	
1804	52	1819	46	
1805	71	1820	86	Geo. IV.
1806	76	1821	33	
1807	91	1822	14	
1808	92	1823	22	
1809	122	1824	19	
1810	107	1825	23	
1811	133	1826	19	
1812	119	1827	22	
Carried up	1467	Total number of inclosure bills from 1797 to 1827, both inclusive	2110	

Upon a careful investigation of the matter, the 'committee of waste lands' ascertained that, upon an average, each inclosure act included

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included about 1600 acres of land: taking this estimate as the basis of our calculation, the quantity of land inclosed since 1796 will be found to amount to (2110 × 1600) 3,376,000 acres; and classed under different reigns, the number of inclosure bills, and the quantity of land inclosed, will stand thus:—

Reign.	No. of acts.	Extent of land inclosed.
Queen Anne . .	2 . .	1,488
George I. . . .	16 . .	17,660
George II. . . .	226 . .	318,778
George III. . . .	3554 . .	5,686,400
George IV. (up to 1827)	188 . .	300,800
	3986	6,325,076

It will thus appear that, since the commencement of the last century, upwards of six millions of acres of land have been inclosed and brought into a state of tillage, and that no less than eleven parts in twelve were inclosed in one reign—that of George III., the steady and constant patron of agriculture.

If we suppose that one-third of this quantity was already under some sort of tillage, as common land, still the waste surface reclaimed will amount to four millions of acres: this has added about one-seventh to the quantity of land previously cultivated in South Britain, and no less than one hundred and sixty millions to the capital employed in agriculture. An addition, equivalent to eight millions of quarters of wheat, has thus been made to the agricultural produce of the country, and of one million and a half of persons to its population, supported entirely by the produce of land previously existing in a state of unproductive waste. Notwithstanding these praiseworthy exertions, it is estimated that England alone still contains about six millions of acres of waste land, yielding but little produce; and that, including Scotland and Ireland, the quantity of waste land in this kingdom cannot fall short of thirty millions of acres. How much of this may be incurably barren, it is impossible to ascertain exactly; but there is every ground to believe that a very large proportion of it is capable of being rendered highly productive, under a skilful and energetic system of tillage. Upwards of two hundred years have now elapsed since the British government has almost exclusively directed its attention to the cultivation of its foreign possessions, leaving the improvement of its territory at home to the exertions of individuals. It is not too much to say, that this country has expended upon the cultivation of its foreign colonies a sum which does not fall short of fifty millions; and upon wars arising from its connexion with these colonies no less than two hundred

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millions. If a moiety of this sum had been expended upon our own territory, no rational man can doubt that extensive tracts of land which are now waste would have been reclaimed, and that an incalculable addition would have been made to the produce and population of the country. 'Industry,' says Harte, in his admirable essay, 'is the *vis matrix* of husbandry'; and an ancient English writer well observes, that 'a single uncultivated acre is a real physical evil in any state.'

While adverting to the progress of agriculture in this kingdom since the middle of the last century, it would be unpardonable to omit all mention of the improvement which has been introduced into the system of breeding and feeding cattle. This is an object of very great importance to the public at large: in fact, while the new system of tillage has, probably, doubled the average quantity of fodder which, upon the old system of tillage, a given extent of land would have produced—the improved system of breeding has, probably, doubled the quantity of animal food which, under the old system of breeding, would have been sent to the market as the produce of a given quantity of fodder.

Those who have paid attention to the subject, well know that the profitable management of live-stock is by far the most difficult branch of farming. It is in this department of agriculture that improvement is peculiarly tardy. The advantageous results to be derived from draining, manuring, and the adoption of an enlightened rotation of crops, are speedy and certain, when contrasted with those which can be anticipated from an improved management of live-stock. The celebrity which the late Mr. Robert Bakewell acquired in this department is universal. We have neither space nor inclination to investigate the relative value of the breed of cattle which he has rendered so famous. The merits of the theory on which he acted, and the results derived from his practice, are points on which parties will hold different opinions; but all who are conversant with the subject must acknowledge, that, to his skill and experience, the public stand indebted for the exertions which have been subsequently made in every district of the kingdom to improve the qualities of live-stock. The example set by him at Dishley produced, first in his own neighbourhood, and gradually over the whole kingdom, a host of imitators and rivals, eager to share in his success and in his profits. It must, no doubt, be admitted that the feeding-school committed many of the freaks and absurdities to which all 'schools' are liable. The master called for fat, and the pupils aspired to the glory of laying seven or eight inches of that commodity upon a sheep's ribs; the public looked at the fat, and turned away laughing at the feeder. But no matter for these absurdities;

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absurdities; they had their day, and have now, we believe, pretty well disappeared, while the valuable part of the Dishley system—the production of an increased quantity of mutton, not of mutton fat, from a given quantity of fodder—has taken root in the folds of every English parish. Those who candidly examine the state of our cattle and sheep before Bakewell turned his attention to the subject, and contrast it with the appearance of the same classes of animals at the time of his death, will confess that the improvement resulting from his exertions forms one of the most singular circumstances in the annals of husbandry. It is not a short-lived improvement, existing only in a few districts, and confined, as to its influence, to the interested views of a few private individuals or societies;—it is, on the contrary, a species of improvement most extensively diffused, and so rapid and continuous in its progress, that we can easily believe our children will pronounce it to have been still in its infancy in the year 1827.

When we look at this improved system of producing animal food, to meet the constantly-increasing demands of the country, in all its bearings, we cannot help regarding it as a national concern of the highest importance. Coupled with the rapidly-increasing consumption of animal food, the increasing consumption and gradually-extended culture of potatoes promise to effect a complete revolution in the character of the food upon which the population of this country has hitherto depended for its principal subsistence. The substitution of animal food and potatoes for a great portion of the bread-corn which would have been otherwise required for consumption will, no doubt, be disapproved of by those who have acquired a habit of declaiming against the most valuable and palatable of roots. We sympathise with none of the effusions which have been so abundantly poured forth against the potatoe; we can feel no regret for a change which must, we think, in its results, prove highly beneficial to the public. This change will greatly augment the quantity of human subsistence which can be derived from a given extent of land; twenty acres applied to the production of beef, or mutton, or milk and potatoes, with the usual quantity of corn grown in an enlightened rotation of crops, will subsist a much more numerous population than the produce of the same number of acres cropped solely with any of the meal grains. But even this, however important it may appear in a national point of view, must, we are inclined to think, yield to another advantage which the community will derive from the change. This alteration not only augments the supply of food produced in this country, but renders that supply less precarious and uncertain. The production of beef, mutton, pork,

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veal, milk, potatoes, and the various other esculent vegetables used as food, is infinitely less exposed to the influence and casualties of climates and seasons, than the supply of bread-corn. Already, accordingly, scarcities have become much less intense and frequent in this country than they were before the introduction of our present improved system of husbandry. Even harvest-weather is not of half the importance to a community subsisting largely upon animal and vegetable food, that it used to be of when our population lived almost entirely upon bread-corn. The present mixed system of subsisting the population has thus a two-fold advantage over the old plan; the food is much more plentiful and agreeable, and, what is of vastly more importance to the community, its supply is infinitely less precarious.*

Since the close of the last century numberless treatises have appeared with the view of explaining to the public the nature and origin of rent; and the most fashionable doctrine seems to be, that as long as the best soils of any country only are tilled, no rent can accrue from land;—in short, that the necessity, which in the progress of society arises, of taking into cultivation soils of an inferior quality, is the circumstance which creates rent. Arguing from this theory, the doctors in vogue are pleased to infer that the cultivation of an inferior soil increases the exchangeable value of agricultural produce, and pour out loud and incessant lamentations over every extension of tillage, every reclaiming of a waste, as circumstances which must enhance the price of provisions, and prove injurious to the interests of the labouring classes. The supposition that the cultivation of inferior soils, which increases the demand for agricultural labour, and augments the produce

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* The grain crops of our ancestors were subject to frequent and entire failures, unknown in modern times, in well-cultivated countries; which must have been owing to an ill-managed husbandry.

'At one time, (says the history of Hawstead,) we are told the ground was so hard that it could not be tilled; at another, that the rain and hail destroyed the crops: the consequence was not only a scarcity, but often a famine. The ordinary food of the common people in Invernesshire, (says the author of the survey of that county,) consists mostly during the summer months of the produce of the dairy, and what little meal they can command; and in the other part of the year they live upon potatoes, which are generally dressed with fish, or butcher's meat, or what milk they can procure at that season. This valuable root forms the basis of their food; yet hardly any are so poor, as not to have something along with the potatoe to give it a relish. The lower ranks, in general, live at this day with more comfort and in greater plentifulness than any former generation. Before the culture of potatoes became so extensive, I have known that their fathers and grandfathers were urged by necessity, to bleed the cattle occasionally, when their pittance of meal was expended; and having afterwards boiled this blood until it became solid, they ate it for bread with the milk of their cows. No such necessity prevails at present.'—*Survey of Invernesshire*, p. 279. Even so late as the reign of Queen Mary, Bullein, in his 'Bulwark of Defence,' p. 30, informs us, 'that bread was so skant, insomuch that the plain poor people did make very much of acorns, and a sickness or a strong fever did sore molest the commons.'

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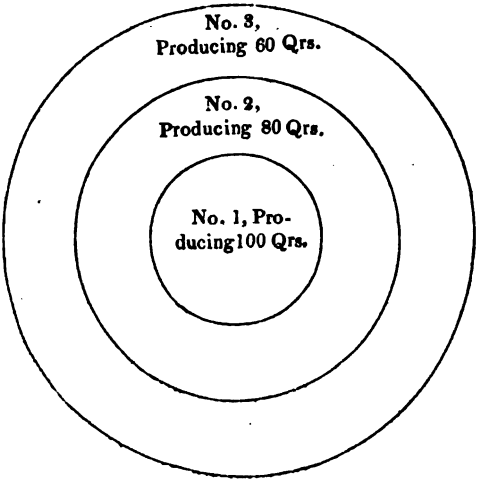
of those soils frequently more than twenty-fold, can prove hurtful to the people of this country, might, in ordinary times, be left to perish under the weight of its own absurdity; but as, from certain symptoms which have recently shown themselves, this theory, however ridiculous in itself, appears to have made some impression in quarters where its influence may prove injurious to the interests of the public, we shall examine the reasoning on which it is supported. It is a matter upon which our readers will recollect that we have already bestowed some attention: we had, indeed, imagined that this 'weed' of political economy was destroyed—but here, it seems, we are mistaken; and being pestered by a new crop, we must a second time take the pruning-knife into our hands.

The authors, whose opinions we propose to examine, are not, by any means, remarkable for perspicuity; but, as far as we can comprehend their lucubrations, they divide the united kingdom into concentric circles thus:



These circles are assumed to diminish gradually in fertility as they recede from the centre: the centre circle, No. 1, is supposed to produce 100 quarters of wheat on a given extent of land—No. 2, 80 quarters, and No. 3, 60 quarters respectively. Having constructed their machinery, our doctors proceed to its application,—'As long,' (say these oracles,) 'as the most fertile soil contained in the centre circle, No. 1, is the sole land existing in a state of tillage, no rent can by possibility accrue to the owners of it—no, not though this state of things should endure as long as the waters

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waters of the Thames flow into the ocean; but the moment the less fertile district, No. 2, is taken into cultivation, then a rent will accrue, not from this district, which will yield nothing to the owner, but from the district first tilled, or No. 1; and this rent will be equivalent to (100—80) 20 quarters of wheat, being the difference between the produce of No. 1 and the produce of No. 2. The progress of population will cause a progressive demand for agricultural produce, and the owners of the last district, No. 3, will at length be induced to undertake the cultivation of their land also: we are assured, however, that they will not derive to themselves any advantage from this measure in the shape of rent: the only result of the exertions of the No. 3 people will, it seems, be the *creation of a rent of* 20 *quarters*, to be paid to the owners of No. 2, and the *addition of* 20 *quarters* to the rent already received by the owners of No. 1.

How marvellous, as well as multiplied, are the discoveries of this 'most practical and exact of all the sciences!' It appears that there are certain districts in this kingdom, which, although regularly cultivated year after year, yield *no rent* to their owners;—we are gravely assured that the owners of these districts reclaim them from a state of waste, and reduce them to tillage, not for the sake of any advantage or profit which will accrue to themselves from this operation, but with the view of augmenting the revenues of their neighbours, who happen to be the proprietors of better land. Human nature cannot be represented in a more amiable light: disinterestedness could scarcely have arrived at a higher pitch amidst the shades of Paradise. We must fairly acknowledge, that we lived in this world many years without having the slightest suspicion that the cultivation of the sides of Ben Nevis, or Plinlimmon, was the *cause* of the rent which is paid for land in the hundreds of Essex. In our intense ignorance of the earth, and all that it inherit, we had taken the effect for the cause: we had actually imagined that David Jenkins cultivated oats on the slope of Plinlimmon because the rent of land occupied by Ralph Hodges, in the hundred of Rochford, had gradually been raised to 40*s*. per acre; but the notion never for a moment entered our minds, that the said Hodges paid rent because the said Jenkins cultivated oats.

Notwithstanding the pomp and solemnity with which it has been announced, and the pertinacity with which it has been maintained, we must submit that this highly-vaunted theory is perfectly untenable—that it involves a singular instance of the substitution of cause for effect. We think we can show that the whole theory is a perfect delusion—that the rent now paid for the most fertile soils, in a state of tillage, would have existed, in at least its present amount,

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amount, even if no land of an inferior quality had been brought under the plough: nay, if we do not grievously deceive ourselves, we shall, in the very teeth of this theory, establish the fact, that the cultivation of inferior soils, so far from enhancing the rent paid for those of a more fertile quality, has a direct and irresistible tendency to retard the rapidity with which the rent of the better soils would otherwise have accumulated. If we succeed in our object, we shall convince our readers, that the agriculturist who reclaims a waste, and brings it under tillage, or who, by improved husbandry, adds to the produce of land already cultivated, does not quite deserve to be sent to the tread-wheel, as the philosophers would fain persuade us; but that he is a benefactor to his country,—all that any lecturer, or professor of political economy, may assert to the contrary notwithstanding.

Let us suppose that, at the time of the Roman invasion, Julius Cæsar should have found this island uninhabited—that he should have settled a colony of 20,000 husbandmen, each having a wife and three children, on the most fertile district, No. 1, containing 100,000 acres of land. This district, divided among them, would give to each five acres a-piece. We will suppose this land to be brought into a state of tillage, and to yield three quarters of wheat per acre. The produce would then be 300,000 quarters of wheat, to be divided among 20,000 cultivators: this would give to each of them 15 quarters a-piece, to maintain himself and his wife and three children. We may imagine that, in the course of twenty years, the number of able-bodied workmen would increase from 20,000 to 40,000. Supposing the whole produce still to remain the same and to be divided among them, the share of each workman would be reduced from 15 quarters to seven and a half quarters; but, as one workman would be still equal to the cultivation of five acres of land, the owner would be enabled to put the other seven and a half quarters into his chest, and subsist thereon, if he chose, without working: in other words, the wages of labour being reduced, by the competition of an increasing population, from three quarters to one quarter and a half per acre, the owner would by this means be enabled to secure to himself a surplus of one quarter and a half, from each acre, as rent. A further increase of population would effect a further reduction of the wages of labour, attended with a corresponding augmentation of rent; and this process would continue to go on until wages had arrived at a point, below which human life could not be sustained. This would act as a check upon the increase of the people, and prevent its reaching the point of starvation; but long before this period arrived, the district next in fertility to that already occupied would attract the attention of the increasing population. The hard-working members of the colony would

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would soon perceive that the district possessing a second degree of fertility would yield a better return for labour than could be obtained in the old and more fertile district, in its over-peopled condition. Let it be assumed, that in this second district the labour of one man would raise 10 quarters of wheat upon five acres: this would offer a bonus of two and a half quarters to each labourer who should emigrate from the old colony, and settle in the new district. This emigration of the surplus population would raise the wages of labour from seven and a half quarters to 10 quarters per man, in the old colony; for no man would be content to work at home for seven and a half quarters, whilst, by removing into the neighbouring district, he could earn ten quarters of wheat per annum; and, in consequence of this advance in the rate of wages, the rent of land in the old colony would fall from one and a half quarters to one quarter per acre. Society would go through the same process in the second district, which had marked its progress on that first settled: as long as any land would reward the cultivator with a return of two quarters per acre, wages could not fall below this amount—no rent would accrue in this district, and the rent paid in the older, and more fertile district, would remain stationary; but, in the course of time, all the land of the second district would become appropriated, the population would increase beyond the demand for agricultural labourers, and wages would fall: this fall of wages would create rent in the second district, and in the same degree would add to the rent already paid in the first and most fertile district. Our egregious theorists contend that the cultivation of a less fertile soil forms the *cause* which creates rent on that which possesses naturally a greater degree of fertility: it is, on the contrary, quite evident that the very reverse of this is the truth. The increase of population, on a district of any given fertility, gradually introduces an increased intensity of competition among the labourers: this competition brings on a fall in the wages of labour, which is inevitably accompanied with the creation and the gradual augmentation of rent. This fall in the value of labour renders it profitable to cultivate soils which it would not have answered to bring into a state of tillage while the wages of labour remained high. The cultivation of inferior soils is not, therefore, the *cause*, but the *consequence* of the rent which has already accrued upon land of a better quality; and, so far is it from being calculated to raise the price of provisions, to lower the rate of wages, and injure the interests of the labourer, that it has a direct and powerful tendency to arrest the rapidity with which wages would fall, and rents rise, in the most fertile districts, if the cultivation of inferior soils offered no outlet for the surplus population.

We

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We therefore, maintain that the extension of tillage to districts hitherto uncultivated, far from being unfriendly to the interests of the working classes, and enhancing the exchangeable value of agricultural produce, has a manifest tendency to diminish this value, and better the condition of the labourer, by securing to him, as the reward of his industry, a more ample return of the necessaries of life. It would, indeed, upon any other subject, seem quite superfluous to use arguments to show that increasing the bulk of produce grown in any country must diminish its price, or, in other words, give to each member of the community, a larger portion of this augmented produce, as his share of the whole. But no absurdity is too glaring to meet with advocates and supporters among sciolists, especially in political economy; and therefore we have been reluctantly constrained to dwell upon a proposition which, to the majority of mankind, must appear almost self-evident.*

We should not do justice to this subject, were we to omit stating that, independently of the principle to which we have just adverted, another source of rent will speedily arise, wherever *property* in the soil becomes once recognised.

Let it be assumed, that the 20,000 colonists already mentioned had divided 100,000 acres of fertile land, as property, among themselves. It is clear enough that no man would have

* It is scarcely to be believed what havock the 'Doctors' commit upon common sense and experience, when they get among the 'successive doses' of capital laid out upon the land. Upon this point the author of the 'Remarks' has chastised them with a keen and unsparing hand:—'Whether capital be laid out,' says he, 'in adding to the cultivated surface of our own country, or in rendering more productive that which is already cultivated, the effect will certainly be to increase the supply of corn. But how will the price rise in consequence of that which makes the supply more?—Many are the ways by which the price of corn may be raised, but the increasing of the supply is assuredly not one of them. But if that which increases the supply raises the price, that which diminishes the supply, we are told, lessens the price. If capital is withdrawn from the cultivation of land, either by lessening the extent of the cultivated surface, or by not being expended on that which is already cultivated, the price is to fall, and in consequence of what?—of that very thing, good reader, which diminishes the supply!—People of old believed that fertility in the soil of a country was a good to be wished for. It has been reserved for the political economists to show us, that what removes the natural sterility of the earth is a general evil, and a public curse.—What enlarges the supply of food, increases, by that very act, the price of it. The more land we cultivate, and the more of our capital we expend in increasing the present and permanent fruitfulness of that which has been cultivated, so much the worse for us all. The less we cultivate, and the less we improve and fertilize that which is cultivated, so much the better for the poor man, who because he has less to eat, will fare the better, and pay the less for what he eats!'—*Remarks on certain Modern Theories, &c.*—pp. 78–80. The whole of this little pamphlet is so excellent, that we recommend it to our readers for perusal: it contains an admirable exposure of the absurdities published by the members of the *Hebrew-Caledonian* school upon the subject of rent, which deserves to be generally read.

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given any one of these proprietors any rent, or payment for leave to occupy his allotment, if, in the immediate neighbourhood, a grant of land, equally convenient and productive, could have been obtained gratis. But, let us suppose that these allotments had been occupied and cultivated by their owners for the space of half a century, and that, during this interval, houses had been built, hedges planted, ditches, drains, and roads made—we apprehend that a stranger would be disposed to give the owner of any one of these allotments, thus improved, a portion of the produce, in the shape of rent, although he might, if he pleased, obtain, on the other side of the hedge, in an unimproved and uncultivated state, a grant of land fully equal to it in its natural quality of productiveness.

The rent which accrues to the owner of an allotment of land reclaimed from a state of nature, seldom, or perhaps never, exceeds the annual return justly due to him for the capital,* or labour, expended in preparing it for the purposes of husbandry: it accrues on the principle of natural equity, which confers upon every man an indefeasible title to reap the fruits of his own labour; and its operation may, even at this moment, be seen in full activity in the back-woods of North America. The pioneer of civilization in that country, with a wallet of provisions on one shoulder, and a hatchet on the other, plunges into the depth of the woods: having selected a spot agreeable to his views, he begins to clear it: he then erects a log-cabin, and proceeds gradually to clear an increased quantity of the surrounding forest. Even from this log-cabin, and the land cleared of the wood by which it was previously encumbered, rent would accrue to the owner, and a new settler would just as soon pay this rent, as bestow his labour in clearing the next spot to it, although by nature of equal fertility. This rent would simply constitute a re-payment of the capital which the first settler had already expended in clearing his field, and building his hut. If log-huts, and cleared fields of equal fertility, were scattered by the hand of nature over the wilds of America, to be entered upon by the first comer, then, indeed, no rent would accrue for a log-hut and a cleared field. In the same manner, if farm-houses, and attached land, with roads, hedges, ditches, and drains, were to be found in Europe, ready-made by nature, and open for the occupation of the first comer, then, indeed, no rent could be derived from such possessions; but, until this halcyon era of our economists shall arrive, the tillers of the earth in every part of the world must be con-

* The economists contend that this return for the landlord's capital should be called interest, and not rent. This appears to be a distinction without a difference.

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strained to yield, for the premises which they occupy as tenants, a rent equivalent to the interest of the capital which the owners have expended in improving them.

Among a certain class of writers and orators, who, with views of their own, endeavour to avail themselves of the passions of the multitude, it has lately become the fashion to represent rent as an extortionate exaction, wrung, under the colour of law, and the arbitrary institutions of society, from the pockets of the poor; and the landowners themselves as a set of useless, selfish, and greedy drones, whose only service to the state is the consumption of a large and increasing revenue, which would otherwise be added to the earnings of the industrious classes. But the doctrine advocated by these persons, for purposes which they have not hitherto ventured openly to reveal, is as palpably absurd as it is malignantly flagitious. It is not difficult to prove, to the perfect conviction of every rational mind, that rent injures no member of society—that it has no effect whatever on the money-value of agricultural produce, which would sell for the same money-price in the market, or exchange for the same quantity of other commodities, if rent were entirely abolished: and, moreover, that taking every country wherein rent accrues to the owner of the soil as a whole, it never will be found to exceed a fair average return for the capital, or saved labour, embarked by him in the production of corn. He who invests capital, saved either by himself or his forefathers, in the cultivation of the soil, and derives a return for it under the denomination of rent, can no more justly be represented as a drone, than his neighbour who employs the capital, saved either by himself or his ancestors, in the manufacture of cotton, or shoes, and derives a return for it under the denomination of profit.

The production of corn is, in fact, a manufacture: the soil is the raw material from which agricultural produce is manufactured. The owner and the occupier of land form in effect a co-partnership for the production of this commodity. As the foundation of all, the owner finds the raw material, the soil—which, in a state of nature, and before it has been prepared for tillage by human industry, is of little or no value: in addition to this, he finds various appliances without which the manufacture cannot be carried on with any prospect of advantage. The buildings, the hedges, the gates, the ditches, the drains, the roads, &c. &c.,—these must all be prepared at the expense of the owner. The value of these articles, that is, the labour of which they are the results, constitutes the portion of capital advanced by the British landowner for the purposes of the co-partnership into which he enters; and this capital is rather more considerable in amount

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amount than the demagogues, who describe our landowners as drones subsisting upon the earnings of the people, have any inclination to admit. If an estimate could be formed of the expense incurred in reclaiming the soil of this country from a state of nature, and preparing it for the operations of husbandry—of the sums expended in building, draining, clearing, fencing, irrigating, road and bridge making, by the successive owners of estates, we are inclined to think it would not fall very short of the present value of the fee-simple of the land. Supposing the rent of land in this country to average 1*l.* per acre, and the freehold to sell at thirty years purchase, the average fee-simple value of each acre would be 30*l.* If every expense which has been incurred by the landlord during the last two hundred years only, could be accurately calculated upon an average of acres, we have every reason to believe that it would amount to at least 30*l.* If we estimate the capital of the actual occupier, the landlord's co-partner in the manufacture of corn, at 10*l.* per acre, for stock and labour, it will probably form something like the average of the kingdom. Between the owner and the occupier of land, therefore, a capital of 40*l.* is advanced for the cultivation of every acre. The necessary outgoings of tillage, wages, taxes, tithes, rates, and food for working cattle, being deducted, a surplus, amounting we shall suppose to 40*s.*, remains to be divided between them. Of this surplus, it is probable that about one half, or 20*s.*, may fall to the share of the occupier, which is *ten per cent.* profit upon the capital of 10*l.* employed by him in farming. The other half goes into the pocket of the landlord, yielding a return of *three per cent.* for the capital invested by him in the manufacture of corn.

How malignant, then, how basely malignant is the conduct of those who systematically hold up the landowners of this country to public obloquy, as useless drones, fattening, from generation to generation, upon the industry of the people! If they had not, from time to time, laid out their capital in the amelioration of the soil, the produce of land would not have exceeded its amount in a state of nature; and the increased population which, in this country, finds profitable employment in agriculture, as well as in manufactures and commerce, could not have been subsisted. Such are the facts; and yet—while the man who builds a cotton-mill with its attendant machinery, and receives an adequate return for the capital which he has advanced, shall be lauded to the skies as a public benefactor, who provides employment for a whole horde of industrious workmen, and makes a valuable addition to the stock of national wealth—his neighbour who has expended a capital of equal amount in agricultural improvements, which double or treble the previous produce of

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of the soil, is, it seems, neither more nor less than an unprofitable incumbrance upon the industry of the community! We can have no hesitation in expressing our total dissent from the view thus taken of the relative merits of these two capitalists. As far as the interests of the working classes are concerned, it cannot, we think, admit of dispute, that a capital of 10,000*l.* expended in improvements which double the produce of a given quantity of land, is at the very least as beneficially employed as a capital of equal amount invested in mechanical improvements, which double the quantity of wrought commodities fabricated by a given expenditure of human labour.

In the progress of civilization, the operation of other causes will augment the rent naturally and unavoidably accruing from the capital expended in improving the land and preparing it for the purposes of tillage. The discovery and application of new and more fertilizing manures, and the cultivation of artificial grasses, have increased, to a very great degree, the natural productiveness of the soil in this country; and whenever these artificial aids of agriculture enable the occupier to derive from the soil a crop augmented in a ratio which exceeds the extra-labour expended in raising it, the surplus falling to the share of the landlord must necessarily increase. Hence the owners of land must derive a direct advantage from the employment of artificial means in augmenting the produce of the soil, whenever these can be successfully applied without an over-proportioned expenditure of labour; and even where the additional cost of labour incurred in the prosecution of any ameliorating process should equal the profit of the augmented crop, although, in this instance, no increase of rent would accrue to the owner, still society would be benefited by the employment given to an extra number of labourers.

An augmentation of rent will also be effected by the application of machinery, or any other expedient which may abridge the quantity of labour required for the cultivation of land, while the produce sustains no diminution. If one man, assisted by machinery, can execute what required before the labour of two men, the food necessary to support one labourer will, in consequence, be saved, and in the end it will be added to the amount of rent already paid to the landlord; for it is a principle of universal operation, that whenever a machine is introduced, which enables one man to do the work of two, the saving does not go in the shape of increased wages into the pocket of the workman who continues to be employed at the machine, but falls to the share of the owner of the agricultural produce who uses this machine in fabricating wrought commodities; and, in truth, the operation of this principle furnishes the only key, which can enable

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us to account in a satisfactory manner, for the extraordinary and rapid rise of rents in modern times.

The subject appears to us so important, and, at the same, to be so entirely overlooked by the economists who pretend to explain the theory of rent, that we shall venture to devote a page to its illustration. Those who are at all conversant with matters of this nature, are well aware that, in former times, the land in this country was greatly subdivided among a numerous race of unskilful cultivators. The occupier of thirty or forty acres was reckoned an opulent and substantial farmer. Assisted by the members of his family, he performed, in person, all the labour required on his farm: he fabricated with his own hands all the clumsy and inefficient instruments employed by him in husbandry, excepting, perhaps, the plough. His ill-constructed harrow was furnished with wooden teeth, hardened in the fire; the harness was made of withy, or of horse-hair, twisted by himself: a travelling carpenter carrying a basket of tools upon his back, went round the different farms of each neighbourhood, and having felled an ash tree in one of the hedges, fashioned, in the course of a few hours, the rude implement used as a plough. But in addition to the implements of husbandry, the family themselves fabricated almost every manufactured article required for domestic use. In the winter season, between dusk and supper time, the farmer, with his sons and men-servants, might be seen employed in making wicker baskets, wooden spoons, beechen bowls, and other household utensils. The good-wife, the maid-servants, and daughters of the family generally employed themselves, during the same season, from an early hour in the morning until break of day, and from night-fall to supper time, in knitting stockings, or in carding and spinning wool and flax—which were then sent to the village weaver—whose web, in due season, was taken to a provincial dyer and fuller, who, on stated days, attended at the nearest market-town to receive the web and bring back the cloth. While this state of things continued, the manufactures of this country were almost entirely domestic: all the men were engaged in agriculture, and the women, with the exception of the seed-time and harvest, in fabricating at home the various articles of clothing required for the use of the family. From the cottage of the peasant, up to the palace of the most puissant prince, the wheel, the distaff, and the needle were constantly and indefatigably plied. This is the real source of the celebrity which our grandmothers of needle-working memory acquired by their industry: the fine gentlemen, even of the sixteenth century, wore linen and woollen cloth spun at home by their wives and daughters: the various other household articles, composed of woollen or flaxen stuffs, were fabricated by the same delicate

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delicate and well-trained hands; and on her wedding-day, the first lady of the land carried with her, for the decoration of her matron person, a goodly assortment of woollen and linen garments, the domestic product of her maiden zeal.*

Manufactures and commerce, then, in the modern acceptation of these terms, were carried on to a very limited extent among our ancestors: indeed, no foundation existed on which they could have been raised. The produce obtained by constant cropping and an unskilful system of tillage was extremely scanty; it was almost entirely consumed within the precincts of the farm; there was little or no surplus left for the landlord under the denomination of rent; and the few taxes imposed for the exigencies of the state formed a heavy burden difficult to be borne. This ancient arrangement of society had been gradually, but slowly, giving way to a different system from the reign of Queen Elizabeth down to the middle of the last century, when, in most parts of the kingdom, it was annihilated by the application of machinery to processes hitherto performed by the hand. The invention of carding-machines, spinning jennies, and of the various other mechanical contrivances used in manufactories to abridge labour, forms a remarkable epoch in the history of rent. A vague impres-

* We have some reason to believe that this species of domestic industry has not even at this moment entirely disappeared from the distant provinces of this kingdom: the agricultural surveyor of Invernesshire, who dwells with evident satisfaction on the *notability* of his fair countrywomen, states that

'The domestic manufacture of this county (Invernesshire) is very considerable, because upwards of 60,000 of the inhabitants, out of a population of 74,000, may be said to be clothed by their homespun and home-wrought stuffs of various kinds, excepting bonnets, handkerchiefs, and a few more articles for female or Sunday's attire.

'The housewives and daughters and servant maids are more industrious than we could suppose in a country where the pastoral habits and employments still continue so much to prevail. Their cloths are woven by the country-weavers, and dressed by the dyers in the neighbourhood. Their tartans and plaids are universally admired for fineness of fabric, brilliancy of colours, and the taste displayed in the variety of setts or patterns. This display of ingenuity and industry is by no means confined to the common people; many ladies of fortune understand the art of dyeing to great perfection, not only with respect to the more easy and cheap colours, but even as to the more delicate and vivid kinds, which they often execute full as lively and permanently as the most skilful and experienced dyers in the great towns. To enumerate all the instances of these thrifty habits would be endless—I shall mention only one, as a specimen of the rest:—At a gentleman's house in Lochaber I saw two hearth-rugs of the most beautiful mixed colours; one dozen of chair-covers, woven, and another dozen sewed by a stitch called vigo (well known to ladies), having five different shades of green, four of red, three of purple, a black ground, with a yellow and white edging; all spun, and dyed, and sewed, in the house. The whole drawing-room furniture, sofa and chair-covers, was of the same kind; sixteen carpets of different patterns; the bed and table-linen was countless; as also the blankets, which in warmth and fabric were equal, and in fineness superior, to those sold in the great towns under the name of being imported from the south. Shawls and gowns of twisted worsted, and tartans of the most lively colours, beautifully diversified, and various other articles, all spun and dyed in the family, under the inspection and by direction of Mrs. Cameron, of Farfern.'—p. 317.

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sion seems to prevail very generally that the rise of rents, since the middle of the eighteenth century, is, in some way or other, connected with the new direction which was then given to our manufacturing industry; but we do not recollect that we have any where seen the nature of this connexion set down with sufficient distinctness.

While the social system which anciently prevailed in this country continued in its full vigour, it is manifest that the occupier of every tenement must have maintained in his own house, or at least within the limits of his own farm, a number of hands, sufficient not only to perform the work of tillage, but also to manufacture all the articles of clothing required by himself, his family, and his working-people. Before the introduction of artificial grasses and other green crops, which afford not only a constant succession of food for the cattle, but also a regular succession of employments for the labourers engaged in husbandry, the men and the horses of the farmer were idle during a considerable portion of the year. The food consumed by them during this interval was so much dead loss to the owner directly, and indirectly to the community at large. The mixed mode of husbandry which has now superseded our ancient corn system, not only makes a large addition to the gross produce of the soil, but is attended with the further advantage of bringing forward the different crops in a successive series, with a never-ceasing and profitable employment to the men and animals maintained by the farmer. This effects an incalculable saving of labour and food, which, under the name of rent, falls to the share of the landowner.

We do not mean to assert, that the modern system of husbandry enables a team of horses to execute, in a given space of time, twice as much work as it could have performed two centuries ago: it is very probable, that all the improvements which have been made in the construction of agricultural instruments do not render it practicable for a farmer, with one plough, to till, in a given time, a much greater extent of surface than he could have tilled formerly. But, while scarcely any thing was cultivated except the lent grain crops, and perhaps two-thirds of the farm were sown with barley and oats, it was indispensable that the whole work of ploughing should have been executed in the brief space of a month, or, at most, six weeks: the plough was then laid up until the following spring, and the team turned loose until the harvest. As long as the work of tillage came on at once, it was necessary for the occupier to keep an excessive number of teams. How different is the case at present!—one team will now suffice where two, or perhaps three, were required before. Immediately after harvest, it is employed in preparing the ground for wheat: that being done, winter-fallowing commences,

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commences, which is succeeded by ploughing for the lent grain crops: after these crops have been sown, the preparation for turnips instantly begins: hoeing these, and cleaning the summer fallows and the drilled grain crops, fully employ the team until the harvest arrives, after which the same routine recommences. In this manner, the plough is never unnecessarily idle for a single moment: one team, employed in a constant succession of labour, can perform much more work than two teams could have executed by the fits and starts of the old husbandry.

The proprietor of 100 acres of land, cultivating his farm under the old system, was obliged, we will suppose, to keep ten horses, ten labourers to plough, sow, and reap, ten women to card and spin. Under the present improved system of producing a series of different crops in succession, we may assume, that five horses and five labourers are found sufficient to carry on the work of the same farm, and that the use of machinery in carding, spinning, and weaving, may enable two women to fabricate the same quantity of wrought goods, which would formerly have required the labour of ten. The landowner thus effects a saving of the food consumed by five horses, five labourers, and eight females, which he takes to himself as his share of the produce. The men and women, whom this change enables the cultivators of the soil to discard, betake themselves to a different occupation. Some of them obtain employment in manufactories established for the fabrication of articles of necessity or luxury, which the owners of the surplus produce of the land now require: others are engaged in their households as menial domestics; and thus, in a different capacity, they consume the same quantity of food which must have been expended in maintaining them, had they still continued to labour on the land. The new arrangement cannot, therefore, prove injurious to the working classes, though it must be highly advantageous to the owners of land. The former are at the least as well fed and clothed in their capacities of coachmen, footmen, artisans, mechanics, as they had previously been while working on the land; and the latter, after sufficiently providing for the proper cultivation of their estates, are enabled to secure to themselves the labour of a new and valuable class of servants.

We conceive this to be the true solution of the rapid increase of rents in modern times. In former times, very nearly the whole produce of the soil was expended in feeding and clothing the men and the cattle actually engaged in the operations of tillage: now, the improvements of husbandry, and the partial substitution of machinery for hands, enable the cultivator to perform the same labour, with the consumption of half the quantity of food: the

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other half, therefore, remains as a surplus, to be divided among the various parties entitled to benefit by it.

The introduction of a more skilful and economical system of husbandry, and the application of machinery in abridging the quantity of food previously consumed in fabricating the clothing required for agricultural labourers, constitute the true reason why it has been found profitable to carry on cultivation in districts which had been formerly neglected. Whatever lessens the expense of cultivation—the quantity of produce actually and necessarily consumed in the process of tillage—on the better soils, will always have the effect of pushing cultivation on soils possessing an inferior degree of natural fertility. Let us suppose that, under the old system of husbandry, an acre of the best land yielded four quarters of wheat, and that to replace the seed, to feed and clothe the labourers, and to maintain the animals employed in tilling it, an expenditure equivalent to four quarters would have been required: in such a case it is evident that it could have yielded no surplus, and that, consequently, no rent would have accrued from it to the owner. Let us assume that, in the course of time, the use of machinery in fabricating clothing for the workmen, and the employment of better implements in the operations of husbandry, should have reduced the expense of cultivation one-half; then a rent equivalent to two quarters of wheat would immediately have accrued to the owner.

The influence of the saving thus effected in the expenditure incurred in the tillage of the best land, would soon have reached land possessing the next inferior degree of fertility—land, for instance, capable of yielding three quarters per acre. As long as it required a crop of four quarters to replace the food expended in tillage, land of an inferior quality must have remained uncultivated; the moment, however, the saving of labour caused by the use of machinery on the best land had been effected, it would have become practicable to occupy this inferior soil with profit to the owner. But it would be manifestly wrong to contend that the saving effected in the expense of cultivating the best land was caused by the tillage of inferior land. The *cause* of this saving was the employment of machines, enabling one man to perform what required previously the labour of two men; and the cultivation of the inferior soil was simply and solely the *consequence* of this saving of labour effected by machinery. The saving on the best soil, and of course the rent of the best soil, would have been the same whether the inferior soil were cultivated or neglected; if, indeed, the cultivation of the inferior soil would not rather have had a tendency to diminish the surplus on the better soil: inasmuch

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inasmuch as it would have created a greater demand for agricultural labour, and, consequently, would have augmented the portion of the produce which the owner of the better soil must give to his workmen in the shape of wages.

Our admiration of the success with which machinery has been applied, in this country, to manufacturing purposes, induces us, however, to overlook one or two drawbacks which adhere to the system. The use of machinery effects an immense saving of labour in the fabrication of a given quantity of cloth. This is, no doubt, highly beneficial to the working mechanic, whose time is fully occupied; but we are not sure that it is equally advantageous to the small farmer, or to the labourer employed in agriculture. There are yet many hours of every day, and many whole days of every winter, in which the labours of agriculture must be at a stand-still. One or two hours before day-light, and two or three hours after night-fall, were formerly applied in the family of every little farmer, and of every agricultural labourer, to domestic manufacture. This custom is now pretty much exploded: the wheel and the distaff are very generally banished from the farm-house and the cottage, at least in the south, and the wife and daughters of the husbandman are thus deprived of an occupation, which, perhaps, had other merits besides that of being profitable. Whether this relaxation of industry has improved the health and morals, or augmented the happiness of this class of females, we will not undertake to determine, although we cannot help suspecting that the annihilation of this domestic employment, through the intervention of machinery, may be a principal cause of the daily increasing burdens upon parishes, occasioned by poor-rates.

In estimating the advantage which the community derives from the use of machinery, in the fabrication of articles formerly manufactured at home, another circumstance ought to be considered. It is unquestionably true, that the *quantity* of any article of clothing which a given *quantity* of labour, aided by machinery, can produce, is infinitely greater than could have been manufactured without mechanical assistance: still, it should not be forgotten, that the increase in the quantity is, to a certain degree at least, counterbalanced by a diminution in the durability of the article. It is, we believe, a fact which no man will dispute, that a coat, made of cloth carded and spun by the hand, will last much longer than the same garment made of materials fabricated by the aid of machinery. When this inferior degree of durability is coupled with the time now thrown away by the agriculturist and his family, we are inclined to think that the estimate usually formed of the advantages which this country derives from the application of machinery to the abridgment of manufacturing

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labour, must be somewhat reduced. Though we have great gain on one side of the account, still it ought, in all fairness, to be balanced by some loss counted on the other.

Every improvement in the system of farming, pursued in any country—every expedient or contrivance which abridges the quantity of food consumed by the men and cattle required to till the land, must, in proportion to this saving, make a permanent addition to the income of the landlord; and every saving which art and ingenuity can effect in the food consumed in the tillage of the ground, not only proves a source of profit to the owner of the soil, but also a new source of employment to the manufacturing and commercial part of the community. Wherever an extent of land, which formerly required four horses and two men to till it, can be equally well tilled by two horses and one man, a saving will be effected of the food necessary for the sustenance of two horses and one labourer. This saving will, in the first instance, pass, under the form of an addition to his rent, into the coffers of the landlord: but he, not being able to eat more food than before, will expend this additional rent in maintaining manufacturing artisans, employed in the fabrication of articles which, as soon as he has the means of procuring them, he is sure to have the desire of possessing. It is, therefore, perfectly clear that the extent to which the manufactures of any country can be pushed, except by rendering the population habitually dependant for food upon the produce of a foreign soil, must correspond with the amount of the surplus produce which remains beyond the food required for the sustenance of the men and the animals actually engaged in the cultivation of the land. It is this surplus, remaining after the consumption of the men and the animals actually engaged in the labours of agriculture has been provided for, which forms the basis of trade and manufactures: without this surplus they could not even exist; and in proportion to the increase or diminution of this surplus will manufactures and commerce flourish or decay. This is the only fund upon which the artisans and mechanics of any country can permanently rely for subsistence: hence arises the demand of the home market, which must improve or fall off as this surplus becomes increased or diminished. In this country, the portion of the produce yearly consumed in the tillage of the land is comparatively very small: the surplus falls to the share of the farmer as the profit of stock—of the tax-gatherer, of the tithe-owner, and of the landlord, as rent; and, excepting that portion of it which may be actually consumed as food by the tithe-owner, the tax-receiver, and the landlord, with their families, it is all expended in the maintenance of manufacturers and mechanics, who are employed in fabricating the various articles of utility or luxury

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luxury which these parties respectively require. Every discovery, therefore, which augments the gross produce of land in a greater ratio than the food consumed in cultivating it, or which reduces the quantity of food consumed in agriculture while the gross produce is not diminished, must add to the surplus which can be expended on manufactures. *Money-rent is merely the measure of this surplus;* and, so far is the existence, or the rise of rent from being inimical to the interests of manufactures and commerce, that it forms the very basis on which they are founded: wherever land yields no rent, it affords the most decisive evidence, either that it is uncultivated, or that the whole of its produce is barely sufficient for the subsistence of the men and animals actually engaged in tilling it: in neither of these cases can any surplus agricultural produce exist, to be expended on manufacturers or traders.

The large amount of this surplus constitutes, in truth, the real basis of the manufacturing prosperity of this country; and here is also the true reason why other nations are so much behind us in this important branch of national industry. In France, for instance, the land is divided into small farms, among a numerous race of cultivators, who not only perform the agricultural labour of their fields, but also fabricate at home by far the greater portion of those articles which the corresponding classes in this country derive from public manufactories. On a system similar to that which prevailed in this country until the commencement, or, perhaps, the middle of the last century, the French farmer, to this day, constructs his own implements of husbandry, and in his family is manufactured the cloth of which his wearing apparel is made. Very nearly the whole produce of each farm is thus consumed within its precincts: the manufactures of France are, therefore, principally domestic, which accounts for the low ebb of this species of industry in that country. Twice the number of men and animals engaged in tilling a given extent of land in England, are employed in cultivating an equal extent in France; and, notwithstanding this excessive expenditure of human and animal labour, backed by all the advantages of soil and climate which that country is acknowledged to possess, it is still admitted that, owing to an imperfect system of husbandry, the produce of France is, on an average of acres, one-fourth less than the produce of England. It has been calculated, that in this country four millions of agricultural labourers raise food for themselves, for six millions of manufacturers, and for two millions of other persons, either unproductive, or engaged in scientific and learned professions. In France, on the other hand, it is calculated, that, the whole population

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pulation being about thirty millions, about twenty millions of men are engaged in agriculture. In other words, two agricultural labourers are employed in France to raise food for themselves, and for one manufacturer, to be employed between them;—while, in this country, one agricultural labourer raises food enough for himself, and for two other persons employed in various capacities as artisans and mechanics.

Whenever, therefore, one labourer, profitably employed, is added to the number of men already engaged in agriculture, it will prove the means of adding, eventually, two persons to the number now profitably employed in manufactures and commerce; and, until this addition be made to the number of working manufacturers, the extra produce, raised by the agricultural labourer, will be divided among the whole body in the form of increased wages.

It is also evident that the commercial operations, and the foreign trade of the country, are equally dependent with our manufactures upon the surplus produce of our internal agriculture. The different articles imported into this country, from the various quarters of the globe, are brought hither to be exchanged *for the produce of our own soil.* If this surplus native produce did not exist, the foreign commodity now exchanged for it could not have been imported. When a pound of pepper, or a pound of tea, is sold by a shopkeeper in an English village, it is merely an exchange of a certain portion of the produce of Surinam, or of China, for an equivalent quantity of the beef or corn produced in some English field. Nor does it, in any respect, alter the nature and effect of the transaction, that money or manufactured goods should be the commodities, in the first instance, given in exchange for these foreign luxuries; whether the corn and beef of the English farmer be exchanged directly for pepper and tea, or indirectly—in the form of manufactured cotton, or any other article in the fabrication of which his beef and corn have been consumed—the result is exactly the same. By a law of nature, which no effort or ingenuity of man can counteract or modify, the extent and intensity of our demand for foreign commodities must be regulated by the excess of our agricultural produce over our internal consumption. Destroy this excess, and foreign commerce must be instantly and completely annihilated; and, in the exact proportion that this excess increases or diminishes, will our foreign trade flourish or decay.—The manufacturers and mechanics of this country depend as much upon this surplus produce of our own soil for the foreign productions which they consume, as the farmer or landowner himself. The weaver, for instance, who exchanges

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changes a bushel of wheat, or, what is the same thing, pays the market value of a bushel of wheat, for a pound of tea, is only parting with some of the surplus produce of the land, which he had previously received from the farmer as wages for weaving a piece of cloth.

Hence, the paramount importance of agriculture, not only to the class more immediately connected with tillage, but as the source of manufacturing and commercial prosperity, becomes evident even to the dullest comprehension. Every measure which promotes tillage, and augments the surplus which remains beyond the necessary consumption of the labourers employed in cultivation, has an irresistible tendency to extend manufactures and commerce; and every regulation which tends to discourage this branch of public industry, must unavoidably and directly affect the interests of the manufacturing and commercial classes. No proposition can, therefore, be more clear than that, in every country possessing an extensive territory, and aspiring to permanent independence, the cultivation of the soil should form the first object of consideration, as it constitutes the only basis of public wealth which is exposed to no adverse fluctuation. Wherever agriculture is pursued with spirit, intelligence, and success, the other classes of the community must participate in this prosperity; but wherever tillage is discouraged, neglected, or imperfectly carried on, there, by a law of nature which no human power can neutralize, all the other interests of the community must retrograde, decay, and finally perish.

Because a greater number of persons happen in this country to be employed in manufactures and commerce, than in the cultivation of the soil, a notion has been actively propagated, not merely that the manufacturing and commercial classes are more important and beneficial to the state than the classes engaged in agriculture, but that on many occasions the interests of the former are diametrically opposed to those of the latter. Nothing can be more fallacious, more unphilosophical, more mischievous, than these opinions. The manufacturing and commercial interests, when estimated, not according to the number of hands, but according to the amount and productive character of the capital employed, are not entitled to that superiority over agriculture which is too frequently conceded them. It should be recollected that the manufacturer does not create wealth: he merely modifies that which has been already produced by the labours of the agriculturist. While a manufacturer is preparing the cloth of which a coat is afterwards made, or building a house which is to be afterwards occupied, he must be subsisted in every stage of the process by the wealth or food produced

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produced by the agriculturist. Houses, manufactories, ships, machines, and other fabrics required for the accommodation and convenience of the community, are the representatives of the quantity of food drawn from the bosom of the earth, which has been consumed in constructing them. It is, therefore, not a little surprising that political economists, and even practical statesmen, should appear frequently to forget that the reward of manufacturing and commercial industry must depend upon the produce raised by the cultivation of the soil.

The relative importance of agriculture, as a productive branch of industry, will be, perhaps, best seen by reflecting upon the different channels through which the produce of the soil becomes finally distributed. The first portion of the gross produce of the land is expended in seed, or consumed as food by the various classes more immediately connected with the soil; by the farmer; by the labourers whom he employs; by the tithe-owner; by the various classes who subsist upon taxes, such as the servants of the crown, the dignitaries of the law, the officers of the army and navy; by the landowners; and by the domestic establishments of the various preceding classes. It is manifestly impossible to form an exact calculation of the proportion subsisting in this country between the food actually consumed by the different classes here mentioned, and that part of the gross produce which is expended by them in feeding artisans and mechanics employed in fabricating the various articles of necessity or luxury required for their accommodation. But there can be no difficulty in stating that the portion expended in the maintenance of manufacturers forms more than a moiety of the whole. To render this point still more clear, we shall present a short analysis of the various channels through which the produce of the land is finally distributed; and it will very much facilitate the object which we have in view, if our readers will dismiss from their thoughts the expressions 'cost,' 'price,' &c., as they tend only to confuse the mind. We shall conceive the transactions of the community to be conducted by barter, without having recourse to the intervention of money: the result would be exactly the same were we to take money as the measure of value, but the process would be longer and more intricate. Without aspiring to a degree of precision which is unattainable, and which for our present purpose is quite unnecessary, let us assume that England, Scotland, and Ireland contain fifty millions of acres of land in a state of tillage;—that, upon an average, each acre produces two quarters, or some other produce equal in value to two quarters, of wheat;—that five millions of persons, or one man to ten acres—1,500,000 horses, or three horses to every 100 acres,

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acres, are employed in agriculture: the food consumed by the men and the cattle engaged in the labours of husbandry will stand thus:—

	Quarters.
5,000,000 men, at 8 quarters per man, consume .	15,000,000
1,500,000 horses, at 4 quarters per horse . . .	6,000,000
Seeds of various kinds, equivalent to about . .	7,000,000
	28,000,000
2,000,000 of persons, composing the classes not immediately engaged either in agriculture or manufactures, consume at the rate of 6 qrs. per man	12,000,000
	40,000,000*

The whole of what is consumed as food by the men and horses immediately engaged in agriculture—by the unproductive classes, including lawyers, physicians, clergymen, landowners, fundholders, or other persons living upon the interest of money—or used as seed, amounts to about four parts in ten of the whole produce of the land: the remainder is consumed by the persons who are employed in the various pursuits of manufactures and commerce. It would thus seem that about sixty millions of quarters of wheat, or some other agricultural produce of equal value, raised over and above the quantity required to feed the cultivators of the soil, are annually expended upon the manufacturers and artisans of this country. Taking the price of wheat at sixty shillings per quarter, the surplus which remains over and above the consumption of all the classes not engaged in manufactures and commerce, will be worth *one hundred and eighty millions sterling*, per annum; and, when it is remembered that this immense sum passes every year, in the way of trade, through four, five, six, or sometimes more hands, we shall form some conception of the great amount of the home commerce of this country. It will also be perceived that, however large and important our foreign commerce may appear, when examined by itself, it must sink infinitely in our estimation when contrasted with our domestic trade.

If we take a view of the capital vested in the cultivation of land, we apprehend that the importance of agriculture in the scale of national wealth will appear in a light equally striking. Estimating the landlord's capital at thirty pounds and the tenants at

* In assigning a given number of quarters of wheat for the consumption of the men and horses employed in agriculture, we shall be understood, of course, to take a quarter of wheat merely as an equivalent for any other species of food consumed by them.

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ten pounds per acre, we have forty pounds employed as capital in the cultivation of every acre; and taking the number of acres in cultivation at fifty millions, we find that the capital actually invested in the cultivation of the soil by the landowners and farmers of this country, amounts to the enormous sum of *two thousand millions.*

These considerations must, we apprehend, convince every reflecting mind that the cultivation of the soil forms, in such a kingdom as this, the only true and never-failing basis of public wealth; and induce every real lover of his country to direct his energies to the improvement of this fundamental branch of national industry. To encourage draining, inclosing, manuring, canal and road-making, or any other process which tends to augment the produce of the soil, or abridge the labour required in tilling it, is the surest and most efficient means of promoting the growth and extending the prosperity of manufactures and commerce: these are, in truth, the branches and leaves of the political tree of which agriculture forms the root; let the root be well watered and manured, and no fears need be entertained concerning the branches and leaves. And yet how little favour does this very obvious view of the true interests of the community appear to find in the policy of modern statesmen! Bounties, drawbacks, immunities, privileges, and other forcing expedients, are very commonly employed to promote manufactures and commerce, while the staple manufacture of almost every country, the cultivation of the soil, is too frequently overlooked. A board of able and experienced statesmen is appointed to watch over and protect the interests of the manufactures, the trade, and the commerce of this empire, while her agriculture is entirely abandoned to the unconnected exertions of private individuals. We do not make this observation with the view of imputing blameable intentions to any party—but of pointing out the unaccountable perverseness of a policy which exhibits the most jealous vigilance in watching over what must, after all, be considered as the minor interests of the state—while those that are most important are neglected, if not actually looked upon with the disfavour of coldness. What would men say of the gardener, who should devote his whole attention to the branches and leaves of his fruit trees, and entirely neglect their roots and stems?

Those who conceive that manufactures, trade, and commerce can flourish in any country possessing a considerable territory, while agriculture is discountenanced or neglected, would do well to cast a glance over the affairs of France and Spain, during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. When Henry the Fourth obtained possession of the throne of France, he found his kingdom in

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in a very deplorable condition, its agriculture neglected, and its commerce extinct: he determined to make every effort to restore the wealth and prosperity of his country, and in the immortal Sully he found a minister able, as well as willing, to give full effect to his patriotic views. Both the king and his minister saw that the foundation of their country's greatness must be laid in the cultivation of the soil: agriculture, fostered, cherished, and encouraged by the monarch, ably seconded by his faithful and intelligent minister, made rapid strides, and flourished more in France than it did then in England: this policy laid the foundation of the power which that kingdom subsequently exerted in the early part of the reign of Louis XIV.

About the time when the celebrated Colbert obtained the chief sway in the councils of Louis, the spirit of improvement appears to have blazed forth in France with extraordinary energy. To use the slang of our own country at the present moment, the human mind was on its march, and we shall soon see the goal at which it arrived. He apprehended that a vast trade, and extended manufactures, would make an inexhaustible addition to the resources of the kingdom. Spurning from him with disdain the plodding and homely policy of Sully, he spared no cost or effort to render France the first trading power in the universe. He held out every encouragement to the peasantry to desert their fields and enter manufactories; and that his manufacturers might be enabled to sell their goods cheaper than other countries, he adopted every expedient which he conceived had a tendency to reduce the price of bread. To effect this purpose, he prohibited all exportation of corn from the kingdom,—he even cramped the transport of it from one province to another, while he held out every encouragement to its importation from other countries: nay, in his zeal for manufactures and commerce, he went a step farther still: he loaded the husbandman with impositions and taxes, that the manufacturer's share of these burdens might be thereby lessened.

It is almost inconceivable that such a system of public policy should ever have entered the head of any man of genius, having the example of the great Sully before him. Every measure, however, adopted by this rash minister for the promotion of manufactures was, in the end, attended with an effect directly the reverse of what he expected: instead of *falling*, the price of the necessaries of life *rose*. Hence, the agriculture of France was ruined, while its manufactures were not benefited, and the resources which he expected to derive from his new policy proved altogether delusive. Busily employed in manufactures of all kinds, the people became dependent upon their neighbours for bread, and, during

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during many years, all the profit which they derived from manufactures was expended in the purchase of foreign corn. Drawing a great proportion of its subsistence from this scanty and precarious source, the population of France was exposed to frequent and severe distresses, and the power and wealth of the kingdom were reduced greatly below the point at which they had arrived under the ministry of Sully.

Colbert was, undoubtedly, a man of great and splendid talents: his parts, however, were much more shining than solid—much more calculated to dazzle than serve his country—to secure the ephemeral applause of the thoughtless, than the lasting renown which slowly, but surely, rewards solid achievements. Accordingly, Colbert shines in the annals of history as a bold and brilliant projector, whose experiments ruined his country, while Sully is described as a cool, calculating, and cautious statesman, who never 'shot his bolt' till he was sure of his aim.

The lesson held out to us by the result of Colbert's policy in France will be rendered still more impressive, if we contrast the present condition of Spain with its state at the close of the fourteenth century. Under a succession of princes friendly to agriculture, the cultivation of the soil had been pursued with great energy and success, and the wealth derived from this source rendered that kingdom the object of admiration, and sometimes of terror, to the rest of Europe. The discovery of the new world, however, and the acquisition of foreign colonies, gave a new direction to the energies of the state. The sudden and inordinate wealth acquired by the first adventurers in America unsettled the minds of the Spaniards. The steady, but slow, profits of agriculture became mean and worthless in their eyes, when contrasted with the large and rapid fortunes acquired in commerce. The cultivators gradually deserted their native fields, tillage languished, and, upon the most moderate computation, the population is admitted to have decreased, in consequence, no less than five millions since the discovery of America. In soil, climate, and every other natural resource required for the purposes of tillage, few countries can compete with Spain; but *the neglect of agriculture* has erased her name from the map of Europe as an independent power.

Among the numerous obligations for which his country stands indebted to one of the most patriotic sovereigns that ever ruled the destinies of any nation,—by far the most important in its consequences, was the example which the late King set to his subjects, by the early and undeviating predilection which he evinced for the pursuits of agriculture. Whether this sprung from a philosophical foresight of the advantages which must needs accrue

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to the community from the advancement of the most important branch of national economy, or from the love naturally implanted in a pure and unsophisticated mind for the innocent and healthful pursuits of rural life, is a point which we need not investigate. To whatever motive we ascribe it, the species of occupation selected as his favourite relaxation from the toils of state, will appear no less creditable to the head and the heart of the monarch, than it has been found beneficial to the best interests of society. Enough of 'the high and mighty ones' of the earth have founded their glory on blood and misery—on cities sacked and ruined—on fields and vineyards trampled into desolation. For George III., whose memory will long continue to be cherished by every right-thinking Englishman, must be claimed the far different glory of having exerted himself to enlarge the enjoyments of his subjects by encouraging pursuits having a direct tendency to increase the food of his people. The wise and benevolent example thus set by the monarch, speedily spread its salutary influence. The spirit of rural improvement having been engendered and fostered in the royal shades of Windsor, made its way first to Woburn, then to Holkham and Petworth, whence it gradually penetrated the most distant and secluded corners of the island. The owners and occupiers of land throughout the country were effectually roused from the unprofitable lethargy in which they and their predecessors had so long slumbered. They were taught to appreciate the hitherto neglected resources of their paternal domains, and the light which thus unexpectedly burst upon them, led to improvements more various, more important, and more beneficial to the public, than any change which had taken place in this country during the lapse of the ten previous centuries. A new and important era suddenly opened upon English agriculture; new roads were made, new canals were cut in every direction; new and ingenious experiments were tried; new modes of culture every where adopted; commons, wastes, moors, fens, which up to this time had remained unproductive, in a state of nature, were enclosed, divided, drained, and reclaimed; and the 'yellow grain,' succeeded by valuable and bulky crops of artificial grasses, now waves its head over immense regions, which, in all preceding time, had formed the barren abode of the rabbit, the moor-hen, the bittern, and the stork.

The example of the good King elevated the cultivation of the soil to a much higher rank than it had hitherto occupied among the useful arts, and rendered it fashionable among the more refined classes of society; and from the impulse thus given, sprung the various local societies and meetings established all over the kingdom for the promotion of tillage, and finally the General Board of Agriculture. And, although we are forced to admit

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that the proceedings of many of these establishments, being too often directed to insignificant objects, have drawn down upon them a degree of public ridicule, still we must contend that upon the whole their exertions have proved highly beneficial to the interests of agriculture. Notwithstanding the absurdities into which some of them fell,—such as offering premiums 'for the best mode of feeding sheep upon a vegetable diet,'—still no rational man will venture to deny that these institutions have succeeded in diffusing among the agricultural body a more correct knowledge of the principles of tillage, and among practical farmers a spirit of emulation and inquiry, which have been productive of incalculable advantages, not only to the classes more immediately connected with the culture of the soil, but to every other member of the community. We are, therefore, inclined to regret that some of these institutions have been discontinued, and that many of the societies which still exist seem to have relaxed from the energy which once marked their proceedings. A great deal has been done within the last seventy or eighty years to improve agriculture, but infinitely more still remains to be effected: however advanced beyond the pitch of former times, it is still indeed very far distant from the point to which it might be, and ought to be pushed. Within the period of living memory, the cultivation of the soil has made incredible strides as a practical occupation, but even at this moment it is at the threshold of its progress as a scientific pursuit.

We are well aware that the various changes which have recently taken place in the currency of this country have been attended with extensive derangements, which have, to a very serious extent, affected the interests and crippled the means of the agricultural classes. And hence chiefly, no doubt, the languor which, during a period of five or six years, has pervaded their operations. We trust, however, that the crisis which convulsed this branch of national industry is now fairly over; that the different relations of society have at length adjusted themselves to their new level; and that the profits of the capital invested in the cultivation of land, if not again deranged by injudicious legislative interference, will henceforward bear its usual ratio to the profits of capital embarked in other speculations. In this hope, we would gladly see a complete revival of the energy with which the gentlemen of this country, until a very recent period, encouraged, or even engaged in, the cultivation of the soil. Upon them must necessarily devolve the burden of making new experiments, having for their object the improvement of agriculture. They are the parties more immediately interested in the result of every addition which may be made to our stock of agricultural knowledge; but with

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with the interests of the landowner those of the public will ever be found to coincide. Whenever, by any new discovery in the science, or improvement in the practice, of husbandry, a greater surplus produce may be obtained from the land, an addition must inevitably be made either to the earnings or to the number of the population usefully employed in our manufactures.

Let it not be imagined for a moment that we indulge the most distant wish to depreciate the real importance of manufactures and commerce. Unwilling to see them usurping that place in public estimation which ought to be occupied by agriculture, we feel no desire to withhold from these branches of industry the encouragement and the praise to which they are justly entitled. Although not to be preferred to agriculture, we most cheerfully admit that they are only second to that interest. Indeed a very little reflection will show that the mercantile classes themselves are not more deeply interested in the successful pursuits of manufactures and commerce than the owners and occupiers of land. We might easily in this place string a series of sentences together, and state that the increase of manufactures increases the demand for the produce of the soil; that this increased demand must add to the price of commodities; and that this rise of the price of agricultural produce must augment the landlord's rent and the farmer's profit. We apprehend, however, that all this would convey to our readers but a very indistinct impression of the connexion actually existing between the prosperity of manufactures and the rise of rents. We shall, therefore, dispense with this species of declamation, and endeavour to point out the precise mode as well as the precise extent in which manufacturing industry influences the amount of rent.

The prosecution of manufacturing industry is beneficial to the landowner, by diminishing the quantity of produce actually consumed in the cultivation of the soil; and, consequently, by augmenting the surplus which falls to his share as rent; and by rendering the exchangeable value of this surplus greater, inasmuch as it enables him to obtain an increased quantity of wrought commodities in exchange for the surplus produce which he derives from the land.

Let it be assumed that a farm of 100 acres produces 200 quarters of wheat: suppose one-fourth to be consumed by the animals and horses employed in tillage; one-fourth in maintaining the persons employed in manufacturing the clothing and harness required for the use of these men and horses; one-fourth to meet other outgoings; there remains a surplus of one-fourth, or fifty quarters, to the landlord as rent. Let us also assume that, from the application of improved machinery to manufactures, one man is

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able to fabricate as much cloth or leather as could have been manufactured by two men before: the effect of this must be to create a saving of one-half the quantity of wheat expended in fabricating clothes and harness for the men and animals employed in tillage; and this saving in the expense of cultivation must find its way into the landlord's pocket, and add twenty-five quarters to the fifty quarters which he had previously received as rent.

But the use of machinery in manufactures does not merely add to the surplus received by the landlord, by lessening the portion of the produce consumed in tillage: it also doubles the quantity of wrought goods, which this increased rent may enable him to purchase. If the use of a machine enables one man to make as much cloth as could have been made by two men without this machine, the landowner has the power to manufacture for himself double the quantity of cloth which he could have fabricated previously to its introduction. The application, then, of a machine of such power to the manufacture of cloth, not only adds fifty per cent. to the landlord's rent, but also 100 per cent. to the exchangeable value of this improved revenue.

The interests of these two great classes, when properly examined, will thus be found exactly to coincide: no measure injurious to the one can ever be introduced, which will not, in the end, be found to inflict an equal injury upon the other. What reprobation, then, do they not merit, who systematically endeavour to represent the interests of either of these classes as distinct from, or adverse to, the interests of the other, and by this means attempt to sow jealousy between them! Much irritation may be excited by these attempts; it is quite impossible that they can be productive of any good. It is the interest of the great body of agriculturists to render their land as productive as possible; but in this result the interests of the manufacturing classes are precisely as much concerned as theirs.

Can it be necessary for us to call the attention of the landowners to the exertions which are now made to spread among the manufacturers and mechanics of this country, a knowledge of those principles of art and science which are considered likely to increase their skill in the various branches of manual industry? Every motive of interest combines with the dictates of humanity to induce them to exert all the influence resulting from the connexion subsisting between them and their tenants, in diffusing among the cultivators of the soil, at least a partial acquaintance with those sciences, on the due application of whose principles the profits of agriculture must so largely depend. We cannot doubt that a perfect acquaintance with mineralogy, chemistry, botany, natural history, and mechanics, as far as these sciences are connected with the pursuits of

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of agriculture, would, in the end, produce results much more beneficial to the community than the most successful study of mechanics among the artisans and manufacturers of the country can possibly bring about. If the master machinist be well acquainted with the principles on which a power-loom ought to be constructed, we are not sure that any benefit would result to society were the weaver who uses, or the manufacturer who employs, this loom, thoroughly conversant with these principles; nor does it appear to us quite certain that a knowledge of these principles would add any thing to the manual dexterity of the working carpenter employed by the master machinist in constructing this loom. But with respect to the farmer, the case is widely and essentially different: he can, it is true, procure a plough, a cart, and some other implements of husbandry, constructed upon correct mechanical principles, by artisans who devote themselves exclusively to their fabrication; but to create in the mind of the farmer the wish to possess these improved implements, he must be imbued with a sufficient knowledge of mechanics to enable him to discover the inefficiency of the clumsy tools handed down to him by his forefathers: until he can perceive the advantage to be reaped from the expenditure, he will scarcely be prevailed upon to discard his old implements, and spend his money in replacing them with new ones. But suppose the farmer has been persuaded to avail himself of the services of scientific mechanics in the construction of his implements;—this is all the blind assistance which he can expect to derive from the skill of other men, and to how little does it amount? To understand the qualities of the various soils composing his farm—to comprehend the best means of qualifying their defects, and turning their powers to the best advantage—to suit his seeds and grasses to the land which he has to cultivate—this is an undertaking of uncommon difficulty: thus the farmer, in order to make the most of his resources, should possess a very considerable acquaintance with mineralogy, chemistry, botany, and natural history. Until this species of knowledge has become more generally diffused among the farming classes, agriculture will remain what it is, unfortunately, still found in too many districts even of this kingdom,—a system of blind and indiscriminate adherence to some general and antiquated practices—instead of being what, in an improved state of knowledge, it could not fail to prove,—a scientific and skilful application of artificial means to call forth and augment the natural powers of the soil. For example, from the lightest soil of the rabbit-warren, down to the heaviest clay, without the slightest discrimination as to the quality of his land, the Norfolk farmer sows turnips: influenced apparently by a species of instinct similar to that of the

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innocent animal which fattens upon that valuable root, he is led by the mere force of example to persevere in a practice which inflicts considerable loss upon himself, upon his landlord and the public. That the turnip system has, upon the whole, proved incalculably advantageous to the community, admits of no dispute; but the indiscriminate way in which the cultivation of this most useful root has, in some districts, been extended to every species of soil has, no doubt, detracted, in some degree, from its profit.—We give one example; it would be easy to give a hundred.

Every man who reflects at all upon this subject must immediately perceive, that in many most essential points, the education of our agricultural classes is unaccountably and lamentably deficient. The young farmer is sent, perhaps, to a boarding school, where he acquires a competent knowledge of reading, writing, arithmetic, and, possibly, geography; but how seldom is the attempt made to instruct him in the elements of those sciences by the skilful application of which his own future success in life might be so essentially promoted. To a species of instruction, sufficient, perhaps, for the purposes of a grocer or linen-draper, some addition ought surely to be made, when we have to do with the youth whose lot destines him to the cultivation of the soil. We are not so visionary as to indulge the expectation that all the farmers of this country can, by any exertions, be rendered thoroughly conversant with the minor details of mineralogy, chemistry, botany, and natural history; but we do not by any means deem it impracticable to confer upon the majority of them, such a general acquaintance with the principles of these sciences, with the nature of soils, with the properties of different grasses, with the habits and qualities of animals, as might enable them to project and execute experiments tending greatly to augment the produce of land, and the profits of tillage. Because we cannot make the occupiers of the soil as well acquainted with science as we could heartily desire to see them, it is surely bad logic to contend that no attempt should be made for their improvement. Indeed, with respect to the landowners themselves, we cannot help remarking, that the education of too many of them appears to be very different from what it should be. Even those among them who happen to be well versed in chemistry, botany, and natural history, are too much disposed to look upon these sciences as the sources merely of elegant amusement. How seldom do they appear to consider them as the means, when properly applied, of increasing the produce of the soil, improving their own revenues, and augmenting the wealth of the public.

The advantages which might result to the community from the dissemination of scientific knowledge among the farming classes, it

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is impossible either to foresee or calculate. The cultivation of new and valuable artificial grasses, the discovery of new manures, or the more skilful application of those already known, might prove the means of rendering soils, now considered barren, highly productive to the country. The application of science, skill, and industry to the pursuits of agriculture, is, in many instances, capable of surmounting the most formidable obstacles which nature may oppose to the success of the farmer. Hence it arises that the naturally barren sands of Norfolk, as they are now managed, yield probably more human food than the most fertile loams on the banks of our rivers. It is probable, indeed, that no species of soil can properly be described as absolutely barren: it is now unproductive solely because its owners may be ignorant of the plants adapted to its nature, or of the manures which would call its powers into activity;* but the most ingenious, the most delightful, and the most useful of all occupations—the cultivation of the soil—too often falls into the hands of men totally destitute of the information and skill required for improving it; and to this circumstance must be ascribed the very tardy, and fluctuating manner in which it is found to advance towards perfection. The influence of the landowners, if judiciously exerted, might do much to remove the obstacles which too frequently impede the progress of agriculture. They have before them an instance of energy and resources combined for the purpose of enlightening the minds and improving the manual dexterity of the manufacturing and mechanical classes; are the parties who concentrate their exertions for the benefit of these classes, half so deeply interested in the result of their efforts, as the landlords of this country ought to be in the diffusion of scientific knowledge among the actual cultivators of the soil? Strenuous exertions are made to increase the 'cunning' of the fingers of the weaver; why not *try* to sharpen the wits, and add to the intelligence of the practical farmer?

What we would desire to see is, a series of concise and perspicuous tracts, condensing all the really practical information which has been already made public upon the various branches of rural

* Soils abounding in metallic impregnations are, in general, of the sterile class, and among these the refuse of lead mines is one of the most remarkable for sterility. Yet, even in this soil, which is so peculiarly poisonous to most plants, the *arenaria verna* grows with luxuriance, and it can scarcely be made to live in any other soil. Sir Joseph Banks made an attempt to raise it in his garden, but before he could succeed, he was obliged to send to the mines for a quantity of its native lead rubbish; which having been put into a pit made for that purpose, soon became covered with this plant, although every effort to make it thrive in other soils, not adulterated by metallic impregnation, had proved utterly unsuccessful. Covered with the *arenaria verna*, this patch appeared as fertile as any other part of the baronet's garden; but if the seeds of this plant had been there wanting, that soil would have remained incurably barren, and unproductive of any other known plant.

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economy: such a succession of treatises discarding all visionary and wild speculations, and embracing only details proved by actual experience to be useful, might with very great advantage be circulated among the cultivators of the soil.

The common fault of almost all the agricultural publications which have fallen in our way is, that they are too general—too systematic. This is the real source of the prejudice which exists among the agricultural body against what they call 'book-farming.' It is the fashion with such authors to deal out one set of precepts, which they represent as suitable to all soils—like the charlatan before whose solitary nostrum all diseases must give way. A Norfolk agriculturist, occupying a sandy soil, in a climate where perhaps the fall of rain does not exceed twenty inches per annum, makes a successful experiment in husbandry: he publishes an account of it in some book or magazine, which falls into the hands of a Cornish farmer, who, fired with the display of profit derived from the experiment in Norfolk, resolves to try it in his own fields; but his soil being different in some essential ingredient, and the climate twice as moist as that of Norfolk, the experiment entirely fails: he then kicks his 'system,' vows he will never read a book upon agriculture again, and relapses into the old routine practice handed down to him by his forefathers. A rotation of crops taken from books, even books in high estimation, may be dangerous, because either the climate or the soil, or the command of manure, or the stock and intelligence of the cultivator, to which the book refers, and which were familiar to the writer, may all, or, at least, some of them, be extremely different. Hence the absurdity of prescribing rules dogmatically, while these discriminating circumstances are overlooked: and here was one of the rocks upon which the late Board of Agriculture contrived to split. If this institution had contented itself with the useful labour of ascertaining and making known the various agricultural practices prevalent in different districts, and in registering experiments with an exact and precise description of the different circumstances of soil, heat, and moisture, under which they were made, it would, in all probability, have been alive and flourishing at this hour: but the ruling spirits soared high above such a task; nothing would serve them but to form a general 'code,' which was to regulate the agricultural operations of the whole kingdom: and the absurdity of this plan, combined with some foolish inquiries in which the agents of the board thought proper to busy themselves, about the management of private property, the amount of rent, tithes, taxes, &c. excited feelings which ended in the dissolution of the establishment.

Attempts are often made to depreciate agriculture in public estimation,

estimation, by holding it up as a mean and degrading art, fit to occupy the attention only of boors and clowns; no representation can be more unfounded: on the contrary, there is no art which requires of the true professors of it such various knowledge, and such consummate judgment. No pursuit admits so little of the assistance of set and decisive rules,—the leading strings of the mind. Not only every district, not only every farm in every district, but almost every field upon every farm, will be found to present some variety of soil and surface requiring a mode of management peculiar to itself; and, were agriculture to engage, in all time coming, its full share of the intellect of man, the most useful and important of human arts would still, we have no doubt, be the last to reach perfection.

We venture to solicit attention and encouragement to agriculture, not to the exclusion—not to the injury or neglect of manufactures and commerce: we warmly advocate the cause of agriculture, not merely as an act of justice towards the class of individuals who have embarked the fruit of their labour—their capital—in this pursuit; but for the sake of manufactures and commerce: the prosperity of agriculture is the only basis on which these great branches of our national industry can securely and permanently rest: the more widely this foundation is extended, the deeper it is laid, the more carefully it is cherished, the more prosperous, the more active, and the more stable must the manufacturing and commercial establishments of the country be rendered: depending for support principally upon the productions of our own territory, they will add more to the national wealth; they will be exposed to fewer reverses and casualties than similar establishments which draw their supplies from foreign sources.

ART. IV.—*Memoir on the Geology of Central France; including the Volcanic Formations of Auvergne, the Velay, and the Vivarais, with a Volume of Maps and Plates.* By G. P. Scrope, F.R.S., F.G.S. London. 1827.

IT was common enough to hear travellers who visited Paris soon after the close of the late war, comparing France to a spent volcano, and dwelling, in good set terms, both on the visible marks of the terrific violence with which her social system had been shaken, and on the complete exhaustion to which, after carrying desolation into all surrounding countries, that system had been reduced. We entertain no wish to indulge in any such metaphors at present; but have to lay before our readers a plain matter-of-fact statement, which may, perhaps, surprise some of

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of them, namely, that the Central region of France, the primitive nucleus as it were of the whole territory, was once the seat of volcanic agency (now perhaps extinct); and that agency, too, on a stupendous scale, and of longer continuance than has hitherto been established with respect to any other portion of Europe. Mr. Scrope's work, on the Geology and extinct Volcanos of Auvergne, Velay, and Vivarais, will, we are persuaded, have the effect of attracting, in future, to those provinces a portion of our countrymen who are now continually crossing and re-crossing France along the same beaten tracks, and returning home with complaints of the absence of all grandeur and picturesque features in the scenery. The most remarkable of the phenomena of Auvergne to which we shall particularly advert, may be studied at Clermont, a town situated only two hundred and twenty English miles from Paris, where, as well as at the baths of Mont Dor, in its vicinity, the traveller finds excellent accommodation; yet has this country—so accessible that it may be reached in a journey of less than forty hours by the public conveyance from Paris—been permitted to remain as unknown to the majority of English tourists as are the interior parts of New Holland to our infant colonies on its coast. That this district should only have been discovered by the French themselves, as a theatre of extinct volcanos, in the middle of the last century; that since that period so few of them should have visited it; that most of the minor details of its history should still remain to be worked out, while in the mean time the strata in the immediate environs of Paris, with their immumerable organic contents, have been investigated with microscopic accuracy—all these are circumstances which excite in us no surprise, for there was truth as well as satire in Madame de Staël's observation: 'En France on ne pense qu'à Paris, et l'on a raison, car c'est toute la France.' But that our own countrymen, who have poured over the Alps and Apennines in such multitudes, that, could we forget the history of our times, one might imagine Napoleon to have constructed his splendid roads for their sole use and pleasure; that so few of these restless and indefatigable spirits should have visited the phlegrean fields of Auvergne, as well as those of Italy, compared the volcanic craters of central France with those of Vesuvius and Etna, or the beautiful basaltic columns of Montpezat and Jaujac with those of Fingal's Cave and the Giant's Causeway,—these are problems almost as difficult of solution as any of those discussed by Mr. Scrope.

It is true that a descriptive work in English, upon this extraordinary country, was, until now, a desideratum; but Faujas St. Fond's account, 'Des Volcans éteints du Vivarais et Velay,' was published

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published in the year 1778, and was not unknown in England. His large engravings might have convinced every admirer of nature, that the scenes intended to be represented must possess singular, as well as highly picturesque features, whatever suspicions might have been entertained of the inaccuracy and exaggeration—which did, in fact, characterize too many of his sketches. Besides the account of Faujas St. Fond, the volcanos of Auvergne, Velay, and Vivarais, had been treated of by Messieurs Desmarest, Montlosier, De Buch, d'Aubuisson, and Baron Ramond—in works of considerable merit, but of too scientific a character to attract general attention in this country, particularly at a time when a taste for geological investigation was only beginning to diffuse itself amongst us. With the exception of a short paper, in the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, for 1820-21, by Dr. Daubeny, we believe no account of Auvergne was given to the public by any of our countrymen, until the works of Mr. Scrope and Dr. Daubeny 'On Volcanos' came out nearly at the same time. The latter prefaced his able account of active and extinct volcanos by a brief sketch, chiefly derived from original observation, of the rocks belonging to both those classes in the interior of France; while Mr. Scrope introduced many of the facts now recorded in full detail in the excellent memoir before us, as illustrative of various theories in which he freely indulged himself. His bold speculations embraced almost all the mysterious causes of subterranean phenomena; nay, not even satisfied with explaining the fluidity of lava and the action of earthquakes, he ascended to the surface and revealed to us a new system of cosmogony; and, in short, his new facts were either received with scepticism, as brought to support theoretical views to which they appeared quite subordinate, or altogether overlooked amidst the astonishment created at such sweeping generalizations. The present treatise was written, it seems, in 1822, long before the appearance of the 'Considerations on Volcanos.' Had it been communicated to the public in its present state at that period, it would have afforded proofs of powers of investigation and sound inductive reasoning, which would have ensured far greater consideration for Mr. Scrope's theoretical views. But we are much mistaken if we do not recognize in the style, as well as in the arrangement of the Memoir, the revising hand of one who has acquired in the meantime both more extended information and maturer judgment.

In a passage cited from Montlosier as a motto to this publication, it is truly remarked that a chemist may be an indifferent naturalist and a bad geologist; he may learn in his laboratory how nature has formed a stone, but he must be taught by a different course

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course of observation how the globe has been fashioned.' But however apposite this citation may be to the treatise before us, it would have been wholly inapplicable if prefixed to the author's first essay. The field of geology is now undoubtedly so extensive, that it may be divided into many departments, and he who studies one of these may dispense with a knowledge of many sciences essential to the cultivation of others; but what mineralogy is to him who describes a primitive district, or conchology to him who proposes a new classification of the secondary strata, such are chemistry and many branches of natural philosophy to those who speculate on the laws of volcanic agency, or the analogies between igneous products formed in different ages, or under distinct circumstances. These sciences can alone secure a theorist against falling into the most gross and palpable errors. We do not mean to insinuate that Mr. Scrope possessed these qualifications in so imperfect a degree as to render all his theories open to general censure, although we object decidedly to many of them, which unfortunately stand forth most prominent.* We should, indeed, do great injustice to his first work if we failed to acknowledge that we derived information, as well as amusement, from its perusal; and, in declaring our dissent from many of his opinions, we must

* In the preface to the present work, the author has returned to the defence of his former hypothesis to explain the fluidity of lava. Amongst the numerous phenomena exhibited by lava in a fluid state, some few were mentioned by Mr. Scrope (Considerations on Volcanos, p. 20), which are not in accordance with those attending the artificial fusion of rocks or metals by fire, to which the melting of lava has been usually assimilated. He accordingly attempted to account for the liquidity of lava by assuming, that when, in a fluid state its solid particles are combined with water, or aqueous vapour, or steam. An obvious objection was raised against this theory. If the solid parts of heated lava be thus intimately combined with water,—red hot, as we must suppose it to be, or sometimes incandescent,—or with steam, or with aqueous vapour at a high temperature, why is not the whole mass blown into the air the moment it reaches the surface, and scattered to the winds in the form of an impalpable powder? We are told, in answer to this objection, that the water, or steam, or vapour, required to give the sufficient degree of mobility, is not assumed to be in sufficient quantity to produce such an effect, the extreme comminution of the crystalline particles being taken to be such, that they require the interposition of very little elastic fluid to set them in motion. But here we are in a dilemma: if the crystals be attenuated to such an extreme degree, it should seem that a fluid of very slight specific gravity would readily displace them, and so ascend and escape; or, in other words, that the minute, yet heavier particles of solid lava, would fall instantly to the bottom: whereas, if we increase the size of the crystals in order to confine the elastic fluid, a larger proportion of this last becomes indispensable in order to enable the surfaces of the larger crystals to slide over one another. It is to no purpose to show that aqueous vapours, like many gases, are given out by lavas in the act of cooling: the intimate mixture of any of these elastic fluids with the solid particles of lava is still a gratuitous assumption, and contrary to all analogy. In short, Mr. Scrope's *elastic vehicle* is a counterpart of Lamark's *nervous fluid*, that 'subtle and invisible agent,' to which he attributes not only muscular motion, but ideas, sentiment, and intelligence. (Philosophie Zoologique, part 3, chap. 2.). If in attempting to trace back the phenomena of heat, as well as those of the vital functions, we ultimately reach a point which eludes the gross apprehension of our senses, why not unreservedly avow our utter inability to solve such problems?

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entirely disavow the influence of that fashion, now too prevalent in this country, of discountenancing almost all geological speculation.

We much wish the present state of geological science would warrant us in taking it for granted, that the data on which Mr. Scrope reasons, in the work before us, were generally known. We cannot venture to do so, and must, accordingly, occupy some pages with these extraordinary phenomena of Auvergne—first calling the reader's attention to the circumstance, that the study of this district possesses a peculiar interest, as presenting us with evidence of a series of events of astonishing magnitude and grandeur, by which the original form and features of a country have been greatly changed, yet never so far obliterated but that they may still, in part at least, be restored in imagination. Here, in a word, there has been an entire revolution in the species of plants and animals of a region which has nevertheless preserved its identity from first to last, and survived these extraordinary vicissitudes in organic life. Central France affords, in this respect, phenomena without parallel in our own island; for, surrounded as we are with proofs that the course of nature has here also been characterized by successive changes in the inhabitants both of the land and the sea, we find it nevertheless impossible to select any great district which can be shown to have preserved its external physical structure unobliterated during the time required for the disappearance of one race of organic beings, and the introduction of another. If we take the environs of London, for instance, we find buried in the clay of Sheppey the seeds of many hundred species of plants apparently tropical, mixed with the remains of tortoises and crocodiles, and with marine shells, and fish belonging to species that are either extinct, or have at least entirely passed away from this part of the earth. Now, we could not have obtained access to these beds had not sea and land exchanged places since the period of their deposition—in short, if the surface had not been entirely altered. But there are strata in the Isle of Wight, and in Hampshire, still more recent, containing fresh-water animals and plants now unknown in these latitudes, and such as correspond, for the most part, with those in the interior of France, to be described in the sequel. Yet, although these strata were originally accumulated in the estuary of a river, or in an inland lake, and are among the most modern of the deposites termed tertiary, it is impossible to trace the least connexion between that distribution of land and sea which must have obtained when they were formed, and the present surface of the country; for the strata to which we advert, though filled with

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with fluviatile and lacustrine shells, now dip with a gentle inclination beneath the level of the present sea, whereas no lake at present exists, nor does any powerful river empty itself in the neighbourhood to account for such fossil contents. When, therefore, upon examining the British isles, and the far greater part of Europe, we discover that proofs of even the latest changes in organic life are usually accompanied by evidence no less conclusive of changes affecting the ancient surface of the earth,—changes so great, that it is impossible to measure their amount,—we cannot devote too much care to the minute investigation of localities affording a decided exception to this rule. One of these exceptions is furnished by that part of the interior of France now under examination; here we find the geographical relations of some of the leading portions of the surface preserved from that epoch, in all probability extremely remote, since which an extraordinary and complete change has taken place in the animals and plants, and, as their remains appear to indicate, in the climate. The alterations effected in the forms of the valleys and mountains, by rivers and floods, earthquakes and volcanos, during so long a succession of ages, are the more instructive, because the various stages of their gradual operation can, in many instances, be pointed out; but still more important will be the light hereafter thrown, by the examination of the organic remains of this district, on a page of the history of animated beings hitherto almost a blank; for a large part, even of the earliest volcanic eruptions of Auvergne and the neighbouring provinces, are of a date posterior to the *tertiary* strata of that country. In the numerous tufaceous conglomerates, therefore, produced at different intervals by the eruptions of these volcanos, we may expect to find the remains of animals and plants referrible to that period over which the greatest obscurity still hangs: for we are ignorant at present whether any or what animals inhabited these latitudes, after the extinction of those found in the tertiary formations, and before the introduction of those of a comparatively modern date, yet often belonging to unknown species, which are so abundant in superficial gravel, and in caves in every country hitherto examined in Europe.

Was this change from the animals and the vegetables of the tertiary period slow and gradual, or was it effected by a sudden and abrupt transition? Are we to believe some naturalists, who imagine that the animals called extinct are merely the same species as those now living, imperceptibly altered by climate, and other causes, in the course of many generations; or shall we find those more numerous and more distinguished physiologists confirmed in

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in their views, who consider the whole analogy of nature as opposed to such a conjecture? These are among the curious speculations that can scarcely fail to receive great elucidation hereafter by the study of the organic contents of the interior of France. Already have the showers of ashes that overwhelmed Pompeii, and that congeries of mud and volcanic matter which overflowed Herculaneum, provided for us information concerning the manners and arts of antiquity, which no human efforts could, but for them, have rescued from oblivion. And to monuments snatched, by similar catastrophes, from the wasting ravages of time, the geologist may be hereafter indebted for records that may supply many lost links of the great chain that unites the present with the past.

The granitic mountains which will come under our consideration are equal, in their average elevation, to the highest tracts of the Grampians. In several deep depressions of this elevated plateau, but never reaching the higher regions, beds of limestone and calcareous marl are seen resting on the granite. Besides these, which are comparatively insignificant in thickness, the granite base supports an enormous pile of volcanic products, consisting partly of several hundred cones, whose craters may still be traced, and whose streams of lava follow, in most instances, the direction of the present valleys, and, besides these, of three mountainous districts, attaining sometimes the height of six thousand feet above the sea, wherein the rocks, although of a more ancient date, exhibit indications, quite as unequivocal, of having been ejected by igneous action through the granite.

It will be unnecessary for the reader, in order fully to comprehend the phenomena about to be detailed, to embarrass himself with the consideration of any rocks beyond those just enumerated. But before describing these, we may add, for the information of the geologist, that some insulated portions of secondary strata occur within the boundaries of the primitive range, or appear on its skirts, so as to lie within the area occupied by the volcanic products. The relations of these secondary strata to those of other parts of France, or of our own country, can never be accurately determined until the French shall have examined their country in greater detail than they have yet done, and this is the best apology we can suggest for the scanty and somewhat confused information supplied by Mr. Scrope on this head. Some of these outlying masses in the midst of the granitic range consist of coarse-grained sandstone, which is not only similar in geological position, but identical in mineralogical characters with that reposing on the granite of the chain of lakes connected by the Caledonian

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Caledonian Canal in Scotland, particularly near the Pass of Fiers.* If we look beyond the mountains forming the primitive nucleus of Central France, we find them encircled on all sides by strata of conglomerate and sandstone, consisting of the detritus of granitic rocks, but never containing any volcanic fragments, not even of clinkstone, trachyte, or basalt, the most ancient rocks of that class in Auvergne; and hence the important inference is deduced, that these mechanical deposites were formed prior to the earliest eruptions of the surrounding mountains. For there is no rule which holds more universally in geology than this, that conglomerates are composed principally of fragments of rocks immediately subjacent to them, or such as existed *in situ* in the immediate neighbourhood at the time of their formation. As we recede farther from the primitive district, we find in succession the coal formation, and then the Jura limestone, the beds becoming less inclined, as in all other parts of the world, in proportion as they are farther removed from the chain of older rocks.

To return to the granitic region, comprising the area occupied by the extinct volcanos of Auvergne, Velay, and Vivarais:—the fundamental rocks are granite, gneiss, and mica-schist, succeeding each other in their usual order, at least when viewed on a great scale, for when examined more partially the ordinary exceptions occur. The different beds or laminæ of the gneiss and mica-schist run nearly in a direction from north to south, and dip to the west. In this elevated granitic plateau there are two wide and deep valleys, through which flow the Loire and Allier. These two principal depressions, as well as another of smaller extent, near Aurillac, in Cantal, are covered by nearly horizontal beds of limestone and marl, the nature and contents of which are entitled to our first consideration, as they will appear to have been deposited on the granite before the occurrence of even the oldest volcanic eruptions, although some calcareous strata continued to

* The granitic sandstone of Fiers (old red sandstone?) might be accurately described in the words applied by Mr. Scrope to that of the department of Puy de Dôme and Haute Loire. 'It is in general formed of large crystals of felspar, the angles of which are frequently uninjured, grains of quartz, and a small proportion of mica: sometimes these ingredients seem to adhere by mere pressure; at others are agglutinated by a siliceous cement. Not unfrequently this mixture so much resembles a coarse granite as to deceive an inexperienced observer. Occasionally it changes to a puddingstone.' We need scarcely add how closely beds of calcareous marl, if deposited in the great chain of Scotch lakes, would resemble, in their geological relations, the freshwater formations of Auvergne, resting, as they would do, on primitive rocks and the edges of inclined granitic sandstone. But shell-marl, though abundant in Scotland, has not been found to accumulate in lakes within the limits of the primary rocks (See Geol. Trans., vol. ii. Second Series, p. 79), in all probability from the absence of lime in the springs which enter those lakes.

accumulate

accumulate after the oldest volcanos were in activity. The basin of the Allier exhibits the most northern portion of this formation, and that which is least distant from Paris. It presents a large plain, now in the department of the Puy de Dôme, but formerly called the Limagne d'Auvergne, a plain averaging twenty miles in breadth, and in elevation from about 1000 to 1300 feet above the sea: its fertility, which gained it formerly the title of the garden of France, is attributable chiefly to the detritus of volcanic rocks, which enters largely into the composition of its soil. Beneath this alluvial covering there is a calcareous substratum; but wherever this has been cut through by the Allier, either the ancient coarse-grained and inclined secondary sandstone before mentioned, or the granite, which underlies everything, are exposed to view in the channel of the river. There occur throughout the plain of the Limagne, but more particularly near the primitive heights, numerous hills of calcareous and alluvial deposites, which have escaped the destruction that has carried away the greater part of the formation. These are regarded by Mr. Scrope, as they were before him by M. de Ramond, 'as the scattered relics of a series of beds which once covered the actual soil, and constituted an ancient plain, much above the level of the present one.'

'Many of these fragments have been protected from the destruction which has worn and swept away the greater part of the formation, by cappings of basalt. Some, however, owe their preservation to horizontal strata of a hard and durable limestone, described hereafter, which cover them in the same manner. These hills are seldom found in direct union with the primitive rocks, but are in general separated from them by shallow transversal valleys, so that the junction of the two formations is not often perceptible.'—*Scrope*, p. 15.

Except where they border on the granitic range, this series of strata are, as before stated, nearly horizontal, and compose what is now familiarly termed by geologists a *fresh-water formation;* in other words, a series of strata, containing such organic remains, as enable us to pronounce the deposite to have been accumulated at the bottom of an inland lake, or a river. If such has been their origin, the aquatic plants and animals found in a fossil state should belong to genera now peculiar to lakes or rivers,—or if with such be associated some belonging to extinct genera, these must fall under some great family characterized by *an organization not peculiar to marine animals.* With these may be intermixed terrestrial plants and animals—in short, every thing that does not indicate a marine origin. The propriety of separating marine from fresh-water formations is now recognized by the most experienced naturalists, after a minute comparison of the contents

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contents of ancient strata in various parts of Europe, with those formed in modern lakes and estuaries, and filled with the remains of recent animals and plants. At the junction of rivers with the sea, where deposites increase most rapidly, there result intermixtures of fluviatile, terrestrial, and marine products; and hence unavoidably follows a gradual passage from strata of a purely fluviatile character to those as exclusively marine. These cases are at present more frequent than those of inland lakes, and it, therefore, affords a striking analogy between the present and past state of the earth, that so many instances of a mixed nature have been met with among the ancient formations.*

The example, however, now before us is that of a deposite purely fresh-water; and, although the knowledge we possess of its characteristic organic fossils may seem exceedingly imperfect, yet, as the fossils hitherto discovered correspond closely with those of the fresh-water strata in the neighbourhood of Paris, so well described by MM. Cuvier and Brongniart, we may in this manner supply many of the deficiencies in the history of those of Central France. In the basin of the Allier, these fresh-water strata are found to be very irregular when near the primitive boundary, and are generally inclined at a considerable angle; the lower strata indeed, sometimes approach to a vertical position. These consist of a calcareous sandstone, with bouldered pebbles and primitive fragments imbedded in it, and containing so much bitumen, that the rays of the sun cause it to exude. There are also many beds of white marly limestone in the lower part of this formation, but the most remarkable and interesting are of concretionary structure. These literally consist of an aggregate of countless thousands of one small species of fossil called *Indusia tubulata*, cemented together by calcareo-siliceous matter. These curious fossils were once the Indusiæ of the larva of a species of Phryganea, certain varieties of which are well known at present to clothe their bodies with a cylindrical case formed entirely of numerous minute river-shells, united by glutinous filaments, and disposed in some sort of order around. 'These habitations are quitted when the insect's metamorphosis is completed; and on the banks of rivers or marshes frequented by them, groups of such

* As arbitrary divisions are found sometimes necessary in every branch of natural history, we ought not to withhold the term of *fresh-water* from such estuary-deposites as contain a very inconsiderable number of marine exuviæ. To call, for instance, the strata of Hordwell Cliff, Hants, a *mixed formation*, because in the midst of beds containing a great variety and abundance of fluviatile shells, seeds of fresh-water plants, &c., &c., there have been found two or three single specimens belonging to marine genera, would give a false idea of the whole formation. (See Geol. Trans. vol. ii. Second Series.) Who can doubt that such accidents occur at present in all tide-rivers, even at considerable distances from the sea?

empty

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empty cases may be observed, arranged much in the same manner as those under discussion appear to have been when the calcareous matter incrusted them.'*—p. 17.

The tubular fossils of Auvergne are from one to two inches in length;—

'Some are immediately surrounded and cemented together by the stalactitic substance; others by innumerable multitudes of casts of minute shells, chiefly the *Bulimus atomus* of Brongniart, arranged with some symmetry round each tube, and pressing closely on one another. More than a hundred of these shells may be counted on each tube, and ten or twelve tubes are constantly packed together within the space of a cubic inch. If, then, we consider that repeated strata, averaging five or six feet in thickness, and almost entirely composed of these tubes, appear once to have extended over the whole plain of the Limagne, occupying a surface of many hundred square miles, we shall arrive at an imperfect idea of the countless myriads of minute beings belonging to a single species of Mollusca, which have lived and died in turn within the bosom of this once extensive lake.'—p. 16.

In some parts of the basin, strata of siliceous limestone are found alternating with the soft or marly variety, containing impressions of shells belonging to the genera potamides, helix, planorbis, and limnea, all which are known to inhabit fresh-water lakes or rivers in some parts of the world at present. The strata impregnated with silex contain most shells, while the thick beds of white soft

* The transformation of the deserted cases of numberless minute insects into a constituent part of a solid rock, first formed at the bottom of a lake, then constituting the sides of deep valleys, and the tabular summits of lofty hills, is a phenomenon as striking as the vast reefs of coral constructed by the labours of minute polyps. We remember to have seen such *caddis-worms*, as they are called by fishermen, very abundant in the wooden troughs constructed by the late Dr. Sibthorp, for aquatic plants, in the botanic garden at Oxford, to the cases of which many small shells of the G. Planorbis, Limnea, and Cyclas were affixed, precisely in the same manner as in the fossil tubes of Auvergne: an incrusting spring, therefore, may, perhaps, be all that is wanting to reproduce, on the banks of the Isis or the Charwell, a rock similar in structure to that of the Limagne. Mr. Kirby, in his Entomology, informs us, that these larvæ ultimately change into a four-winged insect. If you are desirous to examine them in their aquatic state, 'you have only (he says) to place yourself by the side of a clear and shallow pool of water, and you cannot fail to observe at the bottom little oblong moving masses, resembling pieces of straw, wood, or even stone—of the larvæ itself nothing is to be seen but the head and six legs, by means of which it moves itself in the water, and drags after it the case in which the rest of the body is inclosed, and into which, on any alarm, it instantly retires. The construction of these habitations is very various. Some select four or five pieces of the leaves of grass, which they glue together into a shapely polygonal case; others employ portions of the stems of rushes, placed side by side, so as to form an elegant fluted cylinder; some arrange round them pieces of leaves like a spirally-rolled riband; other species construct houses which may be called alive, forming them of the shells of various aquatic snails of different kinds and sizes, even while inhabited, all of which are immoveably fixed to it, and dragged about at its pleasure. However various may be the form of the case externally, within it is usually cylindrical and lined with silk.'—*Introduction to Entomology, by Kirby and Spence, Fourth Edition*, vol. i. p. 468.

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and marly limestone are more free from testaceous remains, but envelope here and there scattered bones of quadrupeds, birds, and reptiles.* Among the mammiferous quadrupeds are two species of anoplotherium, one of those extinct genera first discovered in the quarries of gypsum near Paris, whence several species have been extracted, and two of palæotherium, a genus in general form resembling the tapir, and supposed by Cuvier to have had, like that, a short trunk: no less than seven species of this genus, varying in size from that of the horse to that of the hare, have been found near Paris.

The total thickness of this fresh-water formation of the Limagne is sometimes shown to be no less than nine hundred feet: the difference of level between different parts of the same series, once continuous, is equally remarkable, for it is estimated by Mr. Scrope at fifteen hundred feet; and he conjectures, as the only hypothesis capable of accounting for this difference of level,

'that a large portion of it has been forcibly elevated far above the level at which it was originally deposited in the bosom of a great lake, covering a large surface of the centre of France, by the general, and, perhaps, gradual, upheaving of the mass of primitive rock which supports the elevated portions.'

If we reject this explanation, and attribute the unequal elevation of the fresh-water strata to great inequalities in the original bottom of the lake, we are under the necessity of supposing that the lake rested originally at the height of 2,500 feet above the sea, and deposited its sediments there in tranquillity; and in order to confine a body of water at such an elevation, we must suppose a barrier to have existed to the north, near Moulins, from 1,500 to 2000 feet in height, the whole of which has since been removed. A great additional interest attaches to the fresh-water deposites now described, from their occasional alternation and intermixture with volcanic matter.

'This union shows itself in two very different modes. In the one, fragments of basalt, scoriæ, and a few crystals of augite, appear scattered, sometimes rarely, oftener plentifully, through strata of limestone, which preserve their horizontality, and are in no way disturbed.'

In these instances the beds 'present all the characters of a sediment slowly and tranquilly deposited by a body of water, into which repeated showers of volcanic ashes and fragments were projected by

* In the lakes which have been drained in Scotland, for the purpose of obtaining shell-marl used in agriculture, it is found that the upper beds are composed entirely of an aggregate of shells, referrible to species *now inhabiting* the lakes and streams in that country. In descending to the lower beds, the shells are found in a greater state of decomposition, till in the lowest every sign of organization is obliterated; but, even in these last, the bones of quadrupeds, such as the stag, ox, buffalo, and others, are sometimes found in a very perfect state.

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some neighbouring volcano. In the other, the intermixture of the same substances appears to have been violent and tumultuous; no traces of stratification remain, the volcanic and calcareous particles are more intimately blended, and the former are more numerous, frequently so much so as to pass into a complete basalt.'—pp. 20, 21.

To this volcanic conglomerate, Mr. Scrope, following the Italian geologists, gives the name of *peperino;* and he is of opinion that, in the latter instances, it has owed its formation to a subaqueous volcanic eruption, while the calcareous sediments were yet soft. A great variety of minerals are found in these rocks, such as mesotype stilbite, arragonite and chalcedony: they also contain bitumenized wood, and abundance of viscid bitumen exudes spontaneously from fissures. These fissures are occasionally lined with mammillæ of chalcedony, from which spring graceful groups of small rock crystals, diverging from a central point.

The latest fresh-water formation of Auvergne is that at Menat, occupying the bottom of a nearly circular basin, about a mile in diameter. Impressions of fish, leaves of trees, and stalks of reeds are found between the laminæ of clay, which are in many parts converted into tripoli (a substance well known in commerce, and used for polishing stones and metals,) by the spontaneous combustion, as it is supposed, of iron pyrites in which it abounds. We have as yet no accurate information concerning the organic remains of this deposite,—a circumstance greatly to be regretted; for although the lake may belong to the most modern inequalities of the surface of this district, yet, as the gully by which its waters have been drained off has been perforated to the depth of twelve, and width of ten feet, by natural erosion through a rock of mica-schist, the date of the formation is probably not *very recent*, and the animals and plants may correspond in age to some of those found in our superficial gravel, or *diluvium*. Extinct quadrupeds, such as the Irish elk and the mastodon of North America, have been discovered in formations, at least as decidedly modern in position as the basin of Menat.

In Auvergne there are three incrusting springs holding a large proportion of lime in solution by means of the carbonic acid with which they are impregnated. The quantity of calcareous tufa produced by these, especially by one on the banks of the Crouse, is exceedingly great, and when considered in connexion with the rocks whence the springs take their rise, they afford a great insight into the probable origin of the more ancient lacustrine strata. One of these springs rises from a calcareous peperino; another from the foot of a regular volcanic cone, at least twenty miles from any calcareous rock; the third from granite; 'whence it is apparent that all have their origin *in or below* the primitive rocks

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which form the basis of the whole territory, and which include or cover the volcanic focus whence in reality these mineral springs in all probability ultimately derive.'* Hot springs are also very numerous, and rise indifferently through primitive or volcanic rocks, seeming to indicate that there is still a continuance of subterranean heat beneath this district. But there are at present no springs charged with siliceous earth in Central France, like the Geysers of Iceland or the hot aqueous vapours of Ischia,† these phenomena appearing to accompany the more active operations of volcanic fire, or its greater proximity to the surface. The boiling springs of Iceland give rise at this day to deposites of semi-opal and tufas, in which the stems of plants are as completely replaced by silex as in any of the tertiary strata of the Paris basin. As there are independent proofs of the volcanic action having commenced in the interior of France before the deposition of the fresh-water strata had ceased, occasional beds containing more or less silex, sometimes intermixed with varying proportions of calcareous matter, are exactly what we might expect to meet with; and, under such circumstances, the occurrence of shells and aquatic plants in a silicified state renders the analogy more perfect between the present effects of volcanic agency and those which characterized its operations when the tertiary formations were in progress.

If we now turn from the basin of the Allier to a region farther south, near Aurillac, in Cantal, we find resting upon mica-schist a very similar formation of marly limestone, in horizontal strata, alternating with clayey marl and parallel beds of flint, the latter either continuous or in flattish nodular masses. Besides shells of the fresh-water genera before mentioned, the limestone is full of such perforations as would be left by reeds, grasses, and aquatic plants, enveloped, as they grew, by a calcareous sediment. It also contains the fossil seed-vessel called gyrogonite, which has now been well ascertained by botanists to belong to an aquatic plant of the genus Chara. Of this genus several species abound at present in fresh-water lakes and streams in our own island and other parts of Europe, and some are capable of living at considerable depths under water. The fruit and stems are often found in the shell marl extracted for agricultural uses from lakes in Forfarshire wherein all other vegetable remains are completely decomposed; they have even been discovered, in one instance, in a semi-crystalline limestone of recent formation, in which both the stems and the spiral valves forming the integument of the pericarpium were converted into pure carbonate of

* Scrope, p. 34.

† Daubeny, on Volcanos, p. 182.

lime,

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lime, precisely in the same manner as are the larger and unknown species met with in such profusion in ancient fresh-water deposites.* The integument of the seed-vessel of living Charæ is so tough, that the attrition of river sand is incapable of effacing the sharpness of its spiral ridges. Thus in the fine sand of the Thames, used for covering stone floors in London, numerous seed-vessels of recent Charæ in a very perfect state may often be observed—just as in strata of fine sand of ancient formation, both in France and England. Examples occur in the forest of Fontainbleau, in the Paris basin, and in Hordwell Cliff, Hampshire.†

This series of fresh-water strata in Cantal is, for the most part, buried under volcanic products, and its extent can only be ascertained by the sections disclosed by torrents which have cut through the volcanic rocks. French geologists agree that this, and also the series of strata before mentioned in Auvergne, correspond with the upper fresh-water formation of the Paris basin. Whether the strata of Cantal were once continuous with those of Auvergne, must remain matter of conjecture; but it is by no means impossible that such was the case, and that the intermediate volcanic mountain of Cantal was created by subsequent eruptions, and the intervening primitive barrier by elevation from beneath.‡

It has already been stated, that another fresh-water formation occupies a deep depression in the granitic mountains of Central France, through which the Loire flows. This series of strata is situated in the department of Haute Loire, (the old province of Velay,) at a considerable distance from those before described, and it is distinguished from them, not merely in many of its geological characters, but in the circumstance that the limits of the lake-basins, in which the deposites were originally formed, remain still traceable, so much so that Mr. Scrope specifies the narrow gorges, by filling up which the lakes would be immediately restored to what may possibly have been their former level. He states, however, that the strata incline gradually towards the centre of the basin, the dip increasing as they approach the granite; but as the inclination is not great, we suppose this may be ascribed partly to

* For an account of the recent deposites of fresh-water marl, and botanical remarks on the Chara, and its fossilized seed-vessel the gyrogonite, see Trans. Geol. Soc., 2d series, vol. ii. p. 73. Many interesting additions have been recently made to our knowledge of the Charæ, particularly by Professor Amici of Modena, whose microscopic observations have thrown much light on the fructification of these curious plants. Sig. Amici has discovered no less than seven new species of Charæ in the lakes of Italy, all inhabitants of fresh-water: among these C. ulvoides is of a gigantic size, almost equalling the different fossil species in magnitude, and with a seed-vessel approaching to theirs in shape. This species lives at about the depth of twenty feet under water, and was found in the lake of Mantua. Tom. i. Mem. della Reale Acad. de Sci. di Modena. 1827.

† See Trans. Geol. Soc., 2nd series, vol. ii. pp. 288, 291.

‡ Scrope, p. 14.

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the original inequalities of the hollow in which these sedimentary depositions took place, and still more to the shrinking of the mass, consequent upon drainage—the depression being naturally more considerable near the middle where the thickness of the beds was greatest. This formation has been overwhelmed, like that of Cantal, by enormous accumulations of volcanic products, often forming a tabular covering of solid rock, between three hundred and four hundred feet in thickness, over the stratified limestone, marls, clays, and sands, to which the geologist obtains access on the sides of deep and waterworn ravines alone—except towards the confluence of the Borne with the Loire, and near the channel of the Loire itself, where the strata are more fully exposed to view. The lowest beds of this formation generally rest on granite, and consist of a reddish clayey sand, apparently derived from the detritus of granite; these support beds of a white and friable marl alternating at first with others of a light-greenish, or bluish marly clay without organic remains: many of these clays are used for pottery. The upper part of the series consists of marly limestone, which, on some points, is highly siliceous, and even contains thick beds of semi-opal. Towards the middle of this basin of Le Puy, beds of gypsum are found alternating with the argillaceous marls. Three of these are sufficiently rich to be worked for agricultural uses; they vary from two to fifteen inches in thickness, and 'contain a few shells of the genera Limneus and Bulimus,* and from one of them M. Bertrand Roux has extracted the entire lower jaw of a species of Palæotherium, which certainly tends to confirm the analogy of this formation to that of the Parisian gypsum.'† This extinct animal must have been about the size of the hog, but not precisely identical with P. medium of the Paris basin, which it very nearly resembles.‡ The gypsum is associated with selenite, as is the case at Montmartre. Above the argillaceous marls with gypsum, are calcareous and foliated marls and limestone, containing fresh-water shells of many genera, together with bones and teeth of mammiferous animals, one of them belonging to M. Cuvier's new genus Anthracotherium; others are

* We observe that M. Bertrand Roux mentions some few other organic remains, and particularly the Cypris—a fact deserving of notice, because these crustaceous animals, (or *entomostraca*,) inhabit our lakes and stagnant waters at present, and one of them, *C. ornata*, (Lamark,) has even been found completely fossilized, together with the seed-vessels of charæ, in the marl lakes of Forfarshire. (Geol. Trans. vol. ii. Second Series, p. 78.) A species of this genus has also been observed to occur with gyrogonites in the lower fresh-water formation of Hordwell Cliff, (Ibid. p. 291.) and the exuviæ of another species also abound in the weald clay of the south of England below the chalk.

† Scrope, p. 27.

‡ Cuvier, Discour sur le Rev. p. 317, 1825, and Oss Foss., tom. v. p. 505.

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apparently parts of the shell of the tortoise. 'On the whole, the fresh-water formation of the basin of Le Puy possesses considerable interest, from the apparent correspondence of its three principal divisions, viz. the sands and clays,* the gypseous marls, and the marly limestone, with the three principal fresh-water deposites of the Paris basin, into which the surplus waters of the ancient lakes of the Haute Loire most probably discharged themselves.'† The intervening marine beds, however, of the Paris basin are here absent, so that the different groups of fresh-water origin graduate insensibly into one another.

We must here conclude our sketch of the ancient fresh-water strata of Central France, in order to describe the associated rocks of igneous origin. These are of two classes, the more ancient constituting the mountain groups of the Mont Dor, the Cantal, and the Mezen; the second class, produced, for the most part, at a period long subsequent, and all of them by eruptions which 'seem scarcely in any instance to have been repeated in the same spot, but to have burst forth singly and successively on different though neighbouring points, remarkable generally for their linear arrangement in a direction nearly North and South—a direction coincident with that of the granitic beds from the interior of which they have apparently burst forth.'‡ It will be desirable to turn our attention to these comparatively recent volcanos in the first place, since they have suffered less injury from atmospheric or subterranean causes, and the knowledge acquired by studying the effects of time in these, leads us gradually on to the interpretation of what is most obscure in the characters of the more ancient volcanos. To the west of the valley of the Limagne before described, and immediately behind Clermont, rises a granitic plateau, about 1600 feet above the valley and 3000 above the sea. On this rests a chain of volcanic hills, about 70 in number, and of various heights and dimensions, called the Puys of the Monts Dôme, 'forming, with the ashes and scoriæ scattered around and between them, a high and irregular ridge directed N. and S. about eighteen miles in length and averaging two in breadth.'§ Their usual height is from 500 to 1000 feet above their bases. They are composed of loose scoriæ, blocks of lava,

* The plastic clay formation, resting immediately upon the chalk in the Paris basin, is usually destitute of organic remains; but Limneæ and Planorbes have been discovered in some localities, together with lignite; it is, therefore, considered a fresh-water formation. The plastic clay, with its sands and lignites reposing upon the chalk in this country are very similar in mineralogical characters, and are also usually without animal remains; but the shells, when they do occur, are almost always marine.—Trans. Geol. Soc., 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 284.

† Scrope, p. 28. ‡ Ibid, p. 42. § Ibid, p. 48.

lapillo,

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lapillo, and puzzolana, with fragments of trachyte * and granite; their form is more or less that of a truncated cone, their sides rising at an angle of about 30°. The crater is often perfect; frequently, however, it is broken down on the side whence the lava issued. The currents, after flowing from the crater or foot of the cone, are observed 'to spread over a wide expanse of the neighbouring plateau, or fill the bottom of a valley to some distance. Their surface presents a succession of shapeless and bristling masses of scoriform rock, and offers to the imagination the idea of a black and stormy sea of viscid matter suddenly congealed at the moment of its wildest agitation.' Sometimes these currents are so cavernous, or so scoriform, in their lowest part, that the streams whose channels they have usurped flow beneath, and gush out at the termination of the lava, like the river Arveron, at the extremity of its glacier, near Chamouni; the inhabitants, in such cases, being under the strange necessity 'of seeking, at the distance of several miles, the water which flows beneath their own houses.'† Our space will only permit us to follow the author in his description of a few of the volcanos of the Monts Dôme; and in making this selection even, we cannot do justice to his remarks, since they are illustrated by numerous sketches of the singular forms of these hills. His panoramic view of the environs of Clermont, as well as that of the country round Le Puy en Velay, both of them more than six feet in length, are most successful attempts at conveying geological information, together with an accurate idea of the physical geography of a large district, yet without entirely sacrificing general effect and a representation of the scenery. This has been partly accomplished by the use of such subdued tints for geological colouring as nearly resemble those assumed by the rocks in nature.

* As we shall frequently have occasion to mention this rock, we give the following definition from Dr. Daubeny's Treatise on Volcanos. 'Trachyte, properly so called, is characterized by its porphyritic structure; by the scorified and cellular aspect which it it has such a tendency to assume; by its harsh feel (whence its name), and by the presence of crystals of glassy felspar, generally cracked, and sometimes passing into pumice. Besides these, which may be regarded as essential to its composition, crystals of mica and hornblende are often present; and all these minerals are either confusedly united without any apparent *cement*, or by the intervention of a paste of a felspathic nature, sometimes compact and sometimes cellular. This paste is generally light coloured.' (Daubeny on Volcanos, p. 93.) There are many other varieties described by M. Bendant in his treatise on Hungary, of which an account also will be found in the work last referred to. It is a rock entirely wanting in the British dominions; but the clay porphyry associated with red sandstone in the Isle of Arran and that of Sandy Brae 'present at least numerous analogies, and the latter rock not only passes into pitchstone, sometimes resembling the pearlstone of Hungary, but also contains nests of wax opal.' Ibid. p. 104. Some modern lavas of Vesuvius approach very nearly in composition and appearance to trachyte, and the oldest volcanic products in Etna and Teneriffe are composed of it.

† Scrope, p. 64.

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One of the largest volcanic cones of the above chain is the Petit Puy de Dôme, elevated more than four thousand feet above the sea, composed entirely of fragmentary matter, basaltic scoriæ, sand and ashes, and containing a very regular crater, measuring three hundred feet in depth, and of equal diameter. Another of them, the Puy de Come, remarkable for the regularity of its conical form, rises majestically from the plain to the height of nine hundred feet; its sides covered with forest trees, and its summit presenting two distinct and very regular craters, one of them two hundred and fifty feet in vertical depth. The stream of lava, instead of issuing from either crater, takes its rise at the western base of the hill; at a short distance from which it has encountered an angular protuberance of granite, which has caused it to separate into two branches. The most considerable of these to the right, after spreading over the inclined granitic platform, and after having its course modified by several obstacles, poured down on the present site of the castle and town of Pont-Gibaud, and afterwards over a steep granitic hill, into the valley of the Sioule, where it dispossessed the river of its bed, and constrained it to work out a fresh channel between the lava and the granite of its western bank. The excavation effected by the river has exposed a wall of lava fifty feet high, and it is thus shown to be divided vertically into jointed columns of a regular polygonal form.

'But the Sioule (says Mr. Scrope) was not to suffer from this invasion alone. The other branch of the lava current of Come which flowed on from the point of separation, in a direction W.N.W., soon reached the bed of this river, about three miles above the spot of the other irruption, and, pouring over its banks, filled up the entire valley with an immense causeway, more than one hundred feet high. Exhausted by this effort, it proceeded but a short way down the bed of the stream towards the north, and stopped where the village of Mazayes now stands. The baffled waters of the Sioule here, as at Pont-Gibaud, obstructed by the rocky dyke thus suddenly thrown across their channel, must have given birth to a lake by their stagnation; and would probably have ended, as in the other instance, by wearing away a passage parallel to their former one, had not the hill forming their western bank, not in this instance composed of granite, but of a soft alluvial tufa, yielded, at some distance up the stream, to the excessive pressure of the dammed-up waters. An immense excavation, still subsisting, was broken across this hill—through which the lake emptied itself into the bed of the Monges, at no great distance, and through which the Sioule still joins this latter stream, about three miles above their former confluence. The changes thus effected do not only present themselves to the eye of a nice observer, but are exhibited in a manner not to be mistaken by the most casual. The whole superficies of the plateau, covered by the lava of Come, cannot

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cannot be estimated under ten square miles.' It is extremely rugged,—'presenting a succession of continual asperities, following one another like the waves of an ocean, with similar depressions between. Upon walking over its surface—no easy task—it appears to consist of chaotic heaps of rocky and angular blocks of compact basalt, tossed together in every variety of disorder; yet in the deep and narrow intervals between these heaps, occur little patches of fresh and flowery turf, and knots of underwood spring from their clefts, contrasting strangely with the horrid desolation which prevails over this extensive wilderness.'

The Puy de Louchadiere is the most striking of the chain. 'Completely isolated from the others, it rises as a majestic cone to the height of more than 1000 feet from the western plain, at an angle of 35°, and to the absolute elevation of 3956 feet. It is covered with forests, which add considerably to the beauty and take from the horror of its aspect.' Its crater measures 486 feet in vertical depth from the highest point of the ridge, and its current of lava first falls abruptly down a steep declivity, and then encumbers the plain 'with hilly waves of black and scorified rocks.' We cannot take leave of the Monts Dôme without citing one passage more from our author.

'To the south of the Puy de Laschamp rises an irregularly circular system of volcanic cones, the produce of many repeated eruptions within a small space, which, in all probability, succeeded one another very closely, or raged at the same epoch. This is the most interesting portion of the whole range to every observer, whether geologist or not. The extraordinary character of the view from any of these Puys impresses it for ever on the memory. Perhaps there is no spot amongst the Phlegræan fields of Italy or Sicily which displays in greater perfection the peculiar features of a country desolated by volcanic phenomena. It is true that the cones thrown up around are partially wooded and in general covered with herbage; but the sides of some are still naked; and the interior of their broken craters rugged, black, and scorified, as well as the rocky floods of lava with which they have loaded the plain, have a freshness of aspect such as the products of fire alone could have preserved so long, and offer a striking picture of the operations of this element in all its most terrible energy.'

There is one current mentioned which performs a course of ten miles, with a fall of 1700 feet; another twelve miles, with a difference of level between its source and termination of 2230 feet, which dammed up in its way the channel of two rivulets near their confluence, and gave birth to two lakes, La Caissière and d'Aidat, the latter a large and picturesque expanse of water.

At the extremity of the northern basaltic current of Gravenère, in the immediate vicinity of Clermont, 'is a small cavern, rivalling the celebrated Grotta del Cane in its phenomena. A constant emanation

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nation of carbonic acid gas takes place from its sides and bottom; its mephitic qualities have been ascertained by repeated experiments.'* The surface of the last-mentioned current 'has been forced into cultivation by the most assiduous industry. The process is to break up all the projecting masses of basalt by blasting; and from their fragments and scoriæ, aided by dressings, a soil has been created and clothed with vineyards, which almost rivals the well-known fertility of the sides of Etna and Vesuvius, where the same method has been constantly pursued.'†

The most perplexing problem attending the volcanic chain now described, is the occurrence of five or six hills, composed of a variety of trachyte, scattered irregularly through the other Puys in the middle of the series, but of a totally distinct structure and composition. One of these, called the Puy de Dôme, rises proudly above the rest, attaining the height of nearly 5000 feet above the sea. To the probable origin of these we shall return when treating of the Mont Dor.

The rocks of igneous origin in Central France have usually been divided, as we before stated, into ancient and modern. Mr. Scrope admits the convenience of this classification, but regards it as quite arbitrary. Very different dates, he says, must be assigned even to such modern volcanic eruptions as we have just been considering, for the surfaces of these currents have undergone very different degrees of decomposition, some being far more harsh, rugged, and bare than others, although it is true that such signs would not serve *alone* as sufficient criteria of their respective ages, since the power of time in producing these effects on lavas varies with their varieties of mineral constitution. But these marks, when they coincide with others derived from independent sources, furnish proofs of a less equivocal nature; such, for example, as the greater or less dilapidation of the cone, or the relative elevation of the current above the lowest level of the present watercourses. The argument derived from the last circumstance, in particular, is highly deserving of attention.

We may remind the reader that the streams of lava which burst up through granite upon the ridge of the Puys de Dôme, near Clermont, seldom flow far before they reach vallies eaten out of those fresh-water strata of which we spoke at length in the first part of our description. The friable nature of these strata caused them, subsequently to the drainage of the lakes at the bottom of which they were deposited, to yield to the erosive power of water, but they have in some instances been protected by cappings of ancient basalt, and sometimes by basaltic lavas of more modern

* Scrope, p. 77. † Ibid.

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date. As each stream of lava must be supposed to have occupied the lowest level of the district to which it had access when in a fluid state, the difference in relative height of these currents, so often as they happen to have taken the same direction, furnishes us with a measure of the quantity of waste and denudation of the surface of the land in the interval of the time between the flowing of any two currents. The author gives, among other examples, the following, in the Limagne d'Auvergne, where the basaltic platform of Gergovia is from two hundred to four hundred feet higher than that of La Serre in its immediate neighbourhood. Both of them are long strips of basalt, having a gradual inclination in the direction of their greatest length, and resting upon horizontal fresh-water strata. The uppermost is therefore considered by Mr. Scrope to be the remains of an ancient current; the lower (that of La Serre) is unquestionably such, for it may still be traced up to its cone of scoriæ. After, therefore, the freshwater strata, once continuous with those supporting the basaltic capping of the hill of Gergovia, had been hollowed out and removed to the depth of from two hundred to four hundred feet, the lava of La Serre flowed in the same direction, but at an inferior level. The uppermost basalt is compact, partly amygdaloidal, and much decomposed externally—having the characters, in short, of the ancient class of volcanic rocks; that of the lower has an appearance of much greater freshness, though in some respects resembling the older basalts. A third stream, of volcanic origin, descends down the valley of Chanonat, a valley intervening between the two plateaux already described, and running in a line parallel to them. Now, the bottom of this valley is five hundred feet beneath the level of the lowest of the two former currents, and has therefore been excavated at a later period. This most recent stream of lava issues from a vent marked by the Puy Noir, and is hardly less fresh in appearance than many currents of Etna, of which the date is known. But the process of excavation has not even ceased here, for in some places the rivulet of the valley of Chanonat has worn away a new channel, from twenty to fifty feet below the most recent of the three lava currents.

From these, and many other phenomena, the author infers that there is no positive line of demarkation between the older and more modern lavas; but that they, and the vallies down which they have taken their course, are referrible to a great variety of different ages. Many geologists entertain a different opinion; but not to interrupt our sketch of the geology of Central France, we shall postpone our remarks on this controversy till the conclusion of our paper.

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The ancient province of Auvergne comprehended within its limits not only the Limagne and the Monts Dôme, the fresh-water strata of which we have already considered, together with the volcanos of the second class, but Mont Dor, with its dependencies, and the Cantal. In the latter we have already described a fresh-water formation; but it also contains, as well as Mont Dor, volcanic remains of the most ancient class:—and to these it will be convenient next to turn our attention, since they are connected geographically with the district last alluded to. Mont Dor is a mountainous tract, the higher portion of which is divided into seven or eight rocky summits, grouped together within a circuit of about a mile in diameter, the highest reaching 6217 feet above the sea. The whole of this mass consists of successive beds of volcanic origin, of immense thickness, and which almost conceal the primitive soil. This mass is 'eaten into on opposite sides by two principal valleys (those of Dordogne and of Chambon), and further furrowed by about a dozen minor water-channels, all having their sources near the central eminences, and directing themselves indifferently to every point of the horizon.'* Although no regular crater remains on its summit, the author supposed he could recognise some traces of one. The rocks of which the strata are composed exhibit themselves in beds lying parallel to the sloping flanks of the mountain, and every way dipping off from the central axis. The whole, according to Mr. Scrope, is the skeleton of a vast volcano, the fragmentary ejections of its vent having been washed down by torrents, so as to form the conglomerates that clothe its sides, while its more durable productions, its lava currents, and consolidated breccias, have resisted the agents of dilapidation; and he observes, that were the fires of Etna to become extinct, that mountain might assume the chief characteristic features of Mont Dor, since it is already furrowed by deep vallies, produced by earthquakes and torrents of rain. The vallies on the side of Mont Dor offer sections of vast and irregular layers of tufa and breccias, mingled with repeated or alternating currents of trachyte, phonolite,† and basalt, the latter almost always columnar. Near the base of the mountain, where the diminished slope caused the lava currents to increase in width as much as in length, they often extend over a surface of many square miles—forming a succession of vast platforms, with a slight, and, towards their termination, a scarcely perceptible declination. The currents of basalt have flowed on all sides to the distance of fifteen and twenty, and in some instances,

* Scrope, p. 97.

† The rock called phonolite, or clinkstone, by Mr. Scrope, is of the same mineral composition as trachyte, differing from it only in having a scaly texture.

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on the east and north, of twenty-five or thirty miles from the central heights. The plateaus of trachyte, on the contrary, rarely extend beyond a circle of ten miles radius; but what these currents lose in length they make up in height and width; they sometimes, but very rarely, alternate with the basaltic currents, which some of their varieties, containing a large proportion of augite, closely approach. The dimensions and length of the lavas of Mont Dor, prodigious as they appear, are equalled at least by some of the modern lavas of Etna, and exceeded by those of Iceland.* The fragmentary matters ejected from Mont Dor our author supposes to have once fully equalled in volume its lava currents. They consist of volcanic ashes, or triturated pumice, either consolidated into a tufa, or more frequently enveloping fragments of trachyte, basalt, and granite, and forming a tufaceous conglomerate. Such conglomerates were clearly of contemporaneous formation with many currents of trachyte, clinkstone, and basalt, since these cover, support, and penetrate them in all directions. They sometimes reach to a distance of twenty miles from the summit of the Mont Dor, and may have originated from the descent of floods of water caused by the sudden meltings of snow in contact with heated lava, and by storms of rain, the usual accompaniments of volcanic eruptions; and perhaps also in part from deluges of water, such as *trachytic* volcanos, particularly those of America, are known occasionally to eject. The boiling water mixed with mud, which often issues from volcanos in the New World, was formerly imagined to proceed from as deep a source as the lava itself, until Humboldt discovered that multitudes of small fish, sometimes in such profusion as to taint the air, were thrown out in the mud. Since this fact was recorded, they have been attributed to the existence of internal lakes in the mountain; and these, Mr. Scrope remarks, may easily be supposed to collect in the crater of a trachytic volcano during intervals of tranquillity—such is the clayey quality of the ashes when mixed with water †.

We have already stated the extreme difficulty of accounting for the occurrence of five or six trachytic hills near Clermont, amongst which is the Puy de Dôme. MM. Ramond and d'Aubuisson considered them as detached remnants of a trachytic current from Mont Dor; and, after all the reasons adduced by others, and our author amongst the rest, in favour of their having been erupted from beneath on the spots they now occupy, we think the argu-

* Scrope, p. 99.

† In the last great eruption of Vesuvius, in 1822, the rain washed down the loose ashes and fine volcanic sand produced during the eruption, and descended in a flood of black mud into the streets of Portici, so suddenly, that some soldiers who were drinking in one of the taverns were enveloped in the mud, and with difficulty saved their lives.

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ments, as well as the authorities, on both sides, are, to say the least of the matter, balanced. We have not space to enter fully into this question, and shall merely observe that the rounded, bell-shaped form, peculiar to some of the smaller hills, is no other than that naturally assumed by a rock of *homogeneous* structure in the last stage of decomposition. Their distance from Mont Dor scarcely exceeds that assigned by Mr. Scrope to some of the trachytic currents of that mountain, and is exceeded by masses of nearly similar composition in Velay: the present elevation of the granitic ridge on which they stand might be explained by such an upheaving as he has himself assumed, to account for the position of the fresh-water strata of the Limagne, or of the basaltic covering of the range of Cèzallier.* The coincidence of the site of the trachytic domes with the craters, or the edges of craters, of modern formation, before described, appears to us of much less moment, when the number of the volcanic Puys on this ridge is duly considered. On the other hand, we are as much at a loss as our author and Dr. Daubeny, to conceive how the Puy de Dôme, rising 1600 foot from its base, resisted the ravages of time, that must, according to the hypothesis, have consumed the remainder of the current; and why nothing should have remained in the interval between these hills and Mont Dor but those small fragments of trachyte which occur in the recent cones of the chain of the Puys de Dôme. These fragments, however, seem clearly to indicate that some masses of trachyte, as well as of granite, were present on this plateau antecedent to the more modern eruptions. Mr. Scrope also mentions, that in consequence of the very different consistence of this substance, the Puy de Dôme resists decomposition much more in some parts than in others,—a quality very favourable to the subdivision of a current into separate and insulated masses. It may be said that if the trachytic hills were ancient, they would have been covered with ejected matters from the modern cones. If, however, we attach much weight to this objection, we must perforce admit that the Puy de Dôme, and the other masses of similar composition, are among the most modern of the whole chain, which would imply that the date of their origin was extremely recent—so late indeed, that we are then more than ever at a loss to conceive what causes can so soon have involved their origin in obscurity.

In the middle of some of the vallies, on the sides of Mont Dor, volcanic cones, as recent in character as the latest of those near Clermont, have burst up through the granite, and their lavas afford admirable juxta-positions of ancient and recent volcanic pro-

* Scrope, p. 116.

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ducts. The cone called the Puy de Tartaret, for example, occurs in the bottom of the valley of Chambon, whose sides are partly composed of granite and partly of fresh-water strata, with overlying basalts of different ages. The current proceeding from Tartaret is thirteen miles in length, and is in some places divided into regular columnar prisms, like the more ancient ranges of basalt exposed at higher elevations on the sides of the same valley.

In the lower extremity of the valley of the Couse, one of those descending from Mont Dor, a variety of fossil remains of mammalia were lately discovered including the mastodon, elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, tapir, bear, ox, several species of deer, hyæna, panther, fox, and some others. We have been informed by Dr. Buckland, that the teeth of the bear belong to Ursus cultridens, an extinct species similar to those found in the hyæna cave at Torquay in Devonshire, and to those previously discovered, together with the remains of the elephant, in the Val d'Arno. As this assemblage of animals corresponds with the class whose remains have been found so universally distributed in the superficial sand, loam, and gravel of almost every country in Europe, and we may add North America, great surprise was excited when it was announced that the remains were taken from strata belonging to the fresh-water formation of Auvergne; but we are indebted to Professor Buckland for having cleared up this difficulty in his late visit to that country. He ascertained that the bones had been preserved in a bed consisting chiefly of siliceous sand interposed between two beds of quartzose gravel containing pebbles of primitive rocks, the whole being covered with a tufaceous conglomerate of volcanic gravel and sand, containing rolled fragments of pumice lava, basalt, quartz, mica-slate and granite, and fragments of fossil wood. All these beds, derived from transported materials, lean against the east side of the hill called Boulade, composed of strata of fresh-water limestone, capped by basalt and based upon granite. On the south side of the Boulade, between Pardines and Perrier, the thickness attained by this *diluvial matter* is no less than 900 feet, the whole being composed of alternations of materials similar to those above described, and containing similar bones.*

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* We understand that some French gentlemen, who have paid attention to these fossil remains of Auvergne, do not agree with Dr. Buckland, in referring the conglomerate in question to so recent a date as his *diluvium*. It certainly cannot belong to the ancient freshwater series, but they think it may be as old as many tufaceous conglomerates of the Mont Dor, Cantal, and Mezen; and Mr. Scrope, who saw the conglomerates of the Boulade before the discovery of the animal remains had given rise to this discussion, was of the same opinion. In order to establish their point, they must show that some animals of the same class have been met with in conglomerates decidedly covered by the more ancient basalt. Nor do we see any improbability in such a dis-

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To the south of the Mont Dor rises the Cantal, which Mr. Scrope supposes to have been a large volcano, possessing, like Mont Dor, one habitual vent, the spot where the crater existed being, in our author's opinion, still assignable. The summit of the Cantal is about twenty-five miles distant from that of Mont Dor. The shape of the former is more conical—its trachytic lavas have flowed to greater distances, but are less in bulk and are older than its basaltic currents, which sometimes reach to the distance of nearly forty miles from the central eminence; they are usually columnar. Beneath these, as we before mentioned, the calcareous fresh-water formations of this province are almost concealed, but as there are occasional appearances of the limestone having been moulded by subsequent deposition upon the rude surfaces of the volcanic beds, it is evident that the torrents of melted matter sometimes flowed into the lake before it was drained, and ere yet the sedimentary matter had ceased to accumulate.

If we turn from Auvergne to the ancient province of Velay, we find volcanic rocks as ancient as those of Mont Dor and the Cantal, which our author supposes to have proceeded from a third volcano, Mont Mezen, formerly possessing one principal and central crater, whence masses of clinkstone (or schistose trachyte) and afterwards of basalt, have issued. The Mont Mezen is inferior both to Mont Dor and the Cantal in absolute height, measuring 5820 feet above the sea. In some instances the basaltic rocks of this district appear to have been considerably posterior in formation to the fresh-water deposites, the latter having been laid dry, and even partially eaten into by torrents, at the period of their invasion by the volcanic matter. The grounds of this conclusion are, that the basalt is not always parallel to the planes of the fresh-water

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a discovery; for, although it would imply that the origin of this class of animals was of high antiquity, yet such a conclusion would be perfectly consistent with proofs derived from other countries, of the extensive changes undergone by the earth's surface since it was first inhabited by the same quadrupeds. The *crag* of Norfolk and Suffolk, for instance, incloses the remains of the same mammalia mixed with cetacea and marine shells, the latter sometimes identical with species still living in our seas, whereas others are said to be not distinguishable from species at present inhabiting the seas of warmer climates. There is, in fact, a mixed character in the testacea of the *crag*, some belonging to more southern latitudes, others to our own, which harmonizes in a singular and most satisfactory manner with the equally intermediate character of the associated terrestrial animals. We have, moreover, Dr. Buckland's authority for referring, not only the sand and gravel beds of the upper Val d'Arno, where the same quadrupeds were formerly buried in a fresh-water lake, but also the upper marine formation of Montpelier, and that of the sub-Apennines, to the same age as our *crag*. We leave the geologist to draw his inferences from these data, and to decide whether such changes in the distribution of land and sea as have evidently taken place since the creation of the animals in question, do not imply as great an antiquity as we can reasonably ascribe to some of the latest eruptions of the three ancient volcanos of Central France. (See an abstract of Dr. Buckland's Paper, *Ann. of Phil.*, New Series, January, 1827, p. 66-69.)

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strata, sometimes cutting across them irregularly and at a very high angle. It is a fact of great geological interest, that dykes, or veins, are sometimes seen proceeding from the basalt into the subjacent strata, both of fresh-water limestone and volcanic breccia, as also into the granite. Besides these rocks of older date, there occur in this part of France a multitude of volcanic cones like those in Auvergne, produced, in all probability, each by a single eruption. These cones are much more dilapidated than the majority of those near Clermont, of which chain they appear to constitute the prolongation. 'They are so thickly sown along the axis of the granitic range that separates the Loire and Allier from Paulhaguet to Pradelle, as generally to touch each other by their bases, and form an almost continuous chain.'—(p. 143.) Of these our author counted more than a hundred and fifty.

Besides all these, some very curious volcanic remains of this class are found, farther to the south-east, and in the same line, on the steep declivity connecting the escarpment of the primitive table-land with the low lands of the Bas Vivarais and Southern Languedoc. Occasionally, in this country, regular volcanic cones present themselves most unexpectedly in the midst of rocky ridges of granite. The cones are clothed with the Spanish chesnut, the trees growing to a larger size and being more productive than in the primitive soil around. The currents of basalt issuing from these craters, which are composed of loose scoriæ and ashes, can sometimes be traced following the inequalities of the valley, just as a stream of melted metal would have flowed under similar circumstances. Yet rivers have, *since the flowing of these lavas*, worn themselves new channels, and have sometimes not only exposed on each bank a precipitous wall of columnar basalt 150 feet in height, but even to a considerable depth eaten into the granitic rocks beneath, the whole excavation being of course entirely subsequent to the volcanic eruption, *the lava of which flowed at the bottom of the then existing valley!*

The basaltic colonnade of Jaujac is a hundred and fifty feet in height, and of unexampled beauty; and another of equal dimensions, and nearly a mile and a half in length, is found in the bed of the Ardêche, near the village of Thueyts. The basalt which has proceeded from the cone called La Coupe d'Ayzac offers one of the best examples of the valleys which existing rivers can form in a mountainous country; for although it be true that the columnar structure affords great facilities to streams in detaching and undermining rocks, yet the entire removal of so many disjointed fragments implies the duration of this action for a very considerable length of time. The integrity of the cones of loose scoriæ, whence these basaltic currents issue, precludes the possibility of

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ascribing the denudation in this instance to a general flood that has swept over this country. From examining the basaltic boulders continually diminishing in size as you descend the stream, Mr. Scrope drew the following conclusions, as to the manner in which the basalt and granite which once filled these vallies have since disappeared.

'A wintry flood undermines and detaches a prism of basalt from one of the columnar ranges: the next flood drives it on a few inches, or, if by its form and position it is enabled to roll without much difficulty onwards, a few feet. This operation is repeated year after year; and in the mean time, even when remaining stationary, it is exposed to the immense friction of all the smaller boulders and pebbles which are drifted over it by the ordinary, as well as the extraordinary, force of the current. By the continuance of this process, it is at the same time carried forwards, reduced in size, and brought to approach to a globular form, the most favourable to its transport; in consequence of which the rapidity of its progress along the channel of the river is progressively accelerated, till, diminished to the size of gravel or silt, it is taken into complete suspension, and carried, sooner or later, in this state into the ocean.'—p. 153.

We may close our account of these volcanos by another passage from the author, on the general appearance of this region:—

'It would be, perhaps, difficult to find in any range of mountains, scenes which present a more exquisite combination of beauty and magnificence than some of the vallies of the Bas Vivarais, so little visited by hunters of the picturesque. The rich glow of their chesnut forests, tinted by a soft and brilliant atmosphere, is far more adapted to painting than the cold transparent colouring of the Alps and Pyrenees—their pine-forests—and water-falls; nor can the outline of their masses be considered as much inferior in grandeur. The scenery is, in fact, that of the Apennines, but with a more luxuriant vegetation than that great *limestone* range can support.'—p. 148.

In recapitulating the various phenomena now described as most interesting to the geologist in the interior of France, we shall class them in chronological order, in preference to reviewing them again either in relation to the distinctness of their origin, or to their geographical distribution. Now if we divide our retrospect into four great periods, the last may be calculated from the present year to the time of the latest volcanic eruption of Central France: the duration even of this first period is uncertain; but the silence of history appears to us conclusive as to the non-occurrence of such an event within the last 2000 years. There are streams of lava, it is true, near Clermont, as fresh in their aspect as some which have

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flowed in Italy or Sicily within the memory of man;* but we agree with Dr. Daubeny, with respect to these volcanos, that 'had any of them been in a state of activity in the age of Julius Cæsar, that general, who encamped upon the plains of Auvergne, and laid siege to its principal city, (Gergovia, near Clermont,) could hardly have failed to notice them. Had there been even any record of their existence in the time of Pliny or Sidonius Apollinaris, the one would scarcely have omitted to make mention of it in his Natural History, nor the other to introduce some allusion to it among his descriptions of this his native province. The case is even stronger when we recollect that the poet's residence was on the borders of the Lake Aidat, *which owed its very existence to one of the most modern volcanos.*'† On the other hand, if we attempt to refer such events to the middle ages, we must descend to periods so recent, that even if the use of letters had been unknown, we must suppose that tradition would have borne testimony to their occurrence. The country undoubtedly is wild and mountainous, and there were ages of anarchy after the death of Charlemagne, when the feudal power was at its height, which nearly approached to aboriginal barbarism. But the monasteries still existed; and in that age of superstition such prodigies would not have been left unchronicled, even though the most important political events had passed unnoticed. Yet although the time that has elapsed since the last eruption is not inconsiderable with reference to the history of nations, it has been insufficient to produce any marked changes on the surface of the country. The Puy de Pariou near Clermont may be taken as a specimen of the most recent cones. The crater is almost perfect; its brim is so little blunted by time that it scarcely affords space to stand upon, but it is clothed with grass to the bottom, and the cattle have formed tracks down its shelving sides, by which they descend and graze in the interior. The lava produced by the same eruption is only clothed here and there with a scanty vegetation, and by a few trees in some of the ravines. It is so rugged, that M. d'Aubuisson compares it to a river suddenly frozen over by the stoppage and union of immense fragments of drift ice.

* Many circumstances render lavas very variable as to the length of time they require to be capable of supporting vegetation; and among the most influential is the degree of vitrification they have undergone, for if this be excessive, they may remain sterile for an almost indefinite period. If they happen to be cavernous at the bottom, streams and rivers will flow beneath them, and no foreign matter can be washed on. If they are of a very porous texture, water cannot remain on the surface, and decomposition would be retarded. Sometimes the ejection of showers of ashes, continuing after the eruption of lava, covers a current, and it is then soon fertilized.

† Daubeny on Volcanos, p. 14.

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Our next period is marked by the eruption of the greater number of the volcanos of the second class; namely, those which have broken out from separate and independent vents subsequently to the time when Mont Dor and the other ancient volcanos were in activity. That the volcanic remains of the second class in the interior of France, with the exception of a small number in Auvergne, and some few, perhaps, in Velay, were produced during this period, is a matter not disputed by any geologist; and their number may amount to between two and three hundred. These are distributed, as we before stated, in a linear direction, running nearly north and south. These cones have thrown out showers of ashes, and, in most cases, from their base, or the crater, streams of lava have issued. The eruptions may be supposed, in some instances, to have followed each other in quick succession; for in the island of Lancerote, one of the Canaries, upwards of thirty cones, not inferior in their average dimensions to those of Auvergne, and arranged nearly in one line, running east and west, were produced within the space of six years during the last century (between 1730 and 1736).* But we must, nevertheless, imagine long intervals of time to have separated the formation of different *groups of cones*, for it is the character of volcanic action, as far as it is at present known, throughout the globe, that epochs of intense activity should alternate with lengthened periods of quiescence. The unequal dilapidation of different hills, the varying elevation of the lava currents above the existing valleys, the covering of chesnut forests and of vegetation upon some, the nakedness and sterility of others, these and many more signs afford abundant evidence that the laws which regulated subterranean disturbances in France in remote ages were analogous, in all probability identical, with those still in force. To the earlier or middle part of the period now under consideration we may refer the animals found in diluvial gravel in the valley of the Couse, near Issoire—the mastodon, rhinoceros, elephant, and tapir, the hippopotamus, ox, various species of deer, together with the bear, hyæna, and other beasts of prey. We are as yet ignorant as to the vegetation of the same era. If the characters of the plants when discovered should also indicate a somewhat warmer climate, the concurrence of proofs drawn from so independent a source will fall little short of demonstration, as to a higher temperature.

The third period of our retrospective survey may be reckoned back from the latest eruptions of the great volcanos of the first class, to the date of the evacuation of the tertiary lakes. Towards the close of this period, according to Mr. Scrope, some

* Scrope, p. 145.

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volcanos of the second class broke out on Mont Dor, like the parasitical cones now so frequent on the sides of Etna*, and these form, in his opinion, the connecting links between the two periods of the more intense volcanic agency. As to the commencement of this period, it is evident that the tertiary lakes were drained or filled up, or the depositions had ceased in them, before the principal eruptions of the volcanos of Mont Dor, Cantal and Mezen, took place: for the tertiary strata very rarely alternate with rocks of igneous origin; but, on the contrary, almost all the ancient basaltic lava, and the ejected scoriæ, tufaceous conglomerates (and in Velay, according to Mr. Scrope, the trachyte) repose upon the fresh-water strata. Although, therefore, the present period does not carry us back to the first appearance of volcanic eruptions in Central France, yet it comprehends nearly all the time during which the three habitual volcanos loaded the surface of that country with a great pile of igneous rocks, and during the latter part of which numerous valleys were channelled out, not only through the basalt, but through the subjacent granite or fresh-water formations. When we consider that the catastrophes, whatever may have been their origin, which caused floods of mud and water to descend down the flanks of these mountains, were often so widely separated in point of time, that the vegetation recovered itself in the interval (as the remains of wood buried in the conglomerates clearly show)—and when we recollect what repeated alternations of distinct volcanic products appear,—and also allow time for the subsequent excavation of the valleys—and *then* endeavour to estimate the duration of the time required by reference to existing analogies, such as Hecla or Etna might supply, the imagination is overpowered by the effort, and we are no longer surprised that geologists have so often sought refuge from their embarrassment in the likening of Nature herself to a volcano half extinguished, and refusing utterly to measure the stupendous exertions of her youthful energies by the feeble powers now supposed to be retained when she is oppressed with all the infirmities of age. Such assumptions may be made with impunity;—they cannot be controverted by an appeal to the effects of modern causes, since our observations are circumscribed within such narrow limits. But the fate of former historians of remote ages in the history of man should serve as a warning against any

* So late as 1811, no less than nine small cones, from most of which lava issued, were produced on the north-west side of Etna, arranged *in a line*. Some of them are situated in the 'Val delle Bue.' In 1669, Monte Rossi was thrown up on the side of Etna. It is about equal in height to the average-sized hills in the chain of the Puys de Dome, and has a double cone like the Puy de Come. Its current of lava destroyed half the town of Catania.

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hasty conclusion of this kind;—the philosophy of more enlightened periods has invariably reduced the gigantic stature and god-like attributes of early heroes and demigods to the dimensions and powers of ordinary mortals; while many of the prodigies and marvels of tradition, at first discredited by scepticism, have been finally shown to be in perfect accordance with the present course and constitution of Nature. As yet, we possess *no certain knowledge* concerning the character of animal and vegetable life during this period.

We may now pass to the fourth period, or the time which intervened between the final destruction and the first appearance of the tertiary lakes. Very little doubt can be entertained that the first volcanic eruptions did not occur till after a considerable number of deposites had been formed at the bottom of the lakes: for in Auvergne the lowest tertiary strata consist of a conglomerate in which no volcanic fragments are discoverable; and in Velay it is still more remarkable that, in the lowest part of the series, (composed of beds of clay, and sand without organic remains, or sometimes of calcareous breccia,) no fragments, derived from rocks of igneous origin, have been found—not even of trachyte, the most ancient of the volcanic formations, notwithstanding that some of these breccias are situated in the immediate vicinity of trachytic plateaux.* The lakes in Central France must have originally resembled Lake Superior in geological position, for the waters of Lake Superior are bounded partly by primitive rocks, and partly (on their south side) by inclined sandstone, of an ancient date. The late survey of the boundaries between the United States and Canada has brought us valuable information on these subjects. About one thousand rivers and streams empty themselves into that enormous inland sea last mentioned, and upon the melting of the snow, in spring, these sweep in, together with sand and primitive boulders, large quantities of drift timber, which sometimes cluster together into islands in the shallows near the mouths of the rivers. There is, in fact, a lignite formation now in progress there, analogous to that of Bovey, in Devonshire. Within a mile of the shore, this lake measures from seventy to eighty fathoms in depth; and within eight miles, one hundred and thirty-six fathoms; its greatest depth is altogether unknown—the thickness of strata, therefore, that may probably accumulate there is enormous. The freshwater lakes to the north of Auvergne, which have left deposites almost connected geographically with those of the basin of the Allier, and reposing on rocks of the oolitic series—and again, those tertiary strata of the same nature,

* Bertrand-Roux, p. 129.

extending

extending still further northward, beyond Paris, and resting in the basin of the chalk, may be compared to Lakes Huron, Erie, and the rest of that chain—which repose successively on more recent formations abounding in organic remains, until we arrive at length at the estuary of the St. Lawrence, where, for more than three hundred miles between Quebec and the sea, the influence of the tides is felt,—where fluviatile and marine remains may be sometimes intermixed,—and where such remains might alternate in distinct formations (as seems formerly to have been the case in the Paris basin) if earthquakes prevailed, so as to cause alternate elevation and subsidence of the land. The geologist, indeed, cannot but foresee that tremendous consequences must result, if ever the influences of volcanic action and earthquakes should visit North America;—we might even say should *revisit*, for in that country, as in all other parts of the world, the ancient strata afford abundant evidence that such convulsions *have been* both violent, and repeated at distinct epochs. We are informed, on the authority of persons engaged in the late survey, that an elevation of only nine feet of the waters of Lake Superior would cause them to flow over into the sources of the Mississipi, instead of travelling eastward to the Atlantic. Now it is evident, that such an earthquake as that which was experienced in Chili in 1822, where a great line of coast was lifted permanently up to the height of several feet above its former level, and where the interior of the country, even to the foot of the Andes, was still more disturbed, (fissures being caused in the granité transversely to the direction of the earthquake,*)—it is evident that such an event might be attended with consequences which would almost entirely change the external features of the country; for in estimating these effects, not only the elevation of Lake Superior above the sea, and its depth, but also its area, only inferior by one-third to that of the whole of England, must be duly considered. As it is clear that some showers of ashes had fallen into the lakes of Auvergne and the Cantal, and that some volcanic matter had been erupted into them before they were drained, it is highly probable that shocks of earthquakes accelerated their evacuation. Yet, it would not be an unreasonable hypothesis to infer, that the sedimentary matters alone might have been adequate to fill up the lakes: strata which are at present nine hundred feet in thickness, must have occupied a much greater space before they sustained the natural consequences of drainage. Now when we remember that the average depth of Lake Erie is estimated at only between thirteen and seventeen fathoms, and

* Geol. Trans. vol. i. 2d series, p. 415.

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that it is continually growing shallower, from the influx of pebbles, sand, and clay, and accumulations of reeds and shells,* it would not be too much to expect that, in a few centuries, the water might be entirely excluded, if, in addition to the present operations, we added showers of volcanic ashes and sub-aqueous eruptions of lava, and springs surcharged with siliceous and calcareous matter, such as still exist in volcanic countries, and such as were evidently in full activity during the tertiary period in Auvergne.

We naturally anticipate a great discrepancy between the animals which flourished in this state of the earth, and that previously considered by us, under the second period; for even then a marked change had begun to be perceptible, and creatures foreign to the present climate, and even to all known parts of the globe, had presented themselves to our view. Accordingly, we discover in the Flora of this age, and, above all, in the terrestrial quadrupeds, a surprising contrast to every thing previously noticed. More than forty species of quadrupeds alone, almost all of them belonging to new genera, are already discovered;† and when it is considered that the casualties by which these animals perished, are not likely to have comprehended every species then living, and that our investigations of these fossil remains are confined to the space of a few years, it is fair to conclude that there was as great a variety in the then existing creation, as in any country in the globe at present. Reptiles, such as now belong to more southern latitudes, then inhabited the waters, and the birds were of genera now unknown. The terrestrial and aquatic plants are more considerable in number of species, than have as yet been met with even in the ancient carboniferous series; and, lastly, the testacea, which are abundant, seem all distinct from living species, and yet approach more nearly to them than the contemporaneous animals of higher orders. The majority of modern geologists are in the habit of classing the tertiary formations as belonging to a state of the earth so distinct from that now prevailing, that they feel themselves released from all necessity of reasoning on strict analogy, and at liberty to give the reins to their imagination, and to refer all inexplicable phenomena, not to their ignorance of the present operations of nature, but to the dissimilarity of her laws in former ages. Now we cannot refrain from demanding of

* During the late survey, it was ascertained that Long Point, opposite Big Creek River, on the northern side of Lake Erie, had in the space of three years increased more than as many miles in length, by the accession of alluvial matter!

† Our remarks on the organic remains of this period must be taken as referrible to the fresh-water strata of France in general, not as applicable to the tertiary strata of Auvergne or Velay in particular, the latter being as yet but partially examined.

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those who can behold the fire of the volcano, and the shock of the earthquake, the waste of the torrent, and the growth of the coral reef, the receding cliff, and the encroaching delta,—who can look around them and be witness to all these signs of change, and still contrast the vicissitudes of former ages with the immutable stability of the present order of things—what conclusions they would have drawn, had they been admitted to view the tertiary lakes of Central France in all their original beauty and repose? If they had witnessed the slow incrustation of aquatic plants, or the exuviæ of shells and insects, by the petrifying matter of siliceous or calcareous springs; if they had ascertained, not only the perfect parallelism of the marly sediments, but the frequent alternations of distinct strata of siliceous, calcareous, or argillaceous earths—or the occasional intermixture of these in different proportions, marking frequent variations in the menstruum whence these deposites were precipitated; if they had seen myriads of tender insects frequenting the banks, the crocodile and the tortoise emerging from the water, or the lake-birds swimming on its surface—if they had marked the herds browsing with security amidst forests of palms,*—would they have conceived it possible that all this luxuriance of life, this variety and beauty of design, constituted no more than a transient scene? What, though in that very district there existed at that time inclined strata of the Jura limestone replete with marine shells, testifying, not only that the ocean had once rolled its waves over that very region, but that it had been peopled with animals distinct from all then living in the neighbouring sea?† What, though, adjoining the same chain of lakes, the carboniferous strata presented themselves, containing gigantic trunks of tree-ferns, and the remains of other plants, widely distinct from all which then clothed the adjacent plains

* Palms are mentioned by M. Cuvier as having been found by M. A. Bronguiart in greater or less numbers in all the localities in which the Palæotherium, or the ancient pachydermata, of that class occur in France. (*Discours sur le Rév.* p. 331.) But it does not appear that the vegetation of the tertiary strata, as far as it is yet known, was of a tropical nature, but of a climate hotter than that now belonging to the latitudes wherein these strata are situated.

† The reader may, perhaps, inquire from what data the geologist is enabled to conclude that, while fresh-water testacea, of peculiar and unknown species, inhabited the tertiary lakes of Auvergne and Velay, the neighbouring sea was peopled with marine *mollusca*, distinct from such as had been previously preserved in the Jura limestone, (or oolite formation.) The evidence depends on the alternation in the Paris basin of certain marine formations with fresh-water strata, analogous to those found in the interior of France. We have not space to enter at large into this comprehensive subject, but shall merely mention at present that in a single locality, in the Paris basin, the shells extracted from the sand of the calcaire grossière are referrible to about 800 species, and these in a state of excellent preservation, sometimes retaining even their colour. So great a number of species have not hitherto been found in all our northern seas, and in all probability such a variety could no where be met with collected together in a single locality, except within or near the tropics.

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and mountains, and apparently indicating an intensely hotter climate? Would they have been able to overcome the impression made upon the mind by the tranquil aspect of the scene before them?—reasoning boldly from former dislocations of the strata, or from former revolutions in organic life, and climate, would they have inferred the probability of convulsions and changes yet to come? Would they have conceived it possible that the various generations of living creatures, then ranging the plain, or swimming the lake, should at length fail—that they were destined to be all 'blotted out, and rased from the books of life;' yet that some few, perishing in the waters, should leave their skeletons to be disentombed, in after-ages, from the living rock, and to become 'known to men by various names?' How incredible would the prophetic voice have sounded, which should have foretold that these magnificent lakes should one day vanish, their oozy bottom become consolidated, and then, after being buried under repeated streams of liquid lava, again be furrowed out into deep vallies, with intervening hills; and, lastly, adorned and enlivened with a new creation of animals and plants!—that the granite would not only give birth to burning mountains of prodigious magnitude and height, but to a chain of more than three hundred minor cones, and to as many fiery torrents of lava—in a word, that the whole scene, the temperature of the air, the surface of the land, hill and valley, lake and river, with all the countless organic beings who then enjoyed the gift of life, were doomed, in the revolutions of futurity, like the heavens on the opening of the sixth seal, to 'depart as a scroll when it is rolled together!'

But much still remains to be done, and the curiosity of many generations of men must multiply almost indefinitely their observations and experiments, ere the geologist can be enabled to restore to our imagination the picture successively presented at remote periods, by the earth's surface and its inhabitants. He must become intimately acquainted with the wreck of matter treasured up in the ancient strata, and must study anew the living works of nature, interpreting the phenomena of former ages by rigidly examining and comparing with them the results of existing causes, before he can hope that his students will confide themselves to his guidance, as Dante in his sublime vision followed the footsteps of his master, and beheld, with mingled admiration and fear, in the subterranean circles environing the deep abyss, the shades of beings who once walked the surface in the light of day, and who still, changed as they were, and unconscious of the present, could draw the veil from the mysteries of the future, and recal from oblivion the secrets of the past.

Yet even the imperfect insight now obtained into the system of

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nature, at periods so remote from the present, is not without its interest; nor is that interest lessened by the reflection that it springs from a curiosity appearing to have only a distant relation to our present wants or condition. Though placed here but for a brief moment, and conscious of the shortness of our life, we feel a longing desire to know of things in the remotest ages of the past;—and these wishes have been often ascribed to the vanity of human nature,—but the imputation is refuted in the most satisfactory manner by our finding such inexhaustible stores provided by the Author of Nature for the gratification of these intellectual appetencies.

Every step we take in the pursuit of geology, observes Mr. Scrope, 'forces us to make almost unlimited drafts upon antiquity. The leading idea which is present in all our researches, and which accompanies every fresh observation, the sound which to the ear of the student of Nature seems continually echoed from every part of her works is—Time!' * Now these enlarged conceptions of the earth's antiquity have been deemed by some to derogate from the dignity of man, and such sentiments are naturally suggested if the species be regarded as a mere portion of the material world, and if man be confounded with the inferior animals whose instincts and passions are centered in this life, and never rise beyond the exigencies of the present moment. When seen through the gloomy light of such philosophy, all discoveries which extend indefinitely the bounds of time, must cause the generations of man to shrink into insignificance, and to appear, even when all combined, as ephemeral in duration as the insects which live but from the rising to the setting of the sun.

Those who embrace such opinions can find in ignorance alone a refuge from the pains of humiliation; and wisdom would indeed be folly if it could only bring with it a more lively consciousness of degradation. But if we hold mind to be something distinct from matter, it must be acknowledged that we assert its superiority more clearly by enlarging our dominion over time; and if we are obliged to exclude from the period of our intellectual being the season of our infancy, when we are unconscious of the nature of the world around us, and unsusceptible of mental pleasure or pain, we might, for the same reason, include within the compass of our rational existence, all the ages, even though they be myriads of years, over which science may enable us to extend our thoughts, and whence we may derive, by studying the records of the past, fresh ideas—power—intelligence—and delight. If there be no attribute which more peculiarly characterises man

* Scrope, p. 165.

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than his capability of progressive improvement, our estimate of the importance of this progressive power is infinitely enhanced by perceiving what an unlimited field of future observation is unfolded to us by geology, and by its various kindred sciences. Already is our progress accelerated by the mere knowledge that new worlds are accessible to our research, as when the energies of Europe were awakened by the intelligence that a continent beyond the Atlantic lay open to the enterprise of man. It is when investigating the laws that govern a portion of the universal system, that we exercise our highest prerogative, that of being alone selected to comprehend and admire the works of nature; and when engaged in deciphering the records of that system even at times antecedent to the creation of our race, the soul seems 'unfettered by her gross companion's fall', and

'Her ceaseless flight, though devious, speaks her nature
Of subtler essence than the trodden clod.'

But not to dwell longer on these speculative views, a moral lesson has already been elicited from the researches of geology, which cannot but produce the most important practical results. Interpret the various phenomena as we may, they are sufficient to convince every impartial mind that the notions hitherto entertained concerning the history of the earth, have been as confined and erroneous, as were those of our forefathers, prior to the sixteenth century, concerning the structure of the heavens. Among all the causes which contributed to liberate the human mind from the bondage of ignorance and prejudice by which its powers were repressed during the middle ages, none were more instrumental than the cultivation of the physical sciences—when the inductive system had been once fairly established. But the discoveries of astronomy were most pre-eminently beneficial, not so much from their practical utility, although in this respect their services were of inestimable value, but because they gave the most violent shock to the prejudices and long-received opinions of men of all conditions. Galileo taught the sun, so often as he rose above the ocean and pursued his apparent course through the heavens, to proclaim to all the nations of Europe, 'that no authority on earth was infallible.' His sufferings in the cause of truth did not extinguish the spirit of the Inquisition, but gave a death-blow to its power, and set posterity free, at least from all open and avowed opposition, to enlarge the boundaries of the experimental sciences. They who were actively engaged in these studies were soon rendered sensible how soon, without exhausting any department, they could push their inquiries beyond the capacity of the human mind. While on the other hand, men who were not immediately employed in such investigations—they whose attention

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attention was only called to them occasionally by some important improvement derived by the arts of life from the discoveries of science, still could not fail to mark how great a diversity of opinion continually prevailed amongst the most acute philosophers when reasoning, even with an unbiassed desire of truth, on things material—on things cognizable by the senses—on facts, and the results of experiments. It was observed how often, even in these inquiries, they could fall into the grossest errors, how often they were compelled unwillingly to modify or abandon favourite opinions, and what controversies might originate out of the uncertainties and imperfection of language. Even the most ignorant could not look on and witness the doubts and difficulties of the most learned without regarding, as absurd and ridiculous, that enthusiastic devotion to certain abstract and metaphysical dogmas which excited so intense an interest amongst all classes in the middle ages, and which had even led the armies of the nominalists and realists into the field. But still more clearly did they learn to appreciate the enormous cruelty and wickedness of enforcing, by penal laws and sanguinary persecutions, an outward conformity to certain speculative doctrines not relating to the material, but to the spiritual, invisible and immaterial world, to subjects infinitely exalted, and no less incomprehensible than the attributes or the most appropriate names of the Supreme Being.

The impression produced upon the public mind by the new doctrines introduced and established, from time to time, by physical science, and the moral effects which result to society, are always liable to be underrated by historians—because they operate insensibly and indirectly. Their influence, however, can scarcely be estimated too highly when we consider how general is the desire of inquiring into the works of nature, and how involuntarily, from the very constitution of our minds, we yield assent to all physical truths when once clearly perceived. If we recall to mind what dissensions and what uncharitable feelings the spirit of fanaticism has occasioned in every age, even the most enlightened, and how much it has impeded and still impedes the progress of civilization, we cannot, without sentiments of profound gratitude, reflect that every page in the great volume of Nature's works is fraught with precepts conveying a calm but severe rebuke to this peculiar demonstration of pride and presumption in the human mind. For how is it possible to obtain more enlarged views concerning the history of this single planet, and to confess, as we must do, our utter inability to explain the designs of the Creator, even as regards so insignificant a part of the great system: how is it possible to become convinced, by the progress of geology, that we have remained for centuries blind to the most elementary truths

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truths relating to the history of the earth on which we tread—and not feel that it is the highest presumption in us to cherish hatred—nay, even the faintest sentiment of dislike towards our brethren, for differing from us in opinion concerning things of an infinitely more speculative and incomprehensible nature! There is in this rebuke—in the manner of it alike, and in its moral tendency, the stamp of a divine origin. It humbles us into a sense of our ignorance, yet it increases our knowledge. It checks our intellectual pride, not by laying the understanding prostrate, but by raising us to a more just conception of our limited capacities, and the infinite perfection of the divine attributes; and, in so doing, it purifies the mind from those false and superstitious notions of the Deity which have, in every age, tended so much to degrade the moral character of nations. Doubt and uncertainty, and apprehension, are but too ready to take possession of the mind, when reflecting on the apparent evil that prevails in the universe, as well as on the good that is manifested; but with those who study accurately the works of nature, and reason upon them justly, such innumerable proofs of the infinite wisdom and power of the Supreme Being are ever present to the imagination, that the soul is calmed and solaced by a sentiment of profound resignation.

But it is time to leave these digressions, and to conclude with some observations on the work before us. The principal question at issue between Mr. Scrope and several other English geologists who have visited Auvergne, relates to the formation of valleys; and whatever may be the merits of the rival theories, we consider this work the most able which has appeared since Playfair's 'Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory,' in support of the opinion that valleys, which decidedly owe their form to the agency of water, have not been shaped out by one sudden and violent inundation, but progressively by the action of rivers, or of such floods as may occur in the ordinary course of nature. That many valleys owe their origin entirely, and a still greater number partially, to subterranean forces which have elevated and dislocated the strata in such a manner as often to leave evident traces of the mode of their operation, is now admitted by almost all geologists; but there are some authors, and among these Dr. Buckland, is most distinguished, who maintain that no conceivable lapse of time could enable the causes now in action to produce such inequalities on the earth's surface as are exclusively referrible to aqueous action, nor to transport into their present situations such loose materials of various rocks as are now found universally strewed over the continents and islands. There are not wanting, on the other hand, strenuous assertors of the opposite theory, and who in particular deny, that, consistently with the laws and properties

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perties of fluids, or the texture and composition of rocks, it is possible to attribute, to a transient inundation, the kind of force required.* The interior of France is so peculiarly adapted for the decision of this question, that we have great reason to regret the death of Professor Playfair so soon after his visit to Auvergne, and before he had published his observations on the subject. They who favour the theory of the gradual excavation of valleys labour under this difficulty, that if there be any truth in their hypothesis, there ought to be no proofs of different and distinct periods at which the action took place, and thus they are unavoidably without means of showing that the whole operation was not simultaneous. But some rare combination of circumstances may nevertheless sometimes occur, and serve to establish or to disprove their theory. If we suppose, for instance, that in a valley excavated to a certain depth, a lake is caused by some obstruction, and sedimentary deposites accumulate at its bottom, and if the barriers of the lake are then burst, the deepening of the valley ought, according to the hypothesis, to proceed as before, and the river, after cutting through the sediments of the lake, should wear a channel into the subjacent rocks. A few remnants of the strata once formed at the bottom of such a lake, adhering to the sides of the valley at a certain height, might then attest two distinct periods of excavation. But the coincidence of many improbable circumstances is necessary for such an occurrence, and even then it is not unlikely that the lacustrine deposites would be entirely swept away before the valley was considerably deepened.

There is, however, another case, far more likely to be met with, viz., the repeated flowing of lava at distant periods through the same valleys. In the Vivarais, a current of basaltic lava, issuing from a very perfect cone of ashes and scoriæ, (La Coupe d'Ayzac,) occupies a valley, and evidently once filled it, although, at present, the violence of a torrent has worn a channel through the central part of the current, and has only left, at the same level on

* See a paper by Dr. Fleming in the Edin. Phil. Journ., vol. xiv., p. 205. To the agency of lake floods, supposed by Dr. Fleming to have produced a large part of '*the diluvium*,' it was objected that the hypothesis required the universality of such lakes at some former period, and that if they had existed they must have left marks of their ancient beaches, as in the case of the parallel roads of Glen Roy. But, if the position of a lake as ancient as the tertiary formations can still be traced to bear some relation to the present continents, there really seem no assignable limits to the possible agency of the cause in question:—it now appears that the bursting of the lakes of Central France *may* have modified the forms of the valleys of that country, although at this distance of time it must be impossible specifically to point out the changes so produced. Besides, if in Glen Roy there are parallel roads without a vestige of any fresh-water strata, and in Auvergne and Velay fresh-water strata unaccompanied by any parallel roads, how many lakes may not have disappeared without leaving behind them any indications of either description?

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both sides, columnar masses of basalt one hundred and sixty feet in height. Although the country is mountainous, and the descent of the river rapid, and the columns of basalt loose and easily detached, yet the immense portions now removed have as completely disappeared from the valley as if the water of the river had possessed the quality of a solvent; and this presents a fact at which those geologists who impute little power to modern causes in the excavation of valleys, may perhaps be staggered. But the example of the valley of Montpezat, as described by Mr. Scrope, is still more instructive; for in that case the torrent has not only eaten its way through the current of lava, (proceeding also from a cone of scoriæ), but to the depth of more than one hundred feet through the underlying granite.* In such a case the erosion of the lowest part of the valley through the granite might, but for the accidental occurrence of the lava, have been considered contemporaneous with the excavation of its upper portion. If, however, several currents had flowed in the same direction, all at periods as distant from each other as was the flowing of the lava in the valley of Montpezat from our times, the remains of these several streams might have been found at different altitudes:—and this is precisely what Mr. Scrope affirms has taken place in several situations in Auvergne—all which cases his opponents, of course, will explain and interpret differently. Now we think the question, as to the gradual formation of valleys, is fairly brought to that issue which calls for the strict observance of one of our fundamental rules of legal evidence,—that which enjoins the production of the best proofs which the nature of the case admits, and pronounces that to appeal to any secondary proofs when those of higher authority are accessible, must raise a presumption against the party who relies upon such support. All the rocks of igneous formation in the British isles are either so ancient, or such changes have taken place since their production, that no comparison can be instituted between the surface as it existed at the time of their flowing, and the present form of the land,† while those of Etna and Vesuvius are probably too recent to allow of changes of sufficient magnitude to have occurred subsequently to their consolidation—assuming that any modern causes would be competent, in the lapse of time, to produce such changes. But in the Eyfel in Germany, or in the interior of France, the contending parties may join battle, and the

* See plate 15, and p. 181.

† The basalt of Antrim is more recent than the chalk, and may, perhaps, as Dr. Daubeny has conjectured, be as modern as that of Mont Dor. Valleys of denudation, from 400 to 800 feet in depth, have been formed in it since its consolidation; but as to the nature of the surface at the time of its flowing we know nothing, not even whether it was sea or dry land.

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only difficulty which we anticipate in the final determination of the question, will arise from this circumstance—that if there be any truth in the theory to which Mr. Scrope is attached, the oldest lavas which have flowed at the most distant epochs ought to be so wasted, and the original surface on which they were moulded, so nearly obliterated, that the proofs furnished by them must necessarily be of an obscure and disputable character.

There is another curious subject of controversy with respect to the volcanos of Central France, quite inseparable from the theory already alluded to. Three hundred cones or more have burst out from independent vents. If the valleys referrible to aqueous denudation were all formed by one general and violent inundation, how many of the cones last mentioned are to be classed as anterior, and how many as posterior to the date of that event? Some of the cones composed of loose scoriæ and ashes are so perfect, that they must be supposed more recent than any violent debacle; others, on the contrary, are so dilapidated, and so nearly annihilated, that they might be considered to have undergone the action of a deluge. Dr. Daubeny, accordingly, divides the volcanos of Auvergne into ante-diluvian and post-diluvian, and adopts this classification as appearing to him the most natural, and without any desire of expressing an opinion 'as to the identity of the particular deluge recorded in the Mosaic History, with the cause to which the excavations of the valleys and the formation of beds of gravel may be referred.'* In opposition to this, Mr. Scrope affirms that such a classification will merely apply to the two extremes of a series, and that one extreme passes into the other by insensible gradations; and he enumerates specifically the intermediate and connecting links, endeavouring also to show that the state of relative degradation in the cones corresponds with that of their respective lava-currents. It is almost superfluous to remind the reader that they who have a theory to establish, may easily overlook facts which bear against them, and, unconscious of their own partiality, dwell exclusively on what tends to support their opinions. The impression, therefore, made by Mr. Scrope's arguments and illustrative sketches, ought not to be considered as conclusive:—but we must suspend our judgment until his arguments are *specifically* met by some of his numerous opponents. Their authority alone might be almost conclusive, if we did not know how far the love of system may often mislead, and how prone we are to imagine strong lines of demarcation, where it would be convenient for us if nature had drawn them. The intermediate links between two periods of intense volcanic activity, if few in

* Daubeny on Volcanos, p. 9.

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number, may have been overlooked by former observers, like those connecting genera and species in zoology and botany, the complete detection of whose characters so often confounds our best artificial arrangements.

But whatever be the merits of the respective theories, we hope that no irrelevant matters will be mixed up with these scientific disquisitions; above all, that none will fall into the error of imagining that the authority of the sacred writings is in the least degree implicated in whatever determination we may be led to. For neither are geologists as yet agreed as to what effects would be produced on the earth's surface by a general inundation, arguing on physical grounds, nor are divines unanimous as to the proofs of such an event to be expected from a fair interpretation of the Mosaic record. The Rev. Dr. Flemming has endeavoured to show, that, according to the sacred text, the waters rose and subsided *tranquilly;* and that when 'God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters assuaged,' the surface of the earth had not suffered greatly, but the vegetation was still, in a great measure, uninjured, and the olives not rooted up. If we adopt the opinions of this learned divine, we ought not to expect any decisive marks of the universal deluge. Again, M. Frayssinous, Bishop of Hermopolis, who has now the superintendence of public education in France, observes that a large part of the changes of the earth's surface, ascribed by some to the deluge, may have been produced during those periods of indeterminate duration which, in his judgment, are comprehended under the six days of the creation.* A third authority, and a very considerable one, we mean the Baron de Férussac,† contends, that it is consistent with orthodoxy, at least in the Romish church, to suppose that the inhabited parts of the earth alone were submerged by the deluge, which had for its object the destruction of the human race, then, in all probability, confined to a limited space; refuses utterly to believe that Moses contemplated regions then untrodden by man, as America and New Holland, within the territory inundated by the Noachian flood; and supports this doctrine by the sanction of the Congregation of the Index.‡ We might select a great variety of

* Some of the conferences of M. Frayssinous, touching Moses considered as the historian of the primitive ages, deserve attention, not merely from the high political and ecclesiastical station filled by this prelate in France, but for the spirit of freedom in which he conducts his inquiries. It is matter of regret that in the nineteenth century the example of a Roman Catholic Bishop should be a reproach to a certain class of Protestant writers, small in number, it is true, and in talent, who, abandoning the vantage ground of their own church, have imbibed the very spirit that once dictated a papal bull against the Copernican system.

† Bulletin Univ. February, 1827, p. 193.

‡ If M. de Férussac is borne out by the testimony of Mabillon, whom he cites in

 support

of other explanations, to show how easily different men may adopt different theories, and each of them satisfy himself that his alone is in harmony with the scriptures. In truth, no one is entitled to call in question the sincerity of such authors: we must recollect that the Mosaic narration is elliptical in the extreme, and that it makes no pretensions whatever to supply those minute scientific details which some would now endeavour to extort from it. When we call to mind that parts of this record are very obscure—that some expressions throughout are very general, and others, in the opinion of some of the most learned commentators, figurative, our only just ground of wonder is, that such transcendant importance should be attached to every point of supposed discrepancy or coincidence between the phenomena of nature and the generally-received interpretations of the Hebrew text.

We cannot sufficiently deprecate the interference of a certain class of writers on this question who have lately appeared before the public. They are wholly destitute of geological knowledge derived from personal observation, and have never rendered themselves acquainted with the elements of any one branch of natural history which bears upon the science. Incapable of appreciating the force of objections, or of discerning the weight of inductions from numerous physical facts, they estimate the value of all theories by one standard—their discordance or harmony with their own preconceived notions. They deem themselves at liberty to set at nought all the generalizations of a science, so long as they can point out numerous incongruities in many of the speculations of its most ardent cultivators; yet they dogmatise themselves upon texts of scripture, which have given rise, and will probably for ever continue to give rise, to the greatest diversity of opinions in the Christian world. While they denounce as heterodox the current opinions of geologists, with respect to the high antiquity of the earth and of certain classes of organic beings, they do not scruple to promulgate theories concerning the creation and the deluge, derived from their own expositions of the sacred text, in which they endeavour to point out the accordance of the Mosaic history with phenomena which they have never studied, and to judge of which every page of their writings proves their consummate incompetence. We are sometimes tempted to ask ourselves whether the first sentence of the sacred writings has ever made a due impression on their minds,—whether, if the important truth that 'God created the heavens and the earth,' was ever present to

support of this index, it must be a curious document, for no one will accuse the expurgatory Indices of the Church of Rome of favouring latitudinarian principles. Indeed it would be difficult to find any book or any doctrine, which has not, at some time or other, been proscribed by the infallible wisdom of a papal index.

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their recollection, they would not pause before instituting a comparison between the scriptures and the works of nature; and first consider whether, by a total disregard of either description of evidence, they may not incur the most serious moral responsibility. If truth be sacred in their eyes, they must assuredly feel that it is of the highest moment that all engaged in such controversies should attentively study those natural phenomena which, when correctly interpreted, are intuitively recognised by all mankind as the authentic sources of truth. Do they suppose that it can at once be impossible to refuse implicit assent to what is mathematically demonstrated, and possible to reject at pleasure all presumptions arising from the contemplation of probable evidence? Yet such would appear to be their course of reasoning, when they concede, with regard to astronomy, that the words of the inspired writer are not to be taken literally, but as accommodated to the first familiar notions derived from the sensible appearance of the earth and heavens; and insist, at the same time, on the most rigorous interpretation of the text, whenever any phenomena connected with geology are under consideration. We have no great apprehensions that such writers can ever gain much popularity in a country where philosophical information is widely diffused; but if such should be the case, it will be incumbent on those, whether of our clergy or laity, who have already shown themselves fully competent to the task, no longer to refrain from answering their publications, but, by exposing the incompetence of the authors, to dispel all groundless fears and prejudices, and save religion from suffering, through the indiscretion of its friends, an injury which it can never sustain either from free discussion or from the assaults of avowed enemies.

Too much caution cannot be used against rash or premature attempts to identify questionable theories in physical science with particular interpretations of the sacred text; and we may conclude with the admirable piece of advice bequeathed to us by Lord Bacon more than a century and a half before geology had received a name. 'Let no man, upon a weak conceit of sobriety, or an ill-applied moderation, think, or maintain that a man can search too far, or be too well studied in the book of God's word, or in the book of God's works, divinity or philosophy; but rather let men endeavour an endless progress or proficience in both: only let men beware that they apply both to charity, and not to swelling; to use, and not to ostentation; and again, that they do not *unwisely mingle or confound these learnings together.*'*

* Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, book 1.

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ART. V.—1. *A Practical Inquiry into the Number, Means of Employment, and Wages of Agricultural Labourers.* By the Rev. C. D. Brereton, A.M., Rector of Little Massingham, Norfolk. Second Edition.

2. *An Inquiry into the Workhouse-System and the Law of Maintenance in Agricultural Districts.* By the Rev. C. D. Brereton, A. M., Rector of Little Massingham, Norfolk. Second Edition.

THERE is some good attendant even on the magnitude of an evil. The poor-laws can no longer insidiously creep on, like a dry rot, in the moral character and prosperity of the country. The legislator, philosopher, and practical man, are all equally alive to the subject, and anxious to devise means, if not to abate the nuisance, at least to mitigate the mischief. The works now before us appear to be the productions of a zealous and enlightened friend to the poor. They point out, with forcible reasoning, illustrated by facts, the morbid influence of the present mode of administering the poor-laws. As, however, these have been frequently insisted on, and no remedy hitherto devised which experience has not shown to be insufficient, we shall not follow the author in his details, but avail ourselves of the occasion to suggest a mode of remedy, which we hope may not be found unworthy of public attention. And we deem this effort more especially requisite at the present moment, when plans are suggested, both in and out of parliament, for extending the poor-laws to Ireland; importing into that kingdom the venomous reptile which is gnawing the vitals of this. It is not, indeed, indigenous there: but, instead of dying, according to the popular superstition, as soon as landed, it will thrive and multiply with frightful rapidity; worse than all the evil spirits that possess the country, this will enter in and dwell there, and the last state of that land will be worse than the first. What is it that occasions the crying misery of the Irish peasant but that abject state of mind which is willing to exist in squalid poverty, and propagate on the bare necessaries of life, instead of labouring to acquire its decencies and comforts, and abstaining from marriage till he have a prospect of providing these for his children? If such a character, then, find that, from the establishment of poor-laws, he can exempt himself and his children from absolute want, and from much of the little labour they now perform, by having a right to draw their subsistence from the fruits of the labour of others, into how much more precipitous an abyss of meanness and wretchedness will he not sink? But it will be replied, 'He will, by law, have no demand on the labour of others till he cannot exercise or procure it for himself.' Such, no doubt, will be the letter of the law, and the spirit of it, too,

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too, as it has been in England: but what will be the practical result? Let England answer the question,—where thousands and tens of thousands of families of robust labourers receive half their maintenance from the parish funds; where it is the notorious practice of young men to marry on the avowed and admitted claim of receiving parish assistance on the birth of the first child, and an increased allowance on every succeeding one. Establish this system in Ireland, and you will at once plunge the people into that wholly reckless state, to which of themselves they are so rapidly advancing, and which resembles, more than any thing in Europe, the state of society represented by Row.

'An Indian servant of Sir Thomas Row's would needs go out one day to be married forsooth, and yet he had three wives at the same time, with a good stock of children, and but five shillings a month to maintain them all. *This is drawing bills upon God Almighty without any warrant or encouragement to believe they will ever be paid.*'—Row's Account of the Moguls Country, Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 175, edition 1705.

But there is no intention of entering generally, in this article, on the dolorous subject of Ireland. Thus much has only been adduced as an urgent cause for at present pressing the topic of the poor-laws on public notice, and for earnestly suggesting the trial of one other mode of relief, when that which has been tried for three hundred years is universally acknowledged, not only to have failed in its purpose of reducing the sufferings of the poor, but to have become oppressive in its actual operation, and still more alarming, in its obvious tendency, to the possessors of property.

One new experiment has been most successfully made in the current century; and the question we wish to consider is, whether its benefits may not be very greatly extended by a new application of its principle—we allude to the establishment of Savings' Banks. The general spread and success of these institutions prove that there is a large number of the inferior and industrious classes in this country yet untainted by the blight of the poor-laws. These, as was to be expected in so novel an undertaking, were at first liable to some abuses, which, in our 61st Number, we pointed out, with the remedies of which they were susceptible: and it is probable, that the system is now, from experience, much improved; besides that the change in the money-market makes the temptation to abuse much less. And, indeed, we have opportunity of knowing, that the larger sums, which were at first unjustifiably deposited, (as certainly being neither 'small savings,' nor the savings of the '*industrious* classes of his Majesty's subjects,') are now very commonly in the course of being withdrawn; because there may now be had, for such sums, a higher interest than the savings' banks can afford.

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afford. And this consideration adds weight to the suggestions we ventured to make, that the maximum of deposit (200*l.*) allowed by the last act (5 Geo. IV. c. 62.) is too limited to permit a depositor to hope, by the labour and self-denial of his vigorous years, to make his age and infirmity independent of parochial relief. Subsequent experience, too, by proving a rapid accumulation of their surplus funds, (after paying the promised interest,) has convinced us of the hardship of these societies being prohibited from dividing that surplus till November, 1834; when many of the present depositors, who have contributed to that surplus, may be dead, and others have been compelled by their necessities to withdraw. But to return to our immediate object, the application of the principle of savings' banks to diminish the evil of the poor-laws:—

Whatever be the benefit from savings' banks, (and it may be rated very high,) it is confined to that class who have yet resisted the contagious debasement fomented by the poor-laws, and many of whom probably have been saved from the disease by the alexipharmic, which a savings' bank affords to such as are willing to take it. But the actual enormity of the evil arises from the vicious courses, and degraded spirits of such as, having no habits of self-denial, throw themselves, without shame or reluctance, on the present or future support of their neighbours. It is to these, who will not apply the remedy of the savings' bank for themselves, that we think it ought to be applied by law; and our proposal is, that a portion of the earnings of every labourer, during his years of health and vigour, should be compulsorily accumulated to provide for his season of exhaustion by age or sickness.

It is curious, and not uninstructive, to observe how long the evil, and its sources, have been recognized in immediate connection, and how, in one important class of society, at least, the remedy we have proposed was adopted. Tacitus had witnessed the depravity in the poor, and the burthen imposed on others, which were the consequences of donatives in the camp, and sportulæ and congiaria in the city, and thus makes Tiberius express himself:—

'If all that are poor should come hither, and begin to require money for their children, the Republic would be exhausted before all could be satisfied. If no man's hopes, or fears, are to centre on himself, industry will decline, and indolence increase; and if all are to look with confidence to others for support, they will become sluggish in themselves, and burdensome to us.'*

* Si quantum pauperum est venire huc, et liberis suis petere pecunias, coeperint, singuli nunquam exsatiabuntur, respublica deficiet. . . . . Languescet alioqui industria, intendetur socordia, si nullus ex se metus aut spes; et securi omnes aliena subsidia exspectabunt, sibi ignavi, nobis graves.—*Ann.* l. iii. c. 53.

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The preventive of this, in the military class, as devised by the ancients, Vegetius considers so admirable, that he ascribes it to divine inspiration.* It was shortly this:—that since, as he observes, 'most men, and more especially poor men, will spend all the ready money they can command,' half the donatives of the soldiers were placed in a public repository, that it might not be wasted by the individuals in debauchery or useless expenditure, but doled out to them, in common with their daily messmates—who may be considered as standing in the same relation to the soldier as his family to the labourer. A similar contribution was also made by each soldier to a common fund, from which the expenses of sepulture were defrayed, so that, living or dead, they should not be burthensome to others.

This wisdom of antiquity has been emulated by Britain in her magnificent establishments of Greenwich and Chelsea hospitals, which derive a large portion of their revenues from a tax levied for that purpose on the pay of the army, and of seamen, both in the royal and merchant service. Thus, then, the principle of compulsory contribution from present earnings, as a means of supplying future want, is not only sanctioned by the experience and authority of the ancients, but has been admitted, for more than a century, in the practice of our own government: nay, that government, by extending the Greenwich dues to merchantmen, has advanced a step beyond the precedent of antiquity, and included a civil class in the measure of coercive contribution. The question, therefore, is not one of principle, but of degree—whether the system may not be made to include all the inferior labouring classes of society—all, in short, who, from comparatively small incomes, and less established habits of self-denial, are likely to indulge in present gratifications, without regard, or rather, perhaps, with pre-determined reference, to the future dependence of them and theirs, upon the fruits of their neighbours' industry and prudence.

But it may be urged, that the deduction, even from the mer-

* Illud vero ab antiquis *divinitus* institutum est, ut ex donativo quod milites consequuntur, dimidia pars sequestraretur apud signa, et ibidem ipsis militibus servaretur, ne per luxum aut inanium rerum comparationem, a contubernalibus possit *absumi*. Plerique enim homines, et præcipue pauperes, tantum erogant quantum habere potuerint. Depositio autem istæ pecuniæ primum ipsis contubernalibus docetur accommoda: Nam cum publica sustententur annona, ex omnibus donativis augetur eorum pro medietate castrense peculium. Miles deinde, qui sumptus suos scit apud signa depositos, de deserendo nihil cogitat; magis diligit signa, pro illis in acie fortius dimicat, more humani ingenii, ut pro illis habet maximam curam, in quibus suam videt positam esse substantiam. Denique decem folles, hoc est decem sacci, per cohortes singulæ ponebantur, in quibus hæc ratio condebatur. Addebatur etiam saccus undecimus, in quem tota legio particulam aliquam conferebat, sepulturæ, scilicet, causa; ut si quis ex contubernalibus defecisset, de illo undecimo sacco ad sepulturam ipsius promeretur expensa. Hæc ratio apud signiferos (ut nunc dicunt) in *cophino* servabatur.—*De Re Militari*, l. ii. c. 20.

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chantmen, is exclusively levied and applied on account of the peculiar risks of war—that such peculiarity may vindicate the license, which, if generalized, would amount to an abrogation of the sacred right which every man has to dispose, as he likes, of his own earnings. Now, if peculiarity of risk form a vindication, we at once obtain a very numerous description of labourers employed in mines, in the management or co-operation of powerful machinery, in painting, gilding, glass-making, and all other unwholesome occupations, on all of whom the impost may, by this admission, be charged. But this is merely an argumentum ad hominem regarding a part:—a sweeping and unanswerable argument remains, which is applicable to the whole. Is it a greater violation of private property to tax one class exclusively for its own benefit, or the remaining classes exclusively for the benefit of others, and for the supply of wants which the improvidence of those others has created?

Thus, then, we see that the principle of enforced economy in the labouring classes is admitted, and partially applied; and that where it is not applied, it involves a real injustice, and violation of private property, of a more aggravated character and greater extent. The only remaining point is the practicability of a general application of enforced economy to the inferior descriptions of labourers,* and on this we should feel great doubts if we contemplated the generalization of *exactly* that principle, which has been shown to be partially adopted. But, in the plan we have to propose, there is a most important modification of the principle, which will render its general application at once more feasible and less offensive. In the partial applications, which have been specified, the individual is made to contribute to a general fund, in which he has only a contingent interest. He may pay much and receive nothing;—but this galling consideration will be wholly superseded by the adoption of the Savings' Bank system, where each individual will see the savings of his industry accumulating in his own name, and for his own exclusive use. He would feel that his property was neither taken from him absolutely, nor with a chance only of his receiving an equivalent; but that his power over it was merely suspended, in order to restore it to him, or his, in greater amount, and in time of greater need.

With regard to details of execution, this plan, like all of extensive effect, will present many difficulties in prospect, which the system, once put in operation, would probably clear away, by pointing out exactly where, why, and how much, any particular

* The word inferior is used, because labourers, in the extended sense of the term, would include many in the opulent orders, who, whatever may be their improvidence, are not likely to come upon the parish.

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obstruction took place; when various, now unimagined, means would suggest themselves for removing it. Let any one, for example, recollect the clumsy and offensive means first devised for levying the income tax, and when its operation was witnessed, how speedily contrivances were found to render it at once more tolerable to the people, and more productive to the revenue. We do not, however, anticipate any very formidable difficulties on the present subject, the way to its adoption has been so smoothed by the general experience which the country has had in the management of Savings' Banks by voluntary deposits. It would only be necessary to establish a similar institution in each township, where should be deposited, every week, an assigned proportion of all the wages paid in the township during that week,* the bank opening an account with each labourer, and carrying to his credit the sum paid in his name; the payments to be exclusively made by the employer, who must be authorised, and under penalty enjoined, to withhold the amount of the drawback on the labourers' wages, giving him a written declaration of the sum retained, and an engagement to pay it to his credit at the bank, in the books of which he can verify the payment at his pleasure, and obtain from the actuary an entry of acknowledgment, in such a paper as is now given to depositors, as a receipt or duplicate of their account with a Savings' Bank; the trustees and other officers to be appointed by the township, and by them the money, at stated periods, or when amounting to a stated sum, to be transmitted to the Commissioners for reduction of the National Debt, who should open an account with each parochial bank, as they now do with each Savings' Bank for voluntary deposits,† allowing such interest as may be deemed right, and a like interest being allowed by banks to depositors.

Each township would thus be in possession of a fund applicable to the support of the individuals contributing to it, but, as far as regarded each individual, applicable only to the amount of his own deposits. The overseer, or other officer appointed, might be made judge, in the first instance, of the necessity of

* This would not be less feasible, or more troublesome, than the practice in the districts where agricultural wages are paid partly by the employer, and partly by the parish,—where 'each farmer pays to his labourer the amount of parish allowance, which, when they meet in vestry, is refunded to the farmer out of the parish stock;' or, according to the printed directions of some parishes, 'it is requested that every person employing any paupers, or any part of their family, will place the sum paid to them opposite their respective names—the paper to be taken care of for the parish beadle, who will call for the same next week, and deliver it to the select vestry.'—*Brereton's Practical Inquiry*, p. 57 and 91.

† Perhaps these remittances might, especially in rural districts, be allowed to be paid into the nearest post-office, and remitted, with its own money, to the general post-office, by which it might be paid over to the Commissioners.

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allowing any payment, the applicant having an appeal, as now, to a magistrate. The labourer must have it in his power to have his account removed to any township he pleases, so that, wherever he is, there he may have that claim for assistance, to which his accumulations have entitled him. These, in case of his death, should be appropriated, in the first instance, for funeral expenses; and the remainder, if his representatives are of a class to whom the forced contribution from wages applies, must be transferred to their account. If above that class, the balance must be paid to them, according to the will of the deceased, or under such regulations as are prescribed, in cases of intestacy, by the acts on Savings' Banks; so, if the labourer himself live to rise above that class, he ought (after, perhaps, a probationary period) to receive the amount of his deposits.

The great difficulties will be, first, to fix the maximum of the rates of wages on which the drawback shall be made; and, second, the proportion of the drawback to the wages.

If the rural population were alone concerned, the purpose of the drawback, perhaps, might be accomplished by subjecting to its operation all those whose individual income, and that of their dependents, from manual labour and other sources together, could not be proved to have exceeded, in the preceding year, the sum of fifty pounds, which may be considered about the maximum of the earnings of a family employed in agricultural labour. But, in manufacturing towns, the wages are sometimes so great, and the improvidence of the labourer so excessive, that it may be necessary to make the general scale much higher—perhaps as far as a hundred a-year.

On the second difficulty, the rate of drawback, we happen to be acquainted with one experiment, considerable for the number of persons concerned, and the period through which it extended. We allude to a great iron manufactory on the banks of the Tyne, near Newcastle, called the *Crowley Works*, from Ambrose Crowley, who, about the beginning of the last century, raised himself, by industry and talent, from the situation of a common smith, to be the founder and legislator of a little republic; for he established various wholesome regulations for the government of his people, by which he kept them out of courts of law, protected them from the extortions of petty shopkeepers, and the enticements of publicans, and, above all, in its wisdom and importance, he enabled them to provide against age, accident, or infirmity, a fund saved from their own earnings. In the latter end of the last century the number of men employed exceeded a thousand, and a drawback of a farthing in the shilling, on all wages paid, had formed this fund of relief for the aged, the sick, the disabled, the widow,

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widow, and the orphan; and so sufficient had it proved, after nearly a century's trial, that the adjacent parishes had never been called upon for the support of any of the family of a Crowley workman. Unfortunately, however, the system of Savings' Banks was not then known: the fund remained in the hands of the Company; in the difficulties of late years, the Company, alleging the long insufficiency and actual exhaustion of the fund, the whole population almost became paupers, and the rents of large estates, in the townships where they resided, were literally absorbed by the poor's rates. Now, if the fund had been long insufficient, that probably arose from an error common in the commencement of such plans, the error of making the contributions too small in proportion to the benefits promised; and the Company, instead of suffering the deficiency to accumulate, should have exerted the powerful influence they possessed to increase the contributions from one farthing to a halfpenny in the shilling, if necessary.

The success and the failure of this plan are alike recommendations of the system we propose; and if so small a deduction as a halfpenny in the shilling be found adequate to the purpose, we may trust that it will be acquiesced in without much dissatisfaction, especially as the plan by no means goes to deprive the labourer of the assistance of the poor-laws in the interim, whilst his own funds, from the recentness of the institution, are insufficient; for the poor-laws must be considered as continuing in supplementary operation, till gradually superseded by the growth of the new system, of which one of the greatest recommendations is the *gradual* supercession, rather than abolition, which it will work on the poor-laws. And well it behoves us to find such gradual process for extirpating an evil, which can neither be suddenly torn up, nor permitted to strike its roots deeper, and spread wider, without endangering the foundations of society.

Having now explained the system, and the means of carrying it into effect, it remains to consider, supposing it established, what would be the objections thereto, and what the probable results.

Besides the objections which have been already discussed, the only one of any importance to be anticipated, is the trouble and expense which must attend such a multiplicity of transactions, and the keeping of so many separate accounts. Both the trouble and expense, no doubt, will be great; but let it be remembered that their amount is not to be reckoned an absolute quantity added, but a relative quantity substituted for the amount of both trouble and expense incurred on the present system; and, before we can pronounce any judgment on the one, we must appreciate the other. Now, on this subject, we have the authority of returns to parliament

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liament for the year ending 25th of March, 1815, by which it appears that, in England and Wales, there were 939,977 paupers, (without including children,) to whom had been paid in that year 6,129,844*l.* with an additional expense for law-suits, removals, &c. of 327,585*l.*: the paupers, therefore, cost to the rest of the population 6,457,429*l.*

We cannot pretend to calculate the expense of the proposed plan with equal accuracy; but we may arrive at an approximation sufficient for any practical conclusion. We have called the projected institution Parochial Banks, because intended as substitutes for parochial relief, and as an euphemismus for *compulsory* savings' banks. Parishes, however, are inconvenient divisions of territory and population, as unequal as the lordships in which they originated. But if we take the number of districts from which the returns of population have been made to parliament, it may give us pretty nearly the number of banks which it may be convenient to establish; and these, for England and Wales, have been 15,779; of which a very large proportion must be rural districts and small towns, where the trouble and expense would be comparatively trifling: for Colquhoun, in his 'Resources of the British Empire,' (second edition, p. 42,) states the whole number of towns to be, in 1811, only 939; meaning, 'by a town, that which is usually so denominated from containing more than five hundred inhabitants, having a market, or some manufactures, or carrying on trade, or such even, although reduced, as have been long distinguished as towns.' Now this certainly is a very liberal conferring of the title; and the total population of such towns was only 4,365,281: but, as this was according to the returns in 1811, and as those of 1821 exhibited a total increase of population of about 17½ per cent., whilst the numbers in manufactures, trades, and mechanical employments had increased in the ratio of 19½, we may take 19 per cent. as the increase on the population in towns, and then we shall have not quite, but using round numbers, 5,300,000. What proportion of these would come under that inferior class, who must become depositors in a bank, we can only conjecture by assuming, as our guide, the proportion which the paupers bear to the total population. This, in the parliamentary returns, is stated at 9¼ per cent.; but, as the same returns state, that the children of the persons relieved are not included in the number of paupers upon which this calculation is formed, we may, at least, take the ratio to be 20 per cent.; and supposing the depositing class to be twice as numerous as the paupers would have been, we shall have 40 per cent. of the town population belonging to that class, or 2,120,000. Supposing women and infants earning no wages to be 120,000, there

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there will remain two millions of town depositors; and allowing a bank for every thousand,* we shall have two thousand banks, which costing even 100*l.* a-year each, the amount would only be two hundred thousand pounds.

In the average of rural districts, probably 30*l.* a-year would be an ample allowance for the expenses of a bank; but call it even 50*l.*, for 13,773 banks it would amount to 688,650*l.*; which, added to the former sum, would bring the whole expense of the system to (in round numbers, but above the truth) 900,000*l.*, instead of 6,457,000*l.*, which the present system cost in 1815; making an annual saving of five millions and a half.

It must not, however, be concealed, that this would be the state of things only when the new system had quite superseded the old. For during the first few years, the expense of both systems would be in a considerable, but gradually diminishing, joint operation; and this is the price which we must pay for the exchange.

And now, supposing the system established, and its first difficulties surmounted, what will be its probable consequences? The first question that presents itself is—if they who paid poor cess be exonerated, and the impotent labourer continue to be assisted, from whom is the new fund derived? The labourer, it is true, in the first instance, appears to contribute to it. The proposed drawback may be considered, in some measure, as a tax of four per cent. on wages; but will it ultimately be paid by the labourer, the employer, or the consumer of the produce of labour? These are doubts which political economists of the first reputation have discussed, and which each, in the opinion of the rest, has failed to solve. We cannot here enter into their arguments, but content ourselves with merely stating the result of our own reflections.

Labour, like every other commodity, must command in the market an equivalent for the cost of its production, or it will cease to be brought to market. The labourer must have, as the minimum of remuneration, what is necessary for the existence, according to the custom of the country, of himself, and those who are to continue the race of labourers. When labour receives no more than this minimum, if a tax on wages take place, it must be paid by the employer. When the demand for labour increases in proportion to its supply, the labourer will receive more than this minimum; and, if the superfluity equal the tax, he will pay

* Where the present divisions of parishes, townships, &c. are found, from extent or numbers, unmanageably large, a means of subdividing them, both with political and moral advantage, has been admirably explained, and successfully practised, in an excellent field for such experiment—the city of Glasgow—by Dr. Thomas Chalmers. See his '*Christian and Civic Economy of large Towns*,' in which is so happily proved, by experience, the advantage and possibility of assimilating a town to a country parish.'

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that tax. If this superfluity fall short of the tax, the employer will make up the deficiency. But when the employer pays the tax, can he throw it on the consumer, by charging a higher price for his commodities? Not at all, if the ratio of demand, and supply of those commodities, remain unaltered. He must content himself with less profit. Thus, then, in all cases the tax must be paid either by the labourer or employer; that is, just by the two parties who alone are benefited in every contract for labour; whereas, on the present system, the labourers, who have squandered their wages, are to be supported by a tax on the rest of society, in which the manufacturer who has realised a large fortune by employing them, only bears an average share.

The general consumer, indeed, is not immediately benefited by a reduction of the labourer's income, or the manufacturer's profits, in consequence of the tax: yet there is a class of commodities, which he will buy cheaper when profits are reduced by the rise of wages, or the payment by the manufacturer of a tax upon them. We allude to goods, of which the value has been increased by the operation of machinery: for the manufacturers of these, not being so much affected by the rise in labour, will, at first, have higher profits, which will bring capital to compete with them from other trades; and that competition will oblige them to sell lower, till their profits are brought down to the general reduced level.

In thus speaking of the projected drawback, however, as a tax, we use an invidious term; for a tax is a deduction from the sum total of national revenue, or capital; whilst this drawback only obliges one class to pay what had before been paid by another.

Thus, then, it appears that the general interests of society can, in no way, be injured by the proposed change: but, besides the benefits already pointed out, there is one of paramount importance, to which public attention cannot be too urgently called, namely, the improvement of the moral character of the nation; and this is not confined, as is commonly imagined, to the pauper population. Even the common honesty of the other classes seems to be undermined by the mode in which the poor-laws are, in many districts of the kingdom, administered. Witness the swindling practice of land-owners and farmers conspiring to pay half the wages of their young and able-bodied labourers out of parish funds; to which those who employ no labourers contribute in equal proportions with themselves.. But men of every description possessed of property, feeling themselves perpetually required to act on the defensive against the legalized exactions of the poor, learn to consider their connection with them as a state of warfare, and arm themselves, and case-harden their minds, against the pleas and sufferings even of the meritorious. That such feelings would be

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be wholly changed by the successful establishment of the system here advocated, can hardly be doubted. The beneficence so characteristic of this nation, and which first prompted the establishment of the poor-laws, and has so long tolerated their abuse, would then operate unchecked, and readily and amply supply, by voluntary aid, what may, in cases of peculiar hardship, be required, and not furnished by the previous savings from the sufferer's earnings. This supplementary assistance will be afforded by the poor-laws, whilst they are permitted to exist; and, perhaps, their existence, with such a corrective as parochial banks, may be deemed almost harmless. But if they should wholly be abolished, and it should not be found safe to trust especial cases of hardship to individual charity, even unchilled as it will then be by enforced contributions to worthless objects, a very small portion of the deposits of each individual might be carried to a general fund appropriated to relief in such emergencies.

The effects of the present system on the character of the pauper himself have been so often, so ably, and so eloquently pourtrayed,* that we need not add to the length of this article, (the brevity of which it is hoped may attract more numerous readers,) by entering into any details on the subject. But in justice to the argument, we must state our conviction, that the institutions now recommended are calculated to prevent, if not to correct, that utter depravity of the idle and the spendthrift, which seems to make him feel even malignant delight in his right to extort as much as possible from the earnings of the industrious, in order to supply the waste of his own. The rich man and the poor will be no longer set in hostile opposition against each other, like the athletæ, in the contest of the Restis, where both were united only by the bond of strife, where each was twisting with all his might at his own end of the rope, that the other might be forced to quit his hold. Occasion would no longer exist for that general abjectness, with all its train of vices and miseries, which results from hopeless dependence; more especially where the nefarious practice above alluded to prevails, by which the able, and even the willing, workers are compelled, for the mean purposes of their employers, to class themselves with the impotent, the idle, and the dissolute, and become alike the pensioners of their parish. In a political point of view, such men are the very tools for demagogues to work with—the 'quisquilliæ seditionis,' from which, when so generally prevalent in a country, society can never be secure. But give your labourer a feeling of the value of your institutions, by the inde-

* And never more so than in 'Considerations on the Poor Laws, by John Davison, M.A.' reviewed in the eighteenth volume of this Journal, p. 259, where several of his most striking observations will be found extracted.

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pendent comfort they secure for him, and a knowledge that the earnings of his past industry, and the support of his future life, are inseparably connected with the stability of these institutions, and you will convert a factious brawler, and ready rebel, into a faithful subject and strenuous defender. As Vegetius, in the passage before cited, describes his soldier, 'Knowing that his property is deposited with the standards, in the public chest, he never thinks of desertion—becomes attached to his standards, and in battle fights more bravely for them; according to the nature of man, who has always his heart where his treasure is.'

If, in this disquisition, we seem to have spoken harshly of the character of our pauper population, let it be permitted us to observe, that we only describe what all, who chuse to look, must see; that we entertain no kind of animosity to the individuals, or the class, but certainly no very measured indignation at the continuance of a system, that has made them what they are; and our sole object, consequently, has been to suggest a better:

Ut nos pauperibus præcepta feramus amica.

ART. VI.—1. *The Affectionate Pair, or the History of Sung-Kin.* A Chinese tale, translated from the Chinese by P. P. Thoms. London. 1820.

2. *Chinese Courtship, in Verse; to which is added an Appendix, treating of the Revenue of China, &c., &c.* By Peter Pering Thoms. London. 1824.

WE are old enough to remember the time when an Englishman considered two things as hopelessly inaccessible—namely, the Chinese language, and the Egyptian hieroglyphics; but opportunity and perseverance are powerful helps; and their united influence has been strikingly exhibited in regard to one, if not both, of those figurative or symbolical languages.

The embassy of Lord Macartney to China afforded the means of breaking down the barrier that denied access to the former; and Dr. Young, Mr. Salt, and M. Champollion, by the help of the Rosetta stone, and other monuments, have been able, if not wholly to remove, at least to draw up a corner of the dark veil which for so many ages had forbidden all approach to the latter. For the knowledge we now possess of the Chinese language, which has of late years become familiar to many of the East India Company's servants in China, to most of the Oriental missionaries, and to several individuals in England and France, we are much indebted to Sir George Staunton, the translator of the Statute-book of China, and various other works of a lighter kind; and we

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we take some little credit to ourselves for having endeavoured to explain the nature of that language, and to evince the great utility which a knowledge of it would give to those who conduct our valuable commercial concerns with the celestial empire.*

Unlike the Egyptian hieroglyphics, which, though evidently not intended to be alphabetical, have, in later ages, as it would seem, been made partially subservient to the purposes of an alphabet, the Chinese characters have never been employed in that way; and though alphabetic writing is by no means unknown to the Chinese, as is evident from the preface to Kang-shi's dictionary, these singular people have always strenuously resisted every attempt at its introduction from the upper parts of India and Tartary; being content to employ their own symbols *syllabically*, whenever it was found necessary to write down foreign names or words;—and they are undoubtedly right; for, as we have heretofore observed, the adoption of an alphabet would not only infallibly and utterly destroy their system of symbols, but render the few meagre monosyllables which constitute their spoken language, a confused and unintelligible jargon, until stretched out into polysyllables, by applying to them the mechanism of inflexion and declension. This will appear evident, even to those who are not conversant with the subject, when it is stated, that about twelve hundred monosyllables constitute the whole phonetic language, and are represented by some sixty or seventy thousand characters; or, in other words, that for every monosyllabic sound in the Chinese language, there are, on an average, fifty different characters to represent it.

It was this enormous number of symbols which so long deterred Europeans from any attempt to acquire a knowledge of a language apparently so obscure and difficult; and yet Scapula's Lexicon, Ainsworth's Latin, and Johnson's English, Dictionaries, contain each of them not fewer than 45,000 words; a number far beyond what is necessary to a Chinese, either for epistolary writing or the reading of books. The combinations indeed of the 214 elements, or keys, as they are called, of the language are almost infinite; but we believe that a competent knowledge of about 4,000 of these combinations or characters in most common use, will enable the student to comprehend such of their works as are not absolutely unintelligible to the foreigner;—such as those filled with astrological jargon or the superstitious nonsense and dreams of the priests of the two prevailing sects of Fo and Taotsé. As we apprehend there is no work in the English language (dictionaries and encyclopedias excepted) that contains 10,000 different words,

* In Nos. VI., VIII., X., XXV., and XXX. of this Journal.

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so there is said to be none in the Chinese that has as many even as 5,000 characters or words. Dr. Marshman, the translator of the works of Confucius, says, that the number of distinct characters in the whole of the writings of this great moralist do not amount to 3,000; and Sir George Staunton estimates the number of different characters in the great work of the 'Laws of China,' at somewhat less than 2,000. We understand that the missionaries of the Chinese College of Malacca (now of Singapore) have caused 5,000 metal types to be cast, which they reckon sufficient for the Herculean task of printing a translation of the Bible into that language. It is not, therefore, the multitude of characters, on which so much stress has been laid by the Jesuits, that constitutes the difficulty of acquiring this language.

In point of fact, the prose writings of the Chinese may be considered as extremely simple, and easy enough to be understood; it is in their poetic flights that the difficulty mostly occurs. In prose we are generally assisted by auxiliary characters to designate the number, gender, or tense; but in poetry a single character, for the most part, represents a complete idea, and that idea is conveyed in a metaphor, or in some allusion to local customs, or to authentic or fabulous history; and it admits of none of the aforesaid auxiliaries;—each verse of eight, and sometimes only four, indeclinable monosyllables, constituting a complete sentence.

It is obvious, therefore, that in poetry every character must be chosen with peculiar care, as the beauty and excellence of the verse will mainly depend on the strength, expression, and fitness of the symbol made use of—the eye being not less consulted in the choice than the ear. Hence the all but impossibility of rendering Chinese poetry into a foreign language. If verbally translated, it must be bald, and probably unintelligible in the bargain; if paraphrastically, the spirit of the original will have evaporated; perhaps the translator will make use of a less expressive idiom, perhaps even, in some instances, of a revolting idea. 'A metaphor,' says Sir George Staunton, 'which is extremely happy in the original, may be very trite and vulgar in English—or, it may be so remote and obscure in its allusion as to be almost unintelligible—or, what is worse, it may convey a totally different idea. As, for instance, a Chinese, speaking of the qualities of the heart, generally means those we should rather term intellectual, or of the mind.' The difficulty of translating Chinese poetry is further increased by the singular habits of the people; their sentiments and their superstitions being peculiar to themselves, and often at variance with those of Europeans: it is enhanced also by an extreme veneration for their ancient poetry, to which perpetual recurrence is made, and 'without a knowledge of which,' says the author above quoted,

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quoted, 'the grounds on which all their associations of ideas are formed will be constantly liable to be mistaken.'

A single example will be sufficient to explain the difficulty to which we are alluding. In Mr. Thoms's Poetical Work, the heroine, feeling the imprudence of being with her lover alone in the garden, and the suspicion to which such a meeting might give rise, is made to say, 'We have met beneath the plum-tree, and among the melons.' A Chinese would immediately comprehend the full meaning of this expression as readily as we know what is meant by 'under the rose,' because, as a precept against conduct that might give rise to suspicion, he has a proverb in familiar use which says, 'in a field of melons, do not pull up your shoe; under a plum-tree do not adjust your cap.'

The frequent use of allegories, or figurative expressions, in their poetry, is the source of almost insurmountable difficulties to a foreigner. Thus 'to pass the blue bridge,' is to attain to the summit of one's wishes. The names of a species of water-fowl, *yuen* and *ying*, (the male and female of the mandarin duck,) are considered and made use of as emblems of conjugal fidelity, from a notion, whether true or false, that the survivor never pairs again after the death of its mate. 'To paint the tiger,' is an expression for getting drunk; and a lady when walking, which Chinese ladies seldom do, is said 'to move the golden lilies;' and sometimes her little foot is figuratively called 'a water-lily.' The fondness of the Chinese for proverbs and moral maxims, which they introduce on all occasions into their writings and conversation, and hang up in large letters on the sides of their rooms, as we do pictures, is another circumstance that stands greatly in the way of a translator of their poetry. Lord Chesterfield said, that 'Men of fashion never have recourse to proverbs or vulgar aphorisms.' This, however, was not always the case in England; in Shakspeare's time we were less fastidious in this respect, and perhaps not less fond of proverbs and parables then, than the Chinese have always been: in his time, not only the Justice of 'fair round belly with good capon lined,' but 'men of fashion' also were 'full of wise saws and modern instances.' The only difference between us and them is, that we are a changeable people, and alter the tone and terms of our conversation with the cut of our coats; whereas the Chinese write, speak, think and dress, at this moment, just as their ancestors were pleased to do two or three thousand years ago, when society was nearer to a state of infancy.

With regard to those 'fragments of wisdom,' of which we have been speaking, we rather agree with Lord Bacon, who was an abler judge of human nature than Lord Chesterfield, that 'the

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genius, wit, and spirit of a nation are discovered in their proverbs;' and if into those of China much wit may not be found to enter, there is at least a great deal of plain homely truth, expressed in a right pithy manner. Many of them, in the collection published by Mr. Davis, are exact parallels to our own;—for instance:—

'*Haou tze po chu mun.*
Good deeds not go out of the door.
Go tze chuen tsien ly.
Evil deeds are transmitted a thousand lee.'

'The evil which men do, lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones.'

Again—

'*Sang tiaou tsung siaou gou.*
Mulberry slip accords with its youthful bent.'

'As the twig is bent, the tree's inclined.'

Mr. Peter Pering Thoms, printer to the East India Company at Canton, has boldly ventured upon and completed the translation of two Chinese books—the one, a tale in prose, called the 'Affectionate Pair;' the other, a very long poem, in seven-syllable verse, which he calls 'Chinese Courtship.' The prose work was published in 1820, and, with the exception of a few quaint sentences, and circumlocutory phrases, appears to us a tolerably decent performance; far short, however, of that really beautiful story, 'The Pleasing History,' rendered at second hand from the Portuguese by the Bishop of Dromore. The 'Affectionate Pair' is one of those *contes moraux* in which the Chinese delight; and which are as numerous with them as novels are in Europe. Like these, too, they are employed in describing peculiar and individual character, enforcing moral truth, exhibiting examples of virtue, and exposing the effects of vice. Their pretensions to wit, or saying smart things, are, indeed, very slender; but, on the other hand, they are generally free from all gross and indelicate allusions, and are mostly written in a style of artless, we had almost said infantine simplicity, mixed up, however, with low cunning, roguish tricks, and mawkish morality. They resemble, in many respects, and particularly in point of simplicity, some of the primitive Italian novels. The Chinese author ventures not into the regions of fancy, but treads doggedly on in the common beaten path of ordinary life; the plan he adopts is usually conversational or dramatic: he describes things as they are, and there are few things in China that admit of a picturesque description. The poet even seldom ventures beyond the little half-acre garden, with its two or three small wooden pavilions, bridges, and zig-zag paling, generally painted red—

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red—its pond of muddy water, with gold and silver fishes, mandarin ducks, and water lilies—a few stones on its margin, the humble representatives of rocks, surmounted with porcelain jars, containing some stunted flowering shrub or a dwarf elm or a fruit tree, and the whole overshadowed by a few weeping willows; such is the favourite Chinese landscape. Equally circumscribed is the novelist or poet in his materials for moral and intellectual description. He hears no language and reads no books but his own, which, as we have said, are those of a people just entering into a state of civilization—of a people not one step advanced beyond childhood. The generous and romantic ardour with which the lover of the Western world is inspired, never disturbs the tranquillity of the Chinese swain, who seldom either sees his wife before marriage, or suffers others to see her after it—and who takes to himself as many inferior wives, or handmaids, or concubines, as he may feel inclined, and his circumstances will allow him, to do. Nay, even supposing him to possess feeling and fancy, he has no language capable of expressing either—nothing but that collection of meagre and invariable monosyllables we have already adverted to, deprived as they are of those adjuncts and inflexions which add so much force and beauty to other languages;—but we must hasten to the works we have named at the head of our paper.

The first of these, the prose tale, which Mr. Thoms has chosen to translate, is one from a collection of forty; and its substance is this:—

Sung-tun and his wife, a couple in decent circumstances, had attained the age of forty years without having any children to take care of them in their old age, to perform their funeral rites, and to present the annual offerings on their tomb, the want of which is numbered among the greatest calamities that can befall a Chinese. One day, as they were lamenting their hard fate, an intimate friend, of the name of *Lew-tsae*, whose fortune consisted of a large river junk, or vessel, in which his family resided, called on *Sung-tun* to borrow certain articles bearing the names of *poo-fuh* (a napkin), and *poo-tae* (a bag), appropriated specially for holding the gilt paper horse of Fuh (or Fo) and other offerings, which he and his wife had been accustomed to make in the hope of obtaining a son. *Lew-tsae's* wife also was barren; and as he had heard that a salt-merchant had rebuilt the 'Ladies' temple at *Chinchow*,' and that all the world who had the misfortune of having barren wives were burning incense there, the object of his visit was to borrow the *poo-fuh* and the *poo-tae* to try his luck at the temple among the rest. *Sung-tun*, having a double set of these necessary articles, resolves to accommodate and also to accompany his friend. They reach

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reach the temple, burn their gilt paper, give the priest a small sum, and depart each his own way.

Sung-tun, in passing a lonely temple, hears the groans of a dying person; it was an old priest, unable to speak, and just breathing his last. An attendant stood by him who said to *Sung*, 'Stranger, if you have any compassion and will do an act of charity, go and purchase a common coffin, in which the body of this poor priest may be burnt.' He did so, giving to the coffin-vender all the money he had, and his upper garment to boot, and then made the best of his way home; and having told his adventure to his wife, 'they both made themselves merry,' went to bed, and slept till five in the morning—*Sung* having dreamt that the old priest appeared to him, and requested he might become his son, in return for his kindness in having provided him with a coffin; and his wife, *Lew-she*, also having dreamt that the golden image of some god or other walked into the room. The result of all this is, so the story saith, that *Lew-she* at that time conceived and bore a son, whom they called *Sung-kin;* and that about the same time, his friend too, *Lew-tsae*, had a daughter whose name was *Ech-uen*, and it was proposed that these children, when grown up, should be united in marriage; though some little scruple occurred on account of the one father being an owner of land, and the other but of a boat.

It happened, however, that when *Sung-kin* was only six years old, the father, *Sung*, died, and the widow, after having in the course of ten years wasted all the landed property, fell sick and died also. *Sung-kin*, now an orphan, was, in short, reduced to beggary; when one day meeting his father's friend *Lew*, the latter had compassion on him, took him into his ship, introduced him to his wife and daughter, who both treated him with great kindness. The father orders his daughter 'to take the old hat from abaft the cabin, and give it to Master *Sung* to wear;' and the fair *Ech-uen* perceiving it to be torn, takes out her needle to sew up the rent, and then calling to him, says, 'Take the hat and wear it.' On this old hat the sequel of the story partly turns. *Sung*, in short, became so useful, from his knowledge of keeping accounts, that, at a proper time, they gave him their daughter in marriage, as originally intended. The fruit of this marriage was a daughter, who unfortunately died of the small-pox, which had such an effect upon *Sung*, that his spirits were broken and he became consumptive, was reduced to a living skeleton, and no longer of any use.

The avaricious old couple now concerted how they should make away with him. 'We must devise some scheme,' they said, 'for ridding ourselves of this incumbrance; our daughter may then be married to some handsome person.' Accordingly they ordered him one day to land at an uninhabited place, 'where no trace of human foot

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foot was to be perceived,' to cut fire-wood, and then setting sail, abandoned the poor wretch to his fate. While giving vent to his grief, he suddenly perceived on the beach an old priest leaning on his staff, who offered him a portion of his matted shed, which was at no great distance; and having heard his story, gave him a book, saying, 'This is the *king-kang pwan-go*, or book of prayers, sealed with the heart of Füh;' and assuring him that if he daily repeated a section thereof, he should enjoy long life and possess unlimited wealth. Being greatly fatigued, *Sung-kin* now fell asleep, but found to his surprise on awaking, that there was neither shed nor priest, and that he was sitting alone on the grass; he also discovered, on opening the volume, that it was quite familiar to him, and that he could repeat the whole of it by heart. His grief also had utterly left him; and his shattered frame had become strong. In short, it now appeared that *Sung-kin* was in reality no other than the old priest of *Chin-chow* (to whom *Sung-tun* gave the coffin) in a new state of existence, according to the received doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls into new bodies, among the sect of Fo.

Sung-kin now strolled towards a hill, where he discovered an old ruined temple, in which he found eight large chests locked and sealed, and partly concealed under branches of trees. Fortunately a ship just at this time anchored near the shore; and by the help of the sailors the chests were removed on board. The accommodating vessel steered for *Sung*'s native province, where he presented the master with one of the chests, taking with him the other seven, which were found to contain gold, pearls, and other precious articles, the plunder of many years, hoarded and concealed by the robbers in the old temple.

The story now returns to his wife *Ech-uen*, who, it seems, had been wholly ignorant of the wicked intentions of her unnatural parents. When this poor lady found their object had been to get rid of her diseased husband, her grief became excessive, and with difficulty they prevented her from throwing herself into the river. She refused all consolation, and said, 'Your child's sole desire is death, and better let me now die that I may again behold my dear *Sung*'s face.' It is not very favourable to Chinese feeling, according to our notions, that, instead of expressing any sympathy with the young woman's sorrows, the author here throws in a remark, 'how much the poor old people were to be pitied!' The 'poor old people' now found it convenient, in order to pacify their daughter, to make every show of zealous anxiety about their son-in-law; they posted up advertisements on the quays and the public walls, and endeavoured by every means in their power to console the unhappy wife, who put on deep mourning, wore garments

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ments of hemp, let her hair flow loose about her shoulders, erected a monument, presented offerings before it, and engaged nine priests to offer up prayers night and morning for three successive days.

Sung, it seems, having spent about two years at Nanking, living in the most sumptuous style, condescended at length to turn his thoughts towards *Ech-uen*-and her parents. Having traced out their boat, he perceived from a distance his wife in mourning, and was convinced from her appearance that she had been constant to her marriage vow, which discovery greatly affected him. Having further satisfied himself of his wife's constancy, by sending a negotiator to propose marriage to her under a fictitious name, which she would not listen to, he hired a vessel, and went on board his father-in-law's ship with his numerous servants in great style. *Ech-uen*, having eyed him from a concealed part of the cabin, could not help thinking that he very much resembled her husband 'in seven or eight tenths,' (so says Mr. Thoms,) but on hearing him repeat some words that had passed between her father and him, when he was first taken on board out of charity, and especially when he enquired of her father after 'the old felt hat over the cabin,' she was almost certain that 'the Squire,' (as the translator is pleased to call him,) could be no other than her own dear *Sung*. She mentioned her suspicions to her father, who only laughed at her; but the old people concluded that if they could bring about a match with this 'Squire,' be he who he may, it would prove a happy windfall. A mutual explanation now took place:—'the husband and wife embraced each other and wept exceedingly;' and the old people, as indeed became them, were ashamed and confounded at the thought of their whole conduct. *Sung* however forgave them, and took them with him to his splendid mansion, where all were made happy; 'and the old torn hat united both flesh and bone.' So much for the novel of 'The Affectionate Pair.'

Mr. Thoms, not satisfied with this attempt at the translation of plain prose, aspired, some four or five years afterwards, to the more arduous undertaking of an epic poem, in which, we hesitate not to say, he has entirely failed. We have really some difficulty in believing that the same person translated the two works. In his 'Chinese Courtship,' Mr. Thoms' language is not English; the rules of grammar are wholly disregarded, words are mispelt, the phraseology is mean, vulgar, distorted; and terms and ideas are continually introduced which no Chinese author could ever have imagined or intended. What, for instance, can be so totally undignified as the following sentence?—'We will narrate respecting a little *miss* who dwells in the silken room;' or more horrible,

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than 'the husband and wife, as soon as they *rosed*, paid the usual morning compliments'? What are we to say to 'the ode was *wowed*;' 'the dew *besprangled* his clothes;' '*besprangled* with stars;' 'the taper *casted* its dim light;' 'her head *sunked* in her bosom;' 'the *rouged* girl;' '*disregardless* of our fate'? *Leasure* stands for leisure, and '*incompassitated* by disease' for we know not what;—he talks of epeden*dum* for the air-flower; of *Venus*, for one of the cramp-footed deities of China; and of *Hades* for the Chinese paradise—but this last flourish he got from Dr. Morrison, whose English is pretty much of the same stamp with that of Mr. Thoms.

This epic poem, we are told, is 'much read by persons of both *sex*;' and the 'reviewers (that is, our worshipful brethren the Chinese reviewers) have passed high encomiums on it.' The poet, it seems, never having heard but of *one* extraordinary instance of love, felt an irresistible impulse to sing and laud it in melodious monosyllables. Love indeed, as we have hinted before, must be a rare passion in China. Mutual regard and respect may perchance spring up after marriage, but the young rosy god never presides over that ceremony except on extraordinary occasions like the present, where a female being surprised into the company of a man, contrary to the rules of decorum as laid down by ancient sages, is still, *mirabile dictu!* able to resist his improper solicitations. The story, of which we shall give a short sketch, begins, according to our notions, somewhat more whimsically than poetically, as follows:—

'As geese are known to walk alone, so did *Leang*, not having a brother.' This *Leang*, the hero of the epic, becomes tired of his solitary and brother-lacking home; and being desirous of fame, and at the same time of visiting the city of *Chang-chow*, celebrated for its schools and its beautiful women, obtains his mother's permission to set out on his travels; she consents, and he is recommended by her to his aunt *Heaou*, who has her residence in that famous city. This good old dame introduces *Leang* to her son, his cousin, whom she candidly describes as 'a stupid, doltish boy.' It happened to be the old lady's natal day, the observance of which in China is always attended with great festivity, and sometimes with a few irregularities; it was therefore excusable in the two cousins to take a little wine more than usual. Several relatives of the family had assembled in the house, and among others a niece of the old lady, the *heroine* of the Epic, (or one of them, for there are two—nay, verily, four—) by name *Yaou-seen;* but as ladies and gentlemen are never permitted to associate in the same apartment, the *hero* and she had not been introduced to each other. When, however, *Leang* and the

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the 'doltish boy' had finished their bottle, the former took a stroll by moonlight into the garden, where he was greeted with 'shouts of laughter,' which he persuaded himself 'must doubtless come from some gay lass;' and, accordingly, on advancing towards a pavilion, he espied 'several girls walking to and fro among the flowers.' He perceived besides within the pavilion 'two lovely young women sitting tittering while playing at chess.' *Leang* at once took courage, but 'little did he think that, while surprising the ladies, he would be smitten by a glance of the eye:' however, the 'almond eyes,' the 'red dot on the chin,' 'the elegant form enough to break the heart of man,' 'the golden lilies which exceeded not three inches,' 'the smiling countenance' of one of the damsels—these fatal charms speedily made him 'as one death-smitten.' The ladies, however, hastily threw down the 'drafts,' and, as in Chinese duty bound, ran away. '*Miss Yeou-seen*,' for the fair enchantress was no other, after scolding the maids for letting a man into the garden, took care, of course, to send one of them back to fetch the chess-board; and she, alas, took care to fall in with the 'death-smitten' swain, which is just what would have happened in other countries besides China; and after a good deal of parley, in which the sly maid assured him his case was desperate, 'for the secluded ladies have been taught to remain as unsullied as icicles,' poor *Leang* is left *solus*, in hopeless despair of ever finding the way 'over the blue bridge.' The hero, as may be supposed, had no sleep that night, and the departure of the young lady to her own home, the next day, threw him into a state of melancholy, 'as acute to him as rending asunder of the intestines.' His worthy aunt did all she could to console him, and in particular ordered wine to be brought, but, according to Mr. Thoms's anti-metrical translation, 'he lazily lifted the golden goblet to taste its contents.'

At length he determines to follow his mistress; and finding, by great good luck, that the house which adjoined hers was empty, hires it. It has a spacious garden, which he causes to be planted and arranged in the usual manner, taking care to have a weeping willow on each side of the fish-pond. His cousin *Heou*, the 'doltish boy,' introduces him to *General Yang*, the father of the young lady, from whom the two youths meet with the most friendly reception; and the General is civil enough, on returning his visit, to propose to *Mr. Leang* that, in order to live upon the most friendly and intimate footing, a door of communication should be opened between the two gardens. Indeed, the old commander had immediately conceived the idea of bringing about a match between his daughter and *Leang*, but felt some difficulty in proposing it. *Leang*, on his part, is determined to lose no time in

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in having the door made, lest the old gentleman might change his mind. An opportunity soon presented itself of breathing soft whisperings into the ear of one of *Yeou-seen*'s maids, who at first gave him little encouragement to hope for a return of love, but observing his grief, at length 'her little heart had become complaisant to his earnest request,' and she promised to endeavour to pry into her mistress's mind; desirous, however, that he should consider the issue as very uncertain, she hints that the mind of a young lady is always somewhat like 'the clouds, which depend on the wind for what direction they take;' and, lastly, makes use of a simile which, we confess, is beyond our comprehension:—'As, in clear nights, when the water is cold, the fish are unable to spring to the bite, so the union of the blooming youth and painted miss may never be consummated:' all of which, we may observe, the Chinese poet expresses in fourteen monosyllables.

Yeou-seen's heart is melted with the tale of her lover's distress as communicated by the maid; and while contemplating the full moon, she takes occasion to reflect on the difference between the fate of mankind and that of the luminary, the one enjoying a constant succession of total darkness and full splendour, the other incapable of renovation: thus also, in the vegetable part of the creation, 'the blighted willows will again experience the return of spring; but man, as yet, when old, has never become young.' Having ejaculated a few more discoveries of this kind, while walking in the garden, she meets with young *Leang*, when a regular declaration of love takes place between the parties, who are both ready to have the nuptial tie bound at once, though some scruple remained with the lady on the score of etiquette, owing to the want of a negotiator, or, as Mr. Thoms calls him or her, a *go-between*. *Leang*, urging his suit, assures her that he must die if he cannot obtain her hand, for he can no longer either eat his rice or drink his tea, and 'his flesh and bones (so says Mr. Thoms) are reduced to a skeleton;'—moreover, that he 'sits frost-bitten before a heart-breaking lamp;'—and that 'frigidness by day scarcely needs to be regarded, but by night, whilst sleeping alone, it is insupportable;'—on hearing these and many other lamentations of a similar kind, the young lady consents that they shall take a mutual oath of constancy, which is accordingly sealed forthwith with invocations to the goddess of love and the burning of three sticks of incense. 'Ye hills and seas, and ye spacious earth and vast heaven, witness this our oath, and involve us in distress, if we imitate not the virtuous ancients!' Such is the whimsical manner in which Mr. Thoms has rendered ridiculous even the best passages in the poem.

Young *Leang*, having advanced thus far, pressed his suit for greater

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greater favours, but met with a suitable repulse from the lady, who appears to be fully sensible of what is due to female honour and dignity.

'From a child,' she says, 'I have been taught to detest base vicious women. I will not consent to your wish. I advise you, with diligence to pursue your studies, thereby acquire fame, and early decide on our wedding, when you will wait on my father and mother.'

In the meantime *Leang*'s father, without his consent, or even knowledge, had settled a marriage for our hero, according to the custom of China, with the daughter of his friend *Lew*, though the parties most interested had never seen each other, which is also according to custom: this damsel's name was *Yuh-king*. *Leang*, on hearing this, is sorely vexed: swears he will throw his themes into the river, and burn his books of poetry and prose. 'Like geese,' he finds himself destined 'to walk alone.' 'Tea and food (says he) is now become to me unpleasant and insipid; had I veal or lamb, with excellent wines, with whom could I pledge?' He knew but too well that paternal authority must be obeyed,—that at best there was no chance of his ever obtaining the object of his heart without his father's consent. 'I now regret,' says he, 'our vow, which was to endure with the sea and mountains, for I have no hope of ever having a companion within the bed-curtains.' *Yaou-seen*, on her part, was not less distressed, and piously determined, with all due sympathy, to throw away her paint and cosmetics, and to cast her ornaments into the fire, to break her looking-glass and destroy her lute, to shave her head and become a nun. Her father, *General Yang*, was, about this time, commanded by the emperor to repair to the capital, where he received further orders to proceed immediately to a distant province against the Hoo rebels. On his departure he sends his wife and daughter *Yaou-seen* to reside with a friend.

Leang, shortly after these changes, resolves to return to *Chang-chow*, having, according to Mr. Thoms's phraseology, 'become silly, and unable to manage his affairs.' Here all appeared desolate; not a creature was to be seen, 'save the lonely gardener, who was sitting in the shade of the willows.' From him he learned the departure of the general for the capital, and the removal of his mistress. News now arrived of General *Yang*'s being surrounded by the enemy. Here is another cause of distress for his lovely daughter. *Leang*, however, being joined by his cousin *Heou*, is at last persuaded to rouse himself from his goosely melancholy, and to study with him for a high literary degree. They both succeed; which brings *Leang* to the capital. There, as good luck would have it, his apartment happens to look into the Han-lin garden, in which *Yeou-seen* happens to be residing.

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One evening, as he is walking in the shrubbery, he hears the rustling of silks and a female voice, and looking over a wall, discovers his mistress sitting by the side of a fishpond, overwhelmed with woe, and wiping the tears from her eyes. He hastens to her; a pathetic scene takes place. *Leang*, seeing *Yeou-seen* full of grief for her father's misfortune, and deprived of all hope of an union with him, betrothed as he was to another, endeavours to assuage her sorrows, and resolves to proceed to the assistance of *Yang*. Having put on his seven-league boots, 'I will now, (says he,) go and seize the three-cubit dragon-sword, and from gratitude to you will I exterminate the insurgents. On rescuing your father I will hasten to return home; thereby ennoble myself, that our union may be consummated.' *Yeou-seen*, somewhat reluctantly, consented to his proposal; after which they tore themselves asunder, and *Leang* hastened to the scene of action, where he was soon surrounded by the rebels, and a report was spread of his having fallen in battle. This sad news reached both *Yeou-seen* and his other betrothed bride, *Yuh-king*. The grief of the former knew no bounds. 'Night after night she continued to weep till dawn of day, when the succeeding day till night was accompanied by tears.' Nor was *Yuh-king* a bit less distressed, though she had never seen her betrothed. In vain her maids endeavour to console her with the idea of another husband; she remains inexorable: her parents insisted on her forming a new contract, to avoid which, she one night throws herself into the river; but fortune interferes in the shape of an old officer dwelling in his boat, who picks the lovelorn lady up, and, being childless, adopts her as his daughter.

Heou, the cousin of *Leang*, hearing in the meantime of the unfortunate situation of the emperor's troops, applies to be employed on this hazardous enterprise, and is sent with reinforcements against the rebels; he soon discovers that *Yang* and *Leang* are both alive, but closely besieged, and he contrives to communicate with them by shooting arrows charged with letters. In the end, the loyalists succeed in defeating the rebels, and return all together to the capital in triumph. The emperor is so pleased with their success, that he confers on them the highest honours; orders *Yang* to give his daughter in marriage to *Leang*, which of course is highly agreeable to all parties; and they are as happy, according to Mr. Thoms, as 'fish in water.'

This happiness, however, was for a moment threatened with some interruption. The old officer who had picked up *Yuh-king* out of the river, now presented a petition to the emperor, stating her case, and claiming the fulfilment of the contract in which her heart was for ever bound up. The emperor's decree was speedily made

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made known, which was, that *Leang* should contract a second marriage, and consider the two wives as one, and that both should be raised to ladies of the first rank. On this 'unaccountable affair' being communicated to *Yeou-seen*, she very condescendingly said to her husband, 'Since you and I are united by marriage, it would be improper for me to advise you to do what is wrong. My husband, act agreeable with the sovereign's will, and live happy in conjugal union—your slave will be content in being only your lady at call;'* to which *General Leang* smiling, as well he might, made answer,—'In the world there are few such loving wives as you to be met with.' The two wives, it seems, 'esteemed each other as sisters, and dwelt in harmony without the least jealousy.' But this is not all. The poet had to dispose of *Yeou-seen*'s two maids, by whose means she first became acquainted with *Leang*. An European bard would have taken care to provide a couple of smart lacqueys to supply this emergency, but it would seem there are no such animals in China: *Leang* was, therefore, in gratitude bound to take pity on these *two* active instruments; and '*Yun-heang* and *Peh-yue*' also became his 'women of call,' who, with his wives, were each, in due time, 'delivered of a fine boy.' The poet, having thus brought his long story to a fruitful conclusion, by rewarding *Leang* with four contemporaneous wives and four hopeful boys, assures his readers that, 'From that time forward, all that dwelt within his house being happy, prosperity incessantly continued to smile on him.'

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* Mr. Thoms's 'lady at call' is a second or inferior wife, a piece of household stuff quite common among the Chinese of every rank. That the reader may judge of the difficulties of rendering this singular and very meagre language, and at the same time of Mr. Thoms's qualifications to overcome them, we will here give a verbal translation of this passage.—p. 243.

Kin	*je*	*in*	*nu*	*lung*	*poey*	*ko*
To	day	with	slave	united	union	concord
Hoa	*choo*	*voo*	*tsing*	*pien*	*lee*	*fee*
speak	out	without	affection	evidently	reason	forbids
Kuin	*kin*	*ling*	*chee*	*tsing*	*hiay*	*lao*
Sovereign	now	gives	order	together	unite	old age
Nu	*tso*	*pien*	*fang*	*fan*	*so*	*yee*
Slave	become	side	room	dividing	is	proper
Leang-sing		*vee*	*siao*	*hoey*	*yen*	*tso*
Leang-sing		slightly	laughing	reply	words	speak
Go	*chee*	*kien*	*te*	*she*	*kien*	*hee*
My	wife's	wisdom	virtue	world	within	rare.

Which, we apprehend, may thus be rendered: 'Your slave being united by marriage, reason forbids her to speak without affection. The emperor orders you to unite yourself to another for life; your slave, as is fit, will separate into the side-room (in other words, will be your inferior wife—"*your lady at call.*") *Leang-sing*, smiling, replied, my wife's discretion is rarely to be found in the world.'

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It is rather unfortunate for the credit of Chinese poetry among English readers, to have met with so incompetent a translator as this; and, for his own credit's sake, we would seriously advise him to relinquish his Chinese studies, at least until he has made himself better acquainted with his own language. Till then we would therefore recommend him to adhere to the mechanical operation of casting and arranging the symbolical characters for the press, and to abstain from venturing 'beyond the last.' Sorely as such advice may be thought to militate against the liberal spirit of the age, and the 'march of intellect,' which is to convert our shoe-makers and tailors into philosophers and politicians, we are firmly persuaded it is the best that can be offered to Mr. Peter Pering Thoms.

ART. VII.—1. *State Trials; or a Collection of the most interesting Trials prior to the Revolution of* 1688. Reviewed and Illustrated by Samuel March Phillipps, Esq., of the Inner Temple. 1826.

2. *Howell's State Trials.* Vol. XXXIII. 1826.

THE well-known compilation of Messrs. Howell, now continued to the present reign, has been justly esteemed in the several stages of its progress, as containing great stores of legal knowledge, and supplying many valuable illustrations of our domestic history. It has this further use, (which is well pointed out in the work of Mr. Phillipps, but might have been far more amply and regularly elucidated by so able a writer,) that it furnishes means of tracing satisfactorily those revolutions in the practice of our criminal law, which are but imperfectly accounted for by the most accurate chronicle of statutes and decisions, and which have sometimes established themselves without any formal sanction by either. We must consult the history of trials to understand how doctrines have, from time to time, fluctuated with the prevailing passion—the fear, resentment, or enthusiasm of the day; how maxims of justice, now held inviolable, have been negligently disused or despotically overborne; and again, how equitable and wise rules have regained or insensibly acquired ascendency when favoured by a mild and settled government, and a composed state of popular feeling, by a general advance in knowledge, by a growing deference to public opinion, by enlightened and independent practice in the courts, and, sometimes, by the influence and exertions of individual judges.

No person can look into the series of trials remarked upon by Mr. Phillipps, from the case of Throckmorton in 1554 to that of the Seven Bishops, without feeling astonishment at the contrast exhibited

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exhibited between the loose, inconsistent, and arbitrary notions of criminal justice exemplified in those proceedings, and the system in all essential points so irreproachable, which by degrees became settled after the Revolution. And this reformation will appear the more striking when we consider (without underrating the effect of some justly-celebrated acts of the legislature) how few important alterations were required in the form and letter of the law to effect so great a change in its practice. Indeed if we turn, for illustration's sake, to some of the more remarkable instances in which perverse doctrines and oppressive conduct were adopted by the courts in days of evil precedent, it will be found that the blame is much less frequently attributable to the law itself, than to misconceptions of its spirit and neglect of its established rules.

Among the most striking features of the earlier State Trials (beginning our survey from the reign of Queen Mary) is the frequent and zealous struggle of the court and prosecutors to extort acknowledgments from the prisoner, a proceeding repugnant not only to the more enlightened sense of justice prevailing in modern days, but to one of the first principles of the law. It is the reproach of a century, part of which no Englishman would willingly call barbarous, that torture itself was occasionally employed to force evidence or confession from persons under confinement; though, indeed, a declaration, published by order of Burleigh in 1584, states it to have been administered at that period 'in as charitable a manner as such a thing might be," and James the First writes that it was never used but in cases of high treason. This justly detested practice was at no time authorized by our courts of law, but they sanctioned a kindred abuse, when defendants, in the hour of trial, tottering between life and death, were urged to self-accusation by the united importunity of counsel and judges. In the case of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Serjeant Staunford, the advocate for the crown, addresses the prisoner thus:—'Therefore, Throckmorton, since this matter is so manifest, and the evidence so apparent, I would advise you to confess your fault, and submit yourself to the Queen's mercy.' 'How say you,' asks Chief Justice Bromley, 'Will you confess the matter? and it will be best for you.' Sir Nicholas preferred standing on his defence, and was acquitted.

It was consistent with the English character that prisoners, harassed by these irregular appeals, should frequently repel the attack with courage and acrimony. Sometimes, indeed, they themselves became the assailants. It appears to have been the unchecked practice of the accusing counsel to pause at such periods as they judged convenient in the development of their case, and

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and address the court, jury, or defendant on the effect of the evidence. Men contending for life naturally struggled for a share of the same license; and thus were raised those desultory debates, often leading to skirmishes of vituperation, which in the older state trials give so strange an aspect of confusion to the whole proceedings. The conflict between Coke and Raleigh (one of the passages in which history rivals the best works of fiction) has long been famous, and, thanks to the preternatural acuteness of Shakspeare's editors, we may if we please believe that the celebrated 'thou' of Sir Edward on that occasion gives rise to a jest in Twelfth Night. The trial of Sir Christopher Blunt and some other accomplices in the Earl of Essex's insurrection is a scene of unrestrained disorder. We find the attorney-general, Coke, pressing Sir Christopher (who was ultimately executed) to a full confession, and threatening, unless it be made, 'to prove him guilty of the earl's death;' we have Chief Justice Popham (who presided at the trial as a commissioner, and passed the sentence) demanding of Blunt why, during the transactions at Essex House, his party 'stood at the great chamber-door, with muskets charged and matches in their hands, which, through the key-hole, the Lord Chief Justice said, he discerned;'* and the name of one prisoner being Cuffe, Mr. Attorney, with great humour, promises to give him a *cuff* that shall set him down. A graver and more solemnly inquisitorial proceeding is that against Henry Garnet for promoting the Gunpowder Plot: the prisoner is questioned, confuted, and exhorted into destruction with a zeal, no doubt, inflamed by the king's presence (for James himself attended); and we almost forget that we are reading of a trial by the law of England, till reminded of it by the mention of a jury and a verdict.

The practice of interrogating prisoners, which is now so scrupulously avoided, fell into disuse after the Revolution, but not immediately, for it was resorted to even by that upright and manly judge, Sir John Holt, on the trial of Mr. Ashton, for treason, in 1690; and those of Parkyns, Cranburne, and Lowick, in 1696: another instance occurs, five years later, in the proceedings against Captain Kidd, for piracy, and it would be easy to multiply examples. We cannot suppose that the custom would have survived so long, if its exercise in preceding times had been always injurious and oppressive, or had often produced such scenes as that cited by Mr. Phillips, from the trial of Mrs. Gaunt. It is probable, that in many cases the aim of such examinations was merely to obtain from the accused a more full and regular statement of his defence than his own recollection would have fur-

* On the trial of Hacker the Regicide two of the commissioners were examined upon oath, but did not act in the case afterwards as judges.

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nished, by leading him in detail to the several points requiring explanation. In the trial of Count Coningsmark, for the murder of Mr. Thynn, this is evidently done with a disposition favourable to the prisoner.* But it too frequently happened that judges, who perhaps intended to follow the course we have described, forsook the line of simple interrogation, and allowed themselves to cross-examine and contradict the defendant, to argue with him upon the evidence, and to refute his attempts at justification. Holt himself was guilty of these faults on the occasions already alluded to.

We cordially agree in the opinion supported by Mr. Phillipps, against Mr. Bentham, that the questioning of prisoners is a practice rightly discontinued by our courts. If men ought not to be compelled by direct means to criminate themselves, we know not why they should be driven to do so by a circuitous course. A defendant examined in presence of the jury runs great risk of being tried rather by his manner and demeanour than by the evidence. A few imperfect or seemingly inconsistent replies, or the withholding of some required explanation, may, under such circumstances, excite a fatal, and yet, possibly, a groundless prejudice. If the answers are prompt and fluent where the case is suspicious, it is natural (as many passages in the State Trials will show) that a contest of ingenuity should arise between the court and defendant, and the temper and impartiality of a judge are placed in too much hazard when he becomes the antagonist of the prisoner.

The rule of our common law, so justly esteemed, and now so jealously maintained, except in one or two cases of plain necessity, that no man shall be endangered by testimony given in his absence, or without oath, was very negligently observed before the Revolution, though fortified, in case of treason, by a strong legislative provision. 'The receiving of confessions as evidence against third persons,' says Mr. Phillipps, 'appears to have been an inveterate practice through the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles the First.' Sir Walter Raleigh was convicted on the information of Lord Cobham, produced in writing, and communicated by piecemeal to the jury, at the discretion of the Attorney-General, who might have brought forward the witness in person. The Duke of Norfolk was attainted of high treason in 1571, upon proof, consisting, for the greater part, of other men's

* Mr. Justice Eyre addresses a defendant thus, in 1690; 'Mr. Ashton, because you cannot reply again upon my Lord Chief Justice, after he has summed up the evidence, there's another thing that I would put you in mind of, that you may give an answer to it, &c.' See, too, the character of Holt, by Sir Richard Steele, which will be quoted hereafter.

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acknowledgments, depositions, and letters. He often, but in vain, desired to be confronted with persons then living, whose written testimony was used against him, and one of whom was actually in court. On the trial of Sir Jervis Elwes, for assisting in the murder of Overbury, Chief-Justice Coke produced from his bosom a confession of one Franklin, taken by himself that morning, and read it to the jury, as a reply to the prisoner's defence. It throws an additional shade of iniquity over the proceedings in Norfolk's case, that a confession extorted by the rack was among the documents adduced for the crown. We scarcely need observe, that in modern times an acknowledgment procured even by the slightest intimidation is never listened to; and it was determined, in Charles the Second's reign, if such a point required determining, that confessions are evidence against those only who make them.

The statute of Edward the Sixth, requiring, that on prosecutions for treason, two accusers should be personally produced, very soon fell into neglect. Its protection was repeatedly denied, on the pretext that a law of Philip and Mary had repealed it, but Throckmorton insisted on it without success, before that act had passed. His prosecutors do not appear to have given any answer on this point; they had little appetite for that close legal disputation which the prisoner indefatigably urged upon them, and with which the Attorney-General at last felt himself so annoyed, that he protested he was never interrupted thus in his life. 'I never knew any,' says he, 'thus suffered to talk as this prisoner is suffered—some of us will come no more at the bar an' we be thus handled.' The supposed repeal of King Edward's statute was grounded on a complaint like that stated by Burnet against the still more beneficial act of William the Third—that it was a hard law for the crown, and would render men too safe in treasons. But the statute of Edward gradually recovered its credit in the middle of the seventeenth century, and was at length formally recognized as still in force, on the trial of the unfortunate Lord Stafford.

A decision of the first year of Mary's reign had provided, conveniently enough, for the difficulty of obtaining a second witness. It was held in Thomas's case*, that the defendant having uttered a treasonable expression, which the hearer by his desire communicated to a third person, who reported it to another, and he again to a fifth; the auditors at second, third, and fourth hand were all receivable as accusers. We are not aware that any further use was made of this commodious doctrine; but the negligent, and,

* Dyer's Reports, f. 99. The reporter's statement, however, is scanty, and not very clear.

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sometimes, the deliberate admission of hearsay evidence is a vice that taints the proceedings of the criminal courts, down to a comparatively late period. The trials of Russell and of Algernon Sydney afford disgraceful instances of testimony so received and submitted to the jury, in spite of remonstrance from the prisoners; and the same irregularity prevails in cases where no inducement can be discerned, either from political or any other motives, to a departure from justice*.

A kind of testimony, distinguishable from that properly called hearsay, but equally fallacious, and admitted with the same facility, was the evidence of words used, or acts done, by persons who were presumed to be in some manner connected with the prisoner, although it did not appear that the language or conduct insisted on had received any sanction from him, or had ever come to his knowledge. Thus, in Raleigh's case, proof was adduced of a person having said at Lisbon that Don Raleigh and Don Cobham would cut the king's throat. Sir Edward Coke allowed the profligate epistles addressed to Rochester by the Earl of Northampton to be read on behalf of the crown, against Sir Jervis Elwes; and Mr. Phillipps points out, among the iniquities practised on the impeachment of Lord Strafford, that expressions let fall by Sir George Wentworth and Sir George Ratcliffe were taken as evidence against the accused, because Ratcliffe was his 'echo,' and Wentworth his 'creature.'

It has, indeed, been laid down as established law in Hardy's and other modern cases, that where a conspiracy is proved to exist, and the defendant to be a partaker in it, anything done or said by his confederates, in prosecution of the common design, is evidence against himself. But it sufficiently appears from the instances we just now cited, that the courts did not always guide themselves by such a well-guarded rule; and without dwelling on cases which may be deemed extraordinary and anomalous, it would be easy to shew that a very lax doctrine subsisted with respect to what was termed general evidence of conspiracy, even to a late period of the last century. In the trials for the Popish and Rye-house plots, we are not much surprised to find the witnesses indulged in delivering prefatory narratives, of which some parts are gathered from report, and others irrelevant to the case at issue; but it is remarkable that such a license should have survived the Revolution, and not only have prevailed unchecked in the proceedings against Charnock, Rookwood, and Lowick, for the Assassination plot, but have been permitted in a degree which would now, we believe, appear quite unwarrantable, on the trial of

* As in that of Colonel Turner and his family, indicted for burglary, in 1663, and that of Mr. Hawkins, which we shall mention again hereafter.

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Layer, in 1722, and that of Lord Lovat, in 1747. Chief Baron Gilbert, who wrote in the early part of the same century, expressly pronounces *, that 'hearsay evidence may be of *inducement* in matters that do not constitute the crime, and are of a general nature—as that there was a plot, a conspiracy, a disaffection, but not to charge the prisoner in particular.' The doctrine, however, was dangerous; and, although sanctioned by such high authority, seems wholly repugnant to modern discipline and principles.

The most singular exception to the rule requiring all testimony against a prisoner to be confirmed by oath, was that recognised at one period in favour of infants. 'Such very young people, under twelve years old,' says Sir Matthew Hale, † 'I have not known examined upon oath; but sometimes the court, for their information, have heard their testimony without oath, which possibly being fortified with concurrent evidences, may be of some weight,' as in certain cases, which the learned author then particularizes, including witchcraft. An acute lawyer might, perhaps, distinguish between 'information' to the court and evidence against the prisoner, but the difference could not be very perceptible in practice: and it is probable that in the majority of instances where children were examined, the facts drawn from them would be exactly such as were most conclusive against the defendant. To forbid the swearing of those who, from the infirmity of their years, might not comprehend or properly observe such an engagement, shewed a laudable tenderness for the complainants, but to exclude the oath and yet hear the testimony was a very small mercy to the accused.

It appears, too, that if the bare affirmation of the infant witness failed to produce an impression, the court still reserved a power of ultimately administering the oath. We find a curious example of this practice in a London and Middlesex sessions paper for 1678. Stephen Arrowsmith was indicted for a capital offence. The only persons who brought the charge home to him were two girls, both under ten years of age, and they were examined without the usual solemnity. Chief Justice Scroggs, seeing the jury unsatisfied, was of opinion that the principal witness might be sworn, but for the present it was dispensed with. The jury retired to consider of this and the last preceding case (for such was the strange custom of that time ‡), and found Arrowsmith

* Gilbert on Evidence, vol. II. p. 891.

† Pleas of the Crown, vol. II. p. 284. And see vol. I. p. 634, Ed. 1800.

‡ This practice is referred to in the following passage of Sir Thomas Smith's Commonwealth. 'Sometime with one enquest is passed to the number of two or three prisoners. For if they should be charged with more, the enquest will say, "My Lord, we

Arrowsmith not guilty. The Recorder (Jefferies) debated the point with them, and laboured to satisfy them of 'the manifestness of the proof,' observing, in conclusion, that the girls had not been sworn, because of the tenderness of their age, but, if desired, that ceremony should be performed. A second deliberation took place, and presently information was received that the jury 'had the two children with them, which was against the law.' Both jurymen and witnesses were then recalled, 'and the court, to give further satisfaction, swore the children, having examined them whether they understood the nature of an oath and the danger of perjury, which they gave a rational account of.' This, or the Recorder's pertinacity, decided the case, for the jury, being dismissed a third time, at length convicted the prisoner, who received sentence of death. The present usage, which permits the child, if properly instructed, to be sworn at once, or else rejects its testimony altogether, seems to have become settled about the beginning of the last century.*

No evidence is received with greater jealousy by the modern courts, than that of accomplices who denounce their fellow-criminals; nor is such information usually relied upon unless confirmed, in some material point, by less suspicious testimony. This caution, just and natural as it is, appears to have been very slightly observed before the Revolution, and was neglected on some remarkable occasions afterward. Sir John Freind was convicted before Chief-justice Holt, on the examination of three persons, all partners in the treason for which he was tried: the defendant urged strenuously that two of the witnesses were papists,† and, therefore, inadmissible as accusers of a protestant; but no notice appears to have been taken of the more rational objection, that the whole number were accomplices.

While the procedure was so loose and irregular on the accusing side, and an immoderate deference was exacted for the 'king's evidence,' as if persons who offered themselves to prove a felony or treason, had, in so doing, become part of the royal establishment, it was esteemed a boon and indulgence to the prisoner that he was allowed to make a defence by witnesses. Queen Mary, in her well-known admonition to Chief-justice Morgan, condemned 'the old error, which did not admit any witness to speak,

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we pray you charge us with no more, it is enough for our memory." Many times they are charged with but one or two.' Cornish and Mrs. Gaunt were put upon the same *enquest*, in 1685.

* See the discussion on this point in Travers's case. Strange's Reports, 700.

† A more whimsical attempt at disqualifying a witness occurs in the trial of the Duke of Norfolk. An examination of the Bishop of Ross is pressed, on behalf of the crown; 'He is a Scot,' objects the Duke. Barrham (Queen's Serjeant) replies, 'A Scot is a christian man;' and the court adjudges him competent.

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or any other matter to be heard in favour of the adversary, her majesty being party:' yet the 'old error' was acted upon in this and the succeeding reign, to the extent of rejecting evidence for the prisoner*; and it continued for a hundred and fifty years to be so far respected, that, except in some few cases distinguished by statute, the courts would admit no testimony on oath for the defendant, on charges affecting life. In vain had Sir Edward Coke denied that any authority existed for such a prohibition; the judges would not venture in this instance to amend the ancient usage without an act of parliament; and it was not until the first year of Queen Anne's reign, that a clause was introduced in a statute chiefly directed to other purposes,† ordaining that no one should be admitted to depose anything on behalf of a person accused of treason or felony, without being first sworn, as witnesses for the crown were 'by law obliged' to be. Before this time, the want of an oath (except in the few instances we have alluded to) could only be supplied by an exhortation from the court, such as we find delivered by Holt (on the trial of Swendsen) in the very year in which the act was passed. 'Hear ye, he calls you to be a witness; you are not to be upon your oath, but are under the highest obligation to tell the truth.'‡ It may be supposed that such appeals, unsupported by any power to punish, did not always prove effectual, and the language of the statute leads us to believe that the prohibition, once considered an advantage to the crown, had become an undue privilege to defendants.§

The rule which forbade a prisoner to be assisted by counsel for the general purposes of his defence, took its rise probably from the same view of the king's interest in convictions, which produced the exclusion of witnesses. In prosecutions for treason and felony, no person, according to the old doctrine, could legally advise with the defendant on matters of fact; he was to make good his case in this respect without aid, while the proof on behalf of the crown was managed by zealous advocates, who not only enjoyed the right of an opening address to the jury, but often claimed and exercised with no forbearing spirit the privilege of summing up the king's evidence, replying‖ to that produced by

* In Throckmorton's case (1554), and Udall's case (1590).

† 1st Ann, stat. 2, cap. 9, sec. 3. The statute is entitled 'An act for punishing of accessories to felonies and receivers of stolen goods, and to prevent the wilful burning and destroying of ships.'

‡ Such admonitions were common: in the trial of Lord Stafford, the caution is given in strong terms by the Lord High Steward to the Marchioness of Winchester.

§ Burnet treats it in this light. History of his Own Times, vol. IV. p. 252, Oxford ed.

‖ Replying on behalf of the crown was prohibited by the judges Page and Carter, in the cases of Huggins, tried for the murder of Arne, and Acton, for that of Bliss, in 1729. It was again permitted, on the trial of Miss Blandy, for parricide, in 1752, but must have fallen into disuse about that time.

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the prisoner, refuting his defence, and interposing comments during the progress of the trial. On questions of law, when such actually arose, the accused might claim to have counsel assigned him; but it was not usual, at least before the Revolution, to allow a prisoner any opportunity of preparing himself by previous consultation to suggest difficulties or take advantage of errors. This meanly tyrannical strictness must have been perpetually eluded where the delinquent was not kept from all intercourse with friends; but the clandestine adviser or solicitor interfered at his peril. On the arraignment of Colledge, 'the Protestant joiner,' in 1681, it appeared that a king's messenger had seized and detained some papers which had been delivered to the prisoner as minutes for his defence. He petitioned to have them restored: the judge, Sir Francis North, expostulated:—

'How comes any body to give you papers? Nobody can solicit for one that is under an accusation of high-treason, unless he be assigned to do so by the court.'

Colledge.—'God have mercy upon any man that is so accused then, for 'tis not possible for him to make his defence if he cannot be at liberty to look after it himself, nor any of his friends permitted to do it for him.'

'I know not,' says the judge, 'but he may be a criminal that brought you those papers;' and Jefferies, as counsel for the crown, observes (probably with no great accuracy), 'If Mr. Colledge have such a thing as a solicitor, I shall crave leave to put that solicitor in mind of the case of one that was indicted of high-treason.'—8 *Howell, St. Tr.*

The documents being submitted to the court, were placed in secure custody, to be dealt with on further occasion, as the attorney-general should think fit; and in the mean time, after some opposition, the prisoner was allowed access to a part of them, the rest being kept back as libellous and scandalous. The 'solicitor' on this occasion was Aaron Smith, a barrister, 'a violent monster,' as Roger North terms him, and a notorious intriguer of the Whig party. He was called before the court, sharply interrogated, bound to appear in the court of King's Bench the following term, and finally pilloried.*

A more respectable lawyer, Sir Robert Atkyns, who had been a judge of the Common Pleas, was requested to give advice on behalf of Lord William Russell, after his committal to the Tower; and this learned person, though he sent the desired answer, yet felt so strongly the hazard to which his compliance might expose him, that in the letter, which is extant, he entreats to have his paper returned under an enclosure by his own messenger.

It is among the commonest occurrences, in trials before the

* See Crosby's case, 5 Modern Reports.

Revolution, that the prisoner, when called upon to plead, makes urgent and pathetic entreaties to be allowed counsel immediately, for his defence on such points of law as may possibly arise. The reply is always ready, that the application cannot be properly made until a difficulty has occurred, and that in the mean time the defendant may consider the court as his counsel, a declaration about as consolatory, in most of these cases, as to inform a traveller in a tempestuous day that he has the heavens for his canopy. Colledge, in the case we have just mentioned, insists that 'it is the birthright of every Englishman to have counsel in matters of law, and Lilburne had it upon solemn argument in his trial.' '*What times were those!*' exclaims Judge Jones, '*that was before the High Court of Justice.*' The remark was not quite accurate. At the Old Bailey, indeed, when Lilburne was tried there in 1653, counsel were allowed to assist him in preparing exceptions to the indictment; but the High Court, before which he was arraigned in 1642, refused his demand of professional aid in the spirit, and almost the language, of Mr. Justice Jones himself. The Colonel had enforced his claim to the desired indulgence by alledging that the king's justices awarded it to him on a former occasion, when he stood accused before them at Oxford.

'If,' he added, 'you will not be so just as the Cavaliers were, with whom you and the parliament set us together by the ears to fight, pretendedly for their injustice, let God and all righteous men judge betwixt you and me.'

Judge Nichols—'If you will not be led by the proceedings of law, it will be worse for you, and *you are to know this is not Oxford—We are not to walk by Oxford precedents, but by the rules of the law.*'—4 Howell, St. Tr.

Thus, before he could entitle himself to an assignment of counsel, the prisoner was expected, while actually at the bar, to raise up, by his own unassisted ingenuity, some objection in law which the court should deem worthy of professional interposition; and this, too, when the defendant, in a case of treason, was not, as in later times, provided with a copy of the indictment and lists of the jury and witnesses, and when the advocate (perhaps summoned at a late period of the trial) might have heard no part of the proceedings, and would certainly obtain no assistance from the court, in endeavouring to become acquainted with them.*

If friends or advocates were by indulgence allowed to be near the delinquent during his trial, their situation was rendered humiliating by the peevish jealousy with which their behaviour

* Hale found himself in this situation when he appeared before the High Court of Justice, on behalf of Love, the presbyterian minister, in 1651.

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was watched. When, for instance, Lord Stafford's counsel are permitted to attend him in court, no question of law having yet arisen, we find the Commissioners for the Commons in a full ferment of zeal and solicitude. 'My Lords,' says Sergeant Maynard, 'they may stand within hearing, but not within prompting.' 'I assure you,' replies the unfortunate nobleman, 'if I had all the counsel in the world, I would not make use of them for any matter of fact.' Treby and Winnington reiterate the caution. 'I desire,' says Sir William Jones, (the 'bull-faced Jonas' of Dryden,) 'they may stand at that distance that there may be no means of intercourse, unless points in law do rise.' The High Steward mildly closes this contention: 'When there is cause, take the exception, but they do not as yet misbehave themselves.'

It often occurred, however, that a defendant was allowed to have at his side some person not likely to be formidable as an adviser, who might assist him in noting the evidence, and render him such other attentions as were not calculated to arouse the cruel scruples of prosecutors or judges. Well was it for the prisoner who had near him such a duteous and faithful friend, of whatever condition, to share his labour, minister to his weariness, utter the timely word of soothing to his broken or exasperated spirit, and yield him the solace of at least one kind voice and one sympathising countenance in the darkest moments of his distress, when every man's word was against him, and every face presaged his ruin. In this, as in all the direst scenes of human extremity, the zeal of female affection has stood illustriously distinguished. It is not derogating from the noble devotedness of Lady Rachel Russell to say, that she was neither the first Englishwoman, nor one of few who, in the worst days of our judicial history, appeared at an ignominious bar, to share the bitterness of the hour of trial with a husband, parent, or kinsman, and to cheer, help, uphold, and, if it might be, save him. Sir Thomas Gascoigne, who was prosecuted at the age of eighty-five, for an alleged participation in the Popish plot, was attended in the court of King's Bench by his grand-daughter. The Marchioness of Winchester is said to have aided her father, Lord Stafford, on his trial, by taking notes and preparing papers. Bateman, the last victim of the Rye-house conspiracy, who was brought to the bar in an unsound state of mind, and whose son, therefore, obtained the indulgence, at that time unprecedented, of conducting his father's cause, was also assisted, but in vain, by his daughter. When Fitzharris was indicted for the obscure machination usually described as his 'Plot,' his wife struggled for her husband's preservation with an honourable warmth and courage, though with the flippancy which might have been expected from such a personage:

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and, not to dwell on one or two less remarkable instances, all readers of English history will remember the iniquitous condemnation of Sir Thomas Armstrong, and the passionate interposition of his daughter, who, after vainly striving to awaken justice or mercy in the breast of Jefferies, was carried from the court, invoking the judgment of the Almighty on her father's murderer. 'I thank God,' said the infatuated tyrant, 'I am clamour-proof, and will never fear to do my duty.'

We need not dwell on the alteration of practice with respect to counsel, introduced in cases of high treason by the statute 7 William III., c. 3. It is remarkable that, while this act gave the most ample liberty of defence to the advocates of a prisoner who was indicted, the old restrictions continued and were jealously enforced where the culprit was impeached; and this inconsistency kept its ground till the twentieth year of George II. In 1715, we find the rebel Earl of Wintoun on his trial before the house of peers and Lord High Steward Cowper, soliciting with great importunity that his counsel may be allowed to cross-examine and to speak in his defence: but the request was steadily refused, though the earl enforced it by repeated protestations of his own incompetency and unprepared condition, letting slip, however, in the height of his distress, an equivoque, which luckily did not reach the woolsack,—'I hope you will do me justice, and not make use of *Cowper law*, as we say in our country, hang a man first, and then judge him.' The degree of license which counsel at this day assume as a right, in cases of felony, became established, without any formal promulgation of a new rule. It would be difficult to trace the change of practice step by step, but when once begun, it proceeded rapidly. In the case of Arnold, who was tried in 1724 for shooting at Lord Onslow, an attempt of counsel to interfere on behalf of the prisoner, without having been assigned on a point of law, was resisted with great heat, and the court rejected their motion, that a solicitor might be allowed to stand near their client (whom they alleged to be a lunatic) for the purpose of calling his witnesses. Some indulgence, however, was afterwards obtained by the solicitor, through his own perseverance, and the apparent exigency of the case. On the trials of the gaolers Acton, Huggins, and Bambridge, in 1729, we find the prisoner's counsel watching and objecting to evidence, and remonstrating on points of practice, not, indeed, very frequently, but with a confidence and liberty, that show a sense of acting in an authorized character, while the judges, on their part, are vigilant in repressing irregularities on the side of the prosecuting advocates. In the proceedings against Mr. Chetwynd for murder, in 1743, the liberty of cross-examining for

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for the prisoner appears fully recognized, and his defence is conducted according to the usage now prevailing, which, although it may continue open to speculative exceptions, could hardly, we believe, be placed upon a footing more substantially favourable to the accused.

The advantages conceded to a prisoner, under the old system of practice, in discussing points of law, was often rendered unavailing by those preliminary debates, at which the judges decided among themselves any important legal questions expected to arise at the trial. Mr. Phillipps denounces this custom, as 'inconsistent with the fair administration of justice, and with their judicial oaths;' yet it survived to a period, at which we cannot suspect the heads of the law to have advisedly concurred in any proceeding repugnant to their sacred obligations. Thus, in Arnold's case, (just now referred to,) a point, which, if successfully urged, might have defeated the prosecution, was submitted by Mr. Justice Tracy to his brethren, before the trial, and decided against the prisoner. But we fully admit that such a practice, however it may have been recommended in former days by apparent convenience, has been very properly disused; and it merited even more than the censure Mr. Phillipps has bestowed upon it, when, in the case of the regicides, an attorney and solicitor-general, with other counsel for the crown, attended the judges at their conference.

Till a late period of Charles the Second's reign, the fate of defendants was rendered additionally precarious by the insecure condition of juries, who, in several well-known instances, were punished by fine, imprisonment, or the exaction of securities, for their decision on matters of fact. It is said that, in the time of Richard the Second, a jury having acquitted a notorious thief against evidence, the judge told them they should themselves be bound for his good behaviour, but whether the menace was executed or not remains uncertain.* A like severity, with the addition of fine and committal, appears to have been exercised in the time of Elizabeth, although, in her father's reign, the imprisoning and fining of a jury, for refusing to convict an offender, had formed part of the accusation against Empson. We need not dwell upon the rigours enforced in the Star-chamber against the jury who acquitted Throckmorton, or the inquisitorial examination of those who negatived the charge of high treason against Lilburne, and were summoned before the council of state for it in 1653. Sir Mathew Hale, writing in the reign of Charles the Second, says, 'The late practice hath been for such justices' (of the peace, oyer and terminer, or gaol delivery) 'to set fines arbitrarily,

* Fitzherbert's Abridgment, 166.

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yet, not only upon grand inquests, but also upon the petit jury in criminal causes, if they find not according to their directions. Hale condemns the usage as unwarrantable: it had met with some checks at the time when he wrote, and received its ultimate condemnation in 1670, in the celebrated case of Bushell, one of the jurors who were fined and imprisoned for refusing to convict Penn and Mead. From that period jurymen, although exposed occasionally to great roughness and indecent urgency from intemperate judges, might discharge their duties conscientiously without danger to their liberty or fortunes.

We cannot dismiss this part of the subject without noticing one abuse, which, when often repeated, was alone sufficient to render trials by jury a medium of oppression—we mean the license occasionally assumed of remanding a prisoner, after evidence had been heard against him, and releasing the jury from their obligation to give a verdict. This was held justifiable in several cases, and, among others, astonishing as the doctrine may now seem, when the evidence for the crown proved unexpectedly deficient, and hopes were entertained of a fuller discovery to come. Whitebread and Fenwick, two of the jesuits involved in the popish plot, were, according to this practice, remanded after half a trial, and having been kept in prison till the testimony against them could be rendered more complete, they were again brought to the bar, and prosecuted to condemnation. The proceeding was justified on the ground of daily custom, and Hale writes that, within his experience, nothing was more ordinary. It appears, however, to have been unwarranted by ancient usage, and we need hardly add that modern times have considered it not a precedent, but an enormity.

We shall not, we trust, be thought to offer this enumeration of errors and mal-practices, now happily reformed, as proving a scheme of oppression, a systematic encroachment on the public rights and liberties. Throughout the times to which we have been adverting, the criminal law was less perfect as a science, and was studied, if not with less accuracy, at least under circumstances of less advantage than the law of property. That the judges acted, on most occasions, unchecked by the vigilance of defending counsel, is alone sufficient to account for a great licentiousness of practice. The discretion, even of a moderate and humane court, would too easily and often swerve from the right line, when it wanted that salutary discipline which is afforded by the perpetual canvassing of difficulties and objections industriously sought, learnedly proposed, and zealously insisted on; and we may well conceive to what side the deviation would most usually tend, when

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the dignity and authority of the crown were thought to be concerned in the success of prosecutions.

If decorum is a safeguard of private virtues, regularity is a still more important preservative of public justice. When rules were unsettled and proceedings lax and arbitrary in the every day administration of criminal law, it is not wonderful that license should have risen to the pitch of tyranny in times of public agitation, and in cases which appealed strongly to political interests and prepossessions. The history of prosecutions under Charles the Second and his brother, supplies ample illustration of this remark. Referring to the prominent trials of the years immediately following the Restoration, we observe, even in cases unconnected with public affairs, a neglect of legal accuracy and method, and an undignified forwardness and levity on the judgment-seat, which, where no evil passion or corrupt bias appears, and where justice was ultimately done, might be simply blamed as dangerous, though long-accustomed improprieties, but which, in turbulent and factious days, too easily became aggravated into vices of tragical atrocity.

One of the examples we allude to is the remarkable trial of Mr. Hawkins, in 1669, before Sir Mathew Hale, a judge whom it would be extreme temerity to accuse of having erred through ignorance or want of integrity, but who appears, on this occasion, much too negligent both of legal exactness, and of the reserve befitting his office. Hawkins was the minister of Chilton in Buckinghamshire, where he had served as curate and chaplain to the impropriator, Sir John Croke, grandson of the celebrated judge who espoused the popular side in the case of ship-money, but himself a man of ruined fortune and profligate character. The rectory being extended into the king's hands, a lease of it was granted to Hawkins, who had been grossly defrauded by the baronet of two years' salary. Sir John now became a declared enemy of the poor minister, and prevailed on his parishioners to withhold the tithes, and break open the church; nor was Hawkins idle, on his part, in assailing them by process of law. Under these circumstances one Larimore, an anabaptist, preacher of Chilton, arrested Hawkins, and conveyed him before Croke, who was a magistrate, on a charge of felony: his committal followed of course, and the constable (one of the refractory parishioners) advised the gaoler to load him well with irons, as he was a notorious picklock. It should seem, however, that he was afterwards bailed. The trial came on at the Aylesbury assizes in 1669, before chief baron Hale, Sir John Croke being present on the bench. Larimore stated that, on returning one day to his cottage,

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tage, he had gone into a loft, where, looking through a chink in the floor, he saw the minister ransack a chest in the lower room, take out some rings and money, and then run out and conceal himself in a patch of beans. The prosecutor's son and sister confirmed him in this last statement, and, says the narrative (which appears written by Hawkins), 'when my lord chief baron Hale heard how these three witnesses agreed in their evidence, he said, "Here is enough sworn, if believed, to hang twenty men."' He allowed the prisoner abundant license, however, both of cross-examining and of commenting on the evidence as it proceeded. Having made an end of his own charge, the complainant sets up one Chilton, to prove that he, too, was once robbed by Hawkins of a pair of boots. Chilton, however, protests that the accusation is false, though he has been urged to make it by the prosecutor; but this personage again offers to produce five or six witnesses, who have heard Chilton say that Hawkins stole his property. 'Call them,' says the judge, 'for I'll hear all, if I sit till night;' and they are called. Then Chilton declares that one Croxstone offered to bear him out with five hundred pounds, if he would swear against the prisoner.

'*Lord Chief Baron*—"How? bear you out to swear! What Croxstone is this that would do so? This is not likely to be true."

'*Thomas Croxstone* said—"My Lord, I said no such thing."

'*Lord Chief Baron*—"I do not believe it to be true."

'*Chilton* ran in and said—"As I live and breathe, my Lord, Croxstone did say," &c.'

Witnesses are then produced against Croxstone, and he is ultimately reprimanded. After this interlude, which, though 'apropos to the boots,' is not at all so to the indictment, a third accusation is launched by a Mr. Boyce, who swears that he once saw Hawkins's hand in the pocket of a drunken man, and afterwards heard the drunkard affirm that he lost at that time a ring and a piece of gold. Hale, instead of rejecting this testimony with indignation, as a modern judge would, puts the prisoner to his defence upon it, and he replies at length to this as well as the other charges. In the course of his explanation, it becomes necessary to look at the warrant granted to Larimore for searching the minister's house, and the chief baron discovers this instrument to be dated a day before the robbery which is supposed to have given occasion for it. 'Here the people began to cry out shame upon Larimore;' the judge, however, proceeds to question the defendant—'Sir, but if you were innocent of this robbery, why did you refuse to open your doors, or to have your house searched?' The prisoner clears up this point also, ascribing his caution to the former misconduct of Sir John Croke and the prosecutor; and

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and the chief baron begins to look at Sir John 'with an angry countenance.' A witness named Wilcox is called by the prisoner—

'*Lord Chief Baron*—"You that are of the jury, do you know this Mr. Wilcox, of what credit is he?"

'*Jury*—"We have known him a long time, and we know no harm by him."

'*Lord Chief Baron*—"He looks with an honest face."'

Another witness discloses the whole conspiracy between Larimore and Croke, and the narrative goes on thus:

'About this time, Sir John Croke stole away from the bench, without taking his leave of my Lord Chief Baron or any of the justices.'

'My *Lord Chief Baron* said—"Is this Sir John Croke a gentleman, and contrives such plots as this? I never in all my days heard of the like."

'Larimore said—"My Lord, what I have sworn, as to Mr. Hawkins, is true."

'My *Lord Chief Baron* replied—"Come, Larimore, thou art a very villain."

'Larimore said—"I wish that the ground may open and swallow me, if anything that I have sworn against Mr. Hawkins is false."

'*Lord Chief Baron* replied—"Come, come, Larimore; thou art a very villain: nay, I think thou art a devil."

'*Hawkins*—"I hope your honour and this jury are by this time fully convinced that Sir John Croke is concerned in this plot?"

'*Lord Chief Baron Hale* replied—"I am fully satisfied; and so, I think, are all that heard it: and," he said to the justices, "Gentlemen, where is this Sir John Croke?" They replied, "He is gone."

'*Lord Chief Baron*—"Is Sir John Croke gone?" He said, "Gentlemen, I must not forget to acquaint you, (for I thought that Sir John Croke had been here still,) that this Sir John Croke sent me this morning two sugar-loaves for a present, praying me to excuse his absence yesterday. I did not then know so well as now what he meant by them, but to save his credit I sent his sugar-loaves back again. Mr. Harvey, did you not send Sir John his sugar-loaves back again?"

'*Clerk of the Assize*—"Yes, my Lord, they were sent back again."

'*Lord Chief Baron*—"I cannot think that Sir John Croke believes that the king's justices come into the country to take bribes. I rather think that some other person (having a design to put a trick upon him) sent them in his name:"* and so taking the letter out of his bosom, showing it to the justices, said, "Gentlemen, do you know this hand?" To which some of them replied, they believed it might be Sir John Croke's own hand; which letter, being compared with his *minutes*, (for he had no clerk) and some of his other writings there, it plainly appeared to be his own hand.'

* According to North (Life of Guilford, vol. i. p. 119, ed. 1826), such a trick was once played upon Hale. The anecdote of the sugar loaves is likewise paralleled in Burnet's life of this great judge.

The

The verdict was not yet given, but the jury now intimated that their minds were satisfied. Hale, however, summed up the case on both sides with great seriousness, not omitting the stories of Chilton's boots and the drunken man's piece of gold, which he said, if true, would render the prisoner 'obnoxious to any jury:' but he concluded by giving his opinion that it was a plain case, and the defence sufficient. Hawkins was, of course, acquitted; Sir John Croke was put out of the commission; and Lesmore and his party were obliged to compound a prosecution for conspiracy by a considerable subscription. In the day of Sacheverell's popularity, this trial was thought worth repriating, as a satire on the dissenters, and appeared under the title of 'The Perjured Fanatic.'*

The proceedings of Hale in this case, however loose and anomalous, had, unquestionably, benevolence for their motive and truth for their object, and of such a man it might be censure enough to say, that his mode of doing justice on the present occasion was somewhat too patriarchal; but when we consider the fatal lengths to which a supposed discretionary authority was soon afterwards carried by judges as much the opprobrium, as Hale was the ornament, of the bench, indulgence, even for a well-meant deviation from rules, is strongly checked, and we feel scarcely inclined to qualify the vigorous though vehement language of Lord Camden—

'The discretion of a judge is the law of tyrants; it is always unknown; it is different in different men; it is casual, and depends upon constitution, temper, and passion. In the best, it is oftentimes caprice—in the worst, it is every vice, folly, and passion to which human nature is liable.'

The evil of imperfect discipline on the bench was aggravated throughout the reigns of Charles and James, by a perpetual fever of political zeal and anxiety. The very beginnings of the administration of justice under Charles were in this respect unfortunate. It was no reproach to his government that the courts were, immediately on the Restoration, filled, as Clarendon relates, 'with grave and learned judges, who had either deserted their practice and profession during all the rebellious times, or had given full evidence of their affection to the king and the established laws in many weighty instances;' yet it was not from such personages, however meritorious in other respects, that the most regular and dispassionate execution of the judicial office was to be expected in cases where the crown had an interest, and the opposing party was tainted with those principles, civil or religious,

* Howell's State Trials, vol. 5. Genealogical History of the Croke family, by Sir Alexander Croke. Oxford, 1823.

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religious, which had triumphed in the overthrow of monarchy. The prosecution of the regicides, just and necessary as it was, had, perhaps, no salutary effect on the spirit and temper of the courts. The zeal which, in this instance, might be thought venial, if not honourable, and to which an excited audience hummed applause, too naturally survived the occasion, and gave its tone to other proceedings; and thus, in the subsequent trials for political offences during the early part of this reign, we repeatedly find the crimes of the rebellion furnishing a topic of declamation and a stimulus to severity. Still it should be observed, that while the courts were so assiduously keeping alive their loyal resentments and apprehensions, they had frequently to deal with men who, on their part, were cherishing among the people a brood of 'fears and jealousies,' the genuine offspring of those which performed such notable service against Charles the First.

There did not, indeed, want circumstances, even in the outset of this reign, well calculated to disquiet a sober politician; but the age was one in which substantial dangers threw monstrous and distorted shadows. The Roman Catholics were now, as under the preceding monarch, a favourite subject of alarm; reports of an intended popish massacre had been circulated very early after the Restoration, and long before that disastrous year in which the multitude believed they saw a crowning proof of Jesuitical malice, in the burning of London. These were vulgar terrors, though foregone events, and some within men's recollection, left them not wholly without excuse. But it was more than a vulgar panic that overspread the nation, when the marvellous disclosure of the Popish Plot burst upon them, reinforced by those apparently incontestable evidences, the discovery of Coleman's letters, and the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. It required greater judgment and self-command than most men could exert in that time of frenzy, to observe that the letters proved little without Oates's commentary, and that the murder was a riddle, admitting the most contradictory solutions. If, indeed, Godfrey's death was contrived by persons interested in the success of Oates's imposture, it must be owned that no assassination was ever more critically timed, or turned to more ample account. The violences and importunities used by Shaftesbury and Buckingham, to extract evidence which should implicate the Duke of York in this dark deed, are among the foulest iniquities of an age full of crimes.

While the Popish Plot haunted all societies, engrossed all discourse, intruded itself into the churches, tainted the amusements of the theatre, and was the leading business of the senate, it soon banished decency and moderation from courts of justice, already not

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not blameless in temper, nor scrupulously exact in discipline. The culprits involved in this supposed treason came to a bar of vengeance rather than of judgment. It was then that Sir William Scroggs, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, reaped that full harvest of sinister fame which has rendered him a bye-word to posterity. He was a man of no despicable talent, a wit, and, although of mean extraction, (a butcher's son, according to common report,) he is said to have been 'a companion of the high court rakes.' His readiness and felicity of speech are generally praised, but historians question his professional knowledge, though he left, in testimony of it, a law treatise, which, we believe, acquired some reputation. He came to the bench notorious for debauchery and poverty: Danby is said to have been the author of his promotion. His person was large, and visage comely, but his utterance was not graceful, and his speeches pleased best in the reading. A strong professor of loyalty, he at first, perhaps, saw nothing inconsistent with that sentiment in the rigorous prosecution of a plot which aimed at the king's personal safety, and he entered on his career of slaughter inflamed with all the intemperate passions of the day, and swelling with the fatal vanity of a popular judge. Nor was he alone in guilt,—but he stood pre-eminent. North and Pemberton* were his most active colleagues; and other judges, as Wild, Dolben, Atkyns, Sir Thomas Jones, occasionally signalized their zeal. Sir William Jones, the Attorney-General, was a vehement prosecutor; and Jefferies, then Recorder of London, played a subordinate, but not undistinguished, part. The scenes they acted make the heart sink with shame and thrill with abhorrence.

There is scarcely any vice we have noted in the early practice of the courts which was not exemplified in its most aggravated form during these prosecutions. Hearsay reports, and loose recollections of letters and other documents, neither the originals nor copies being produced, nor so much as a memorandum existing, were among the commonest, and often most fatal, testimonies against the supposed conspirators. The witnesses for the crown were received with marked favour and respect; if they stumbled in their testimony, or prevaricated, or disagreed with each other, the court was ingenious in relieving their embarrassment, and supplying them with evasions. Those who had courage to offer evidence for the defendants were frequently discredited by anticipation, and when they differed from the accusing witnesses, that very contradiction was sometimes laid hold of, as an

* Pemberton was not a judge when the trials for the Plot began, but succeeded Wild in April, 1679.

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imputation on their own testimony. The fatal question, 'are you a Roman Catholic?' subjected the unfortunate deponent, if he answered in the affirmative, to a peal of laughter. 'Be not ashamed of your religion,' said Pemberton, on receiving such a reply, 'do not deny that; your Provincial here' (one of the prisoners) 'can give you a dispensation for what you say;' and when a person declared, in contradiction to Oates, 'I can swear that I saw him at least till June, if I can believe my own eyes,' Scroggs answered, 'Your religion does not allow you to believe your own eyes.' The least slip on the part of the Popish witnesses was received with triumph and insult, and when they were open to no other censure, the reflection was always ready, that they came to swear in a common cause. The prisoners themselves were incessantly harassed with ensnaring questions and galling sneers; and were encountered, in their attempts at defence or expostulation, with those sharp, though often unjust retorts, in which the talent of Scroggs rendered him peculiarly formidable. To the disgrace of the auditory, these were sometimes received with acclamations. 'You must pardon the people's shouting,' said Scroggs to Gavan the Jesuit, 'for you have turned their hearts so, that there is no living for a Papist in England, I will maintain it:' and then the people shouted again. But the chief justice was destined, in the course of a single twelvemonth, to experience a strange alteration of feeling towards 'shouters' and 'hammers.' The turbulence of the mob sometimes amounted not merely to insult, but to a barbarous obstruction of justice. On the trial of Langhorn, complaint was made that the prisoner's witnesses had been beaten and abused, and dared not approach the court; the judges exclaimed that it was 'a horrid thing,' which they would severely punish, if told who the offenders were; but they appear to have contented themselves with this empty menace; and on a subsequent occasion, when the priest, Marshall, offered to produce witnesses, if they could be assured of safety, he was answered, 'You must not make bargains with the court;' and it was observed that the ill-usage formerly complained of had not been *proved*. But to assail the credit of Oates and his coadjutors by evidence, if procured, or by argument, if listened to, was, for the most part, a hopeless effort. When it was urged that their statements varied from those which they had given to the council, or houses of parliament, a common answer was, that these depositions were not regularly before the court, and the objection was no further thought of; the prisoner suffered, and the witnesses proceeded in their career of accusation, as if unimpeached. The liberty they assumed of reserving, or affecting to reserve, portions of evidence, as unfit

to

to be disclosed till some future inquiry, was a perpetual refuge from detection. We have already mentioned the case of Whitebread and Fenwick, who, after being put on their trial, were remanded without verdict, the witness Bedlow declaring himself unable to particularize any traitorous consultation at which they had been present. On their second trial, Bedlow, with an audacity only less wonderful than the endurance of the court, alleged that in the former instance he had kept back his evidence for reasons of policy, which he detailed, and he then proceeded to relate that of which his own previous oath had attested his ignorance. 'One part of his apology is too curious, as coming from a prosecutor of jesuits, to pass unnoticed: 'I spoke,' he says, 'with a caution, that I never *heard of* Mr. Whitebread, that he was so very much concerned; and indeed I had no reason to say so, *because I heard him myself*, and could not well speak from the *hearsay of another.*' It is scarcely to be wondered that, driven to despair by the iniquities of such a trial, one of the defendants, a young and enthusiastic person, should have made the extravagant demand of being judged by the ancient process of ordeal. The application was rejected with insult; all the prisoners were convicted, and when Jefferies pronounced the usual judgment of hanging, embowelling, and quartering, 'there was a very great acclamation.'

Of the chief justice's harangues in summing up evidence, it is enough to say, that they were answerable to the proceedings we have described. Yet all his ardour in the popular cause could not save him from opprobrium, when at length, in the case of Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, he presumed to cast a suspicion on the evidence for the crown, and, however modestly, lead the way to an acquittal. Atkins, the clerk of Mr. Pepys, had been suffered to escape some time before, but that was on clear proof of an *alibi*, and with an express saving of Bedlow's credit on the ground of mistake. Here, however, the honesty of the witnesses was so strongly impeached, and their prevarications and inconsistencies had been so glaringly exposed, that we wonder less at the deliverance of Wakeman and his companions than at the disorder of a government which left their accusers unpunished. Not only did they escape punishment, but they even dared proclaim themselves unwilling to give evidence concerning the plot in any court where Sir William Scroggs should preside; and his 'defaming and scandalizing' the witnesses formed one of the grounds on which he was afterwards impeached by the commons; a circumstance not very surprising in times when that house disgraced, and expelled its own members for discrediting the plot, and speaking disrespectfully of Dr. Oates.

The

The insolence of this personage and his companion Bedlow was suitable to the distinction with which they were treated; as Burnet well observes, they behaved as if they had been the tribunes of the people. Their demeanour in court may be judged of by one or two instances. Oates, being interrogated on a particular point, by the chief justice, at the prisoner's request, answers,

'That question, if it please your lordship, hath no reference to this trial, neither is it at all material; but because I have given the prisoners so much freedom, they impose upon me with questions.'—*Langhorn's Trial.—7 Howell.*

Being asked by a defendant to specify the time when a fact took place, he answers, 'Tis a great privilege that I tell you the month.' But his comrade, when similarly pressed by Sir George Wakeman, bluffly replies, 'No, I have no delight to damn my soul, to make you a martyr.' The friends of the prisoners are regarded with great and not unaccountable jealousy by these patriots. 'My lord,' exclaims Oates, 'the court here is pestered with papists;' and when Langhorn's witnesses are called, he cries out—

'My Lord, here are papists come into the court with their swords on.'

'*Lord Chief Justice.*—They will not draw them here.

'*Lord Mayor.*—'Tis well enough, 'tis well enough, Dr. Oates, you are safe enough here.'

In the same trial, Bedlow suspends his evidence, to complain that a known Roman Catholic (Lord Stafford's daughter) is taking notes in the gallery. Scroggs, coarsely, but with some good-humour, replies, 'A woman's notes will not signify much, truly, no more than her tongue.'

In the libels and invectives which were showered upon the chief justice, by the popular party, for his want of zeal in Wakeman's case, it was commonly intimated that he had received a bribe for his remissness. His speech in the court of King's Bench, on the subject of these attacks, is among the best compositions of its kind—forcible and yet elegant, full of dignity, and, at the same time, sparkling with wit. When we read such sentences as the following, we only regret that they had not a different author.

'The people ought to be pleased with public justice, and not justice seek to please the people. Justice should flow like a mighty stream, and if the rabble, like an unruly wind, blow against it, it may make it rough, but the stream will keep its course.'

He still, however, conducted the prosecutions against papists with a temper which, at any other period, would have been thought sufficiently impetuous, and, in particular, strove hard for the conviction of two persons who had been acquitted, with

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with Wakeman, of plotting, but were again indicted (Oates and Bedlow still appearing as witnesses) for having exercised the office of priests. But he was now generally considered a lukewarm enemy of the papists, and was thought far more zealous in putting down the popular news-writers and pamphleteers, than in exterminating jesuits. The prorogation of parliament rescued him from a depending impeachment: he was seasonably dismissed from his office, went into the country, and, according to Echard, 'enjoyed his last years in a sedate repose.' The change of conduct which drew upon him so much violence, has been accounted for by other suppositions than that of bribery: North and Burnet state the matter each in his own way. The first solution seems to be without proof; the others are not easily reconcileable with the general history of the time.

The king's situation, during this period, was in the last degree humiliating. He was compelled to countenance the belief of discoveries in which he himself was no true believer, and was bribing wretches, by his royal proclamation, and at the public expense, to uphold that chimæra of a plot, which was the source of his greatest danger and disquiet, an engine daily growing more formidable to his authority, and to the peace of his kingdom. Victims whom he thought innocent, he dared not save; and when he delayed an execution, the anxious Commons reminded him of his duty. If true, it adds to the national degradation, that judges were content to remain upon the bench, and passively sanction violences which they disapproved, against the objects of popular fury.* Several of the unhappy culprits alleged, but in vain, their services, losses, and sufferings in the royal cause, before the restoration. If they would have confessed the plot, some might, perhaps, have been saved, but, although harassed at the hour of execution with importunities from the officious superintendents of that ceremony, they all died with solemn protestations of innocence. Their last speeches were much criticised, and industriously refuted, but in time, and by insensible degrees, they sank into the public mind.

We will not dwell upon a tale so often told as the impeachment of Lord Stafford, who, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and in the supposed decline of an intellect never deemed very powerful, was chosen from among the imprisoned catholic peers, to be impeached by the house of commons. Westminster-hall was the scene; and among the prosecutors appeared that ancient blood-hound Maynard, who in the same place, forty years before, had pursued the Earl of Strafford to death. Nor was this the only

* North states this of his brother; but if we may trust the reported trials, Sir Francis, whatever were his opinions, took a forward part in the proceedings.

circumstance

circumstance of the times which recalled to them by the proceedings of the old rebellion parliament.

If men's minds had not yet, after the lapse of two years, admitted sober views of the plot, or if political necessity was thought to demand a new sacrifice, it might still have been expected that the feelings of decorous, not to say honourable statesmen, would by this time have revolted from the contact of persons who had become so notorious as Oates, and his followers Dugdale, Prannce, and Jennison; and that the manhood of all would have forbidden any ill-treatment of a noble prisoner, sinking under old age, confinement, anxiety, the fatigue of a long trial, and the distracting clamours of the multitude. But the witnesses were supported against reproach and contradiction, and the managers on behalf of the Commons were allowed, in repeated instances, to press against the defendant with a brutal harshness. The conclusion of this tragedy is well known. It would be hard to show an instance in our history where the pure fanaticism of politics went farther, than when the sheriffs raised a question whether they could comply with the king's merciful mandate, to execute Lord Stafford without the usual circumstances of cruelty, and submitted their doubts to the two houses of parliament. The Lords immediately decided 'that the king's writ ought to be obeyed,' but the Commons took time for consideration, and at last expressed themselves *content* that the prisoner should be only beheaded, thus impliedly usurping a participation in one of the monarch's most indisputable and noblest prerogatives. The headsman caught the contentious spirit of his principals, the sheriffs, and litigated on the scaffold for an addition to his fee.

The tradition that Lord Russell countenanced this unfeeling scruple of the city officers, and that the circumstance was afterwards alluded to by King Charles, when mitigating Russell's own sentence, has been doubted, we think, without sufficient reason.* The question was introduced to the Commons by Treby,† a lawyer of high repute, though a violent politician. Jones, one of the most eminent leaders of the exclusion party, commended the sheriffs for their application, and the house dismissed it, rather with an indirect sanction than with disrespect: we, therefore, see no improbability in its having received some support from Russell. We do not suppose that the object, even of those who first raised the dispute, was to riot in cruelty; their desire was to snatch a prerogative from the crown, and decency and humanity were casually trodden under foot in the effort.

* See the Life of Lord Russell, by Lord John Russell, where the subject is treated with great candour.

† Journals, 1680.

When

When this bad policy and tyrannical violence of a party which, as many feared,

'Was driving eighty back to forty-eight,'

had enabled the king to rid himself of parliaments, not only with safety, but with triumph, the war of prosecutions took a new turn. Those violations of justice which, in the late turbulent time, had so effectually served the interests of faction, were now not discountenanced, but practised in retaliation. Dryden thus openly describes the policy adopted.

'Law they require, let law then show her face;
They could not be content to look on grace. . . . . .
By their own arts 'tis righteously decreed
Those dire artificers of death shall bleed.
Against themselves, their witnesses will swear,
Till, viper-like, their mother-plot they tear; . . . . .
Their Belial with their Beelzebub will fight;
Thus on my foes, my foes shall do me right.'—*Absalom and Achitophel.*

Accordingly, in the proceeding against the Earl of Shaftesbury, Smith and Turberville, two of the witnesses against Lord Stafford, gave evidence on behalf of the crown; and the same personages, with Dugdale, a wretch also deeply dyed with blood in the former prosecutions, supported, with their accustomed hardihood, the charge of treason against Colledge. The credit given to these men, on the trials of the Roman catholics, was now urged as a conclusive reason for their obtaining belief when they swore against protestant traitors, and Colledge was cruelly reminded that he himself had attested the honesty of Dugdale on Stafford's impeachment. Thus, too, if any irregularity was to be justified, or any severity insisted upon against culprits of the popular party, a precedent from the trials for the popish plot was, against such defendants, an argument *ad hominem*, which triumphantly silenced objections. When Sydney remonstrated against the giving of what was termed 'general evidence,' by way of introduction to the particular charge against himself, he was answered that the practice had prevailed in Coleman's and Plunkett's cases; 'And,' said the chief justice, 'Sir William Jones, against whose judgment, I believe, you won't object, was attorney at that time.' Jefferies observed to Russell, in allusion to Lord Stafford, (and the words must have sounded like the taunt of an avenging fiend,) 'There was not so much evidence against him as there is against your lordship.' As the papists, when under trial, had been reproached with their religion, so Colledge, who was thought a dissenter, was sneeringly asked, 'What church do you frequent in London to hear divine service?' Till Jefferies became chief justice, the criminal courts were not disgraced by scenes of such

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open and indecent barbarity as had occurred in the time of Scroggs, yet actual oppression could scarcely be carried to a higher pitch than in the rigours used against Colledge, of which we have given a specimen. For a time the obnoxious Whigs found some protection in the practice, shamelessly pursued, of packing juries; but this, like their other sins, was largely retaliated in the end.

There is nothing that more strikingly shows the eclipse of criminal justice in these factious days, than the insensibility with which party writers dwelt upon proceedings now universally abandoned to reprobation. This is forcibly enough exemplified in the lines just now quoted from Dryden. He, indeed, was merely a poet; but Roger North, who was a lawyer, extols the judicial proceedings of Charles's latter years, as affording memorable examples, not only of legal accuracy, but of temperance and indulgence.

The behaviour of Pemberton, in Lord William Russell's case, does, indeed, evince an anxiety to maintain such a conduct and demeanour as, without hazarding the success of the prosecution, shall yet leave no opening for public censure; and it is probable that he acted in this respect consistently with the wishes of the government, though his caution, if we believe the report of that day, was carried farther than they desired, and exposed him to their displeasure. Mr. Phillipps mentions Russell's as one of the least exceptionable state trials of the period, and concludes, after an able and elaborate review of the evidence, that a case was established, on which an impartial judge would have felt bound to require the decision of the jury. He omits (but, perhaps, it did not come strictly within the scope of his discussion) one circumstance, which must have acted strongly on their minds to the prisoner's disadvantage, namely, the representation made by him that his appearance at the much-talked of Council of Six, in Sheppard's house, 'was by the greatest accident in the world;' that he came to see Sheppard, and when he saw what company was there, would have been gone again; that he was tasting wine, and did not know what the other parties might say while he was in the room. A statement so contradictory to the least doubtful parts of the evidence, and even to the prisoner's own acknowledgment that he went to Sheppard's *with the Duke of Monmouth*, must have raised a feeling unpropitious to the whole defence. Let us not, however, be supposed to animadvert, in the tone of reproach, on this attempt at evasion, which, if in strictness blameable, had yet every palliation with which such a fault can be attended. In whatever manner the defendant might have answered Rumsey's testimony, snares and dangers beset

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beset him, from the difficulty of his case and the injustice of his prosecutors; and to pass over the evidence without reply would probably have exposed him to the reflection, thrown out by the attorney-general, when Sydney declined cross-examining Lord Howard,—'Silence—you know the proverb.'

The proceeding against Sydney has been long celebrated as one of the most iniquitous and absurd that ever disgraced an English court. The attempt to supply the place of a witness in high treason, by producing an unpublished speculative essay, found in a private chamber, and not connected in proof with any criminal design, ought never to have required a more serious exposure than was given to it in a doggerel poem of the day:—

'Algernon Sydney,
Of Commonwealth kidney,
Compos'd a damn'd libel (ay, marry was it);
Writ to occasion
Ill blood in the nation,
And therefore dispers'd it all over his closet.'

Sir Robert Sawyer, the attorney-general who prosecuted Sydney, is called by Burnet 'a dull, hot man,' and his behaviour, in this case, justified both epithets. Jefferies, who had been lately advanced to the head of the king's bench, spared neither craft nor violence to convict the prisoner, and, not satisfied with misstating the law in his charge to the jury, introduced circumstances of aggravation, which (if the trial be correctly reported) had not been mentioned by any witness. Indeed, he concludes his summing up in a manner which, on such an occasion, is not a little startling. 'I have,' he says, '*according to my memory*, recapitulated the matters given in evidence;' and it appears by this, and similar expressions elsewhere, that it was usual, at least at the period of which we are speaking,* for the judge to take no regular notes of the testimony delivered, but to trust to his own recollection, assisted by that of his brethren if necessary, for a full review of the facts which had been stated. Instances are not unfrequent in which this neglect produced the inconveniences that were naturally to be expected.

We have now followed the administration of English criminal law into the worst hands, perhaps, in which that trust was ever reposed, and as we are hastening to take a moment's survey of the times in which humanity and reason began to recover their ascendency, we shall not pursue Jefferies through his career of insolence and blood: it would, indeed, be a task of almost unqualified disgust. No man ever united in his character more violence

* See also the trial of Lord Preston, before C. J. Holt, in 1690.—12 Howell.

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with greater meanness. His forward spirit, natural impudence, and arts of low address, to which, in justice, should be added a talent above the ordinary level, soon raised him from obscurity; the debaucheries which disgraced his whole life were, in the early part of it, made subservient to his interest, and were managed with sufficient discretion to escape the censure of Hale, who, while he regarded Scroggs with dislike for his licentious habits, is said to have looked with peculiar favour upon Jefferies. Intrigue, and an ever-watchful selfishness, contributed mainly to his rise, and in his elevation he was both an oppressor and a time-server. In 1678 we find him swelling the popular cry against the papists; in less than ten years, and when popery had become really formidable, he was a chief inquisitor in James's ecclesiastical commission, brow-beating bishop Compton and the men of Cambridge, and again, as a privy-councillor, pressing the seven bishops for matter of crimination against themselves. His cruelty (whether sanctioned by the royal will or not) was atrocious; his courage could not be relied on; the lord-keeper Guilford characterized him as 'turbulent at first setting out—deserter in difficulties.' He was scarcely less mercenary than barbarous, and returned from his memorable western campaign, glutted with extortion as well as slaughter. His aspect and demeanour were those of 'some fierce tyrant in old tapestry,' nor were they soon forgotten by those who had seen him on the judgment-seat, his eyes staring, his front lowering, his countenance turbid with the remains of wine and the beginnings of wrath, and his large mouth thundering out menace and contumely upon all around him. The intemperate and vulgar rudeness, which even the bar took patiently at his hands, would appear incredible, if they were not so abundantly and uniformly attested. Still there were those, according to Speaker Onslow, who reported him to have been 'a great chancellor in the business of that court, and an able and upright judge in private matters.' It is difficult to reconcile the praise, even thus qualified, with the exhibition of Jefferies's character in the state trials. As we see him there, his talents (of which, to all appearance, he was fully conscious) seem to have lain chiefly in a specious and fluent oratory,—which is criticised by Burnet as 'viciously copious,' and 'neither correct nor agreeable,'—much promptitude and acuteness, and a more than ordinary force in cross-examination, for which his physical, as well as intellectual gifts peculiarly adapted him. In his speeches our aversion to the declaimer is perpetually heightened by his pompous appeals to religion, and hypocritical profanations of the divine name. Finally, nature had given him one quality, which she seems to bestow as the crowning deformity of a villain; he was an unfeeling and unreasonable

unseasonable jester, and yet, among a thousand brutalities, we have not found that he ever uttered a real witticism.*

It was Jefferies's fortune to sit in judgment on one offender whose crimes were, equally with his own, the disgrace of that age. Oates, who, after the dissolution of Charles's last parliament, had been driven from his lodging at Whitehall and deprived of his pension, who had been fined a hundred thousand pounds for calling the Duke of York a traitor, and had, in consequence, lain several months in prison, was tried, soon after the accession of James, for having sworn falsely on one of the prosecutions for the popish plot. Jefferies presided, and there is, perhaps, no instance in which he displayed more talent, though he admitted a mass of evidence which was neither relevant nor legal. At first he preserved a marvellous decency and composure, but, provoked by the boundless impudence of the culprit, and the more than common address with which he defended himself, the judge soon fell into his accustomed course of railing, and, in summing up the case, did not scruple to tell the jury that Oates was a 'horrid impostor,' a 'monstrous villain,' and 'unworthy any longer to tread upon the face of God's earth.' 'For my part,' said Jefferies, 'I would not, for the universe, have the least guilt of innocent blood lie upon me.' With equal solemnity, Oates declared before Heaven, and the auditory, that his evidence respecting the plot was 'all and every part of it,' true, and that he would 'expect from the Almighty God the vindication of his integrity and innocence.' He was convicted on this and another indictment, by irresistible testimony, and his sentence, triumphantly and almost jocosely pronounced by Judge Withens, is memorable in the history of judicial revenges. Imprisonment for life, however, and pillory five times a-year, might have been deemed mere nominal inflictions on a man who was, in the next week, to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate, and again, after a day's interval, from Newgate to Tyburn. Yet he not only survived this savage punishment, but lived to emerge from gaol at the Revolution, and to be again a pensioner of the crown, the Commons voting that the prosecutions against him had been 'a design to stifle the popish plot,' and the Lords addressing King William to grant him a pardon. It was pressed, but in vain, that the judgment should be reversed: Lord Carmarthen observed, that if a reversal took place, it ought to be by whipping him back again from Tyburn to Newgate. We learn from a tract in the Somers collection, that Oates appeared at the Westminster sessions, in

* We are not disposed to soften this description after reading the life of Jefferies, by Mr. Woolrych, who, in a performance not without merit, has strangely embarrassed himself by affecting in some degree the character of an apologist.

1702,

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1702, to answer the complaint of a Mrs. Eleanor James, for striking her on the head with his cane in the court of requests, (which, in his latter days, he much frequented,) and would have been heavily fined, but escaped by pleading poverty. This, it seems, is the last recorded transaction of a man once so popular, and so terrible: Mrs. James petitioned the house of lords that his gown might be taken from him, his cane burnt, and a part of his pension given to ministers' widows. We confess ourselves ignorant of the result. 'Nec scire fas est omnia.'

It appears, from some passages in the trial of the Seven Bishops, that lawyers were at that period beginning to be ashamed of the violences and irregularities which had gained such a formidable height within the last ten years. From the time of the Revolution a vast improvement of practice, and, which is more important, an essential change of spirit, commenced in the dispensation of criminal justice. The vindictive abuse of law, during the late reigns, was a leading topic of reproach against the expelled family. Many of those now in power had reason to feel deeply on the subject, and their sense of the past oppression was declared in several acts for reversing the attainders of Russell, Sydney, and others of their own party; in the well-known clauses of the Bill of Rights relating to immoderate fines, cruel punishments, and the improper return of juries; in the exception of certain judges from the bill of indemnity, and in the punishment of Sir Robert Sawyer for his proceeding on Armstrong's outlawry. The public indignation against Jefferies, although disappointed by his death, was not soon extinguished, and the 'committee of murder,' as it was termed, which sat in 1689, must have contributed to keep alive a resentful memory of the late judicial excesses. Amidst warnings such as these, the courts were not likely to recommence their proceedings with any disposition to intemperance. The great change of national circumstances, and the altered character and interests of the government, had of course a strongly beneficial influence. But, perhaps, no single circumstance contributed so powerfully to reform and settle the administration of law, in matters between the crown and subject, as the appointment of Sir John Holt to the chief seat in the court of king's bench—that court which, during the late reigns, had been so distinguished an arena of political conflicts. The judge to whom this post was now happily consigned, brought thither learning, temper, integrity, masculine sense, and unshaken courage. Sir Richard Steele thus describes him in the last year of his judicial reign:—

'He was a man of profound knowledge of the laws of his country, and as just an observer of them in his own person: he considered justice

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justice as a cardinal virtue, not as a trade for maintenance. Wherever he was judge, he never forgot that he was also counsel: the criminal before him was always sure he stood before his country, and, in a sort, the parent of it: the prisoner knew that, although his spirit was broken with guilt, and incapable of language to defend itself, all would be gathered from him which could conduce to his safety, and that his judge would wrest no law to destroy him, nor conceal any that could save him.'—*Tatler*, No. 14.

In the trials before this great man, although some objectionable practices appear still unreformed, (as we have shown in two or three instances,) we are immediately struck with the dignity, calmness, and humanity of the proceedings, the regularity with which cases are conducted, and the comparative rarity of interruptions by the court. It is true, we are once or twice surprised by a flash of the old intemperance from Pollexfen, or the hackneyed politician Treby,* but the head of the king's bench gave no encouragement to such sallies, and his own demeanour, probably, soon put them out of countenance. That he was not scrupulous of dissenting from his brethren, and that even with some severity of expression, where their doctrines appeared unconstitutional, Treby himself experienced in a very remarkable instance.†

The nation was not only fortunate in the virtues of Sir John Holt, but in the long continuance of his services and example. Between the Restoration and Revolution, eleven chief justices (as many as have sat from the Revolution to this day) presided in the court of king's bench, and the occasions of these rapid changes were sometimes equally dishonourable to the government and to the magistrates. Holt retained his office twenty-two years, and the influence of such a judge, protracted through so long a period, must have gone very far in fixing that standard of united rectitude and charity, which has ever since regulated the administration of criminal justice in this country. Sir Michael Foster, one of our greatest crown lawyers, and most esteemed judges, and whose writings form a continued lesson of unswerving attachment to truth, and religious tenderness for life and freedom, commenced his legal education while Holt was still on the bench.

Among other sources of improvement in the criminal courts, we must not omit the act (7 Will. III., c. 3.) for regulating trials in cases of treason,‡ which at length became part of the statute-book, after having been in agitation during a great part of the reign. That much opposition should have been made

* See Lord Preston's and Cranburne's Cases, 12 and 13 Howell.

† Case of the King against Toler, 12 Modern, and 1 Lord Raymond's Reports.

‡ Granting the prisoner a full defence by counsel, the liberty of offering evidence on oath, and a copy of the indictment and panel of jurors.

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to a law now deemed so gracious and salutary, and which ultimately opened so fair a field of distinction to the genius and spirit of the bar, ought not to excite much surprise, nor, perhaps, any strong censure, for the bill was introduced by the adversaries of King William's government, at a period when his authority and person were supposed to be deeply endangered by the designs of the Jacobites; and, indeed, the assassination plot broke out very soon after. Burnet, therefore, says, not unnaturally, that if the provisions of the act 'had been moved by other men, and at another time, they would have met with little opposition.' He had observed, in a former part of his history, that, in Charles the Second's reign, the crown 'had such advantages in trials of treason, that it seems strange how any person was ever acquitted.'*

But there was one circumstance attendant on the introduction of this act which did little honour to the government, however provoked, or placed in jeopardy. The statute was to come into operation on the twenty-fifth of March, 1696. Charnock, King, and Keyes were brought to trial for the assassination plot, on the eleventh, and Charnock entreated, but in vain, to be allowed, by anticipation, some of the advantages of the act already passed; the court even denied him the indulgence of a solicitor to stand near and instruct him. Sir John Freind was tried on the twenty-third, and he derived no benefit from the statute. On the twenty-fourth, Sir William Parkyns, another of the conspirators, was arraigned, and desired the aid of counsel: Chief Justice Holt refused it.

'*Parkyns*—"My Lord, there is a new act of parliament lately made which allows counsel."

'*Lord Chief Justice*—"But that does not commence yet, Sir William."

'*Parkyns*—"My Lord, it wants but one day."

'*Lord Chief Justice*—"That is as much as if it were a much longer time, for we are to proceed according to what the law is, and not what it will be."

'*Parkyns*—"Pray, My Lord, let the trial be put off till another day, then."

'*Lord Chief Justice*—"You show no reason for it."'—*Howell*, vol. xiii.

The case went on, and Sir William, like his predecessors, forfeited his life. The chief justice's answers were, in legal strictness, unexceptionable, but the government was not necessitated to place defendants in the cruel situation of wanting, in their peril, those succours which another day or two would have afforded them; and in later times, if an attorney-general had been so zealous, and so secure of public opinion, as to propose

* History of His Own Times, vol. ii. p. 178. *Oxford Edition.*

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bringing men to the bar under such circumstances, we are confident that judges of less intrepidity than Holt would have refused to sanction his proceeding.

When the act at last came in force, it was long before counsel became fully sensible of the privileges it conferred, or the duties it imposed upon them. The impression left upon their minds, by a practice under arbitrary and imperious judges (when Holt himself endured to be told by Jefferies that his argument was 'stuff, mere stuff'*), did not easily wear off, even in times when it was allowed, that the easiness and indulgence of the court were unexampled, and that freedom of debate at the bar had never been so much encouraged. Sir Bartholomew Shower, who, with Mr. Phipps, first exercised the new functions, applied himself to his task with a kind of apology:—

'We hope that nothing which we shall say in defence of our clients shall be imputed to ourselves. I thought it would have been a reflection upon the government and your lordship's justice, if, being assigned, we should have refused to appear. We come not here to countenance the practices for which the prisoner stands accused, nor the principles upon which such practices may be presumed to be founded; for we know of none, either religious or civil, that can warrant or excuse them. But the act of parliament having warranted the appearing of counsel for persons accused, to make defence for them, we hope your lordship will give us leave to make what objections we can, on their behalf.'†

The conduct of the defence was suitable to this introduction; it was timid and technical, and two witnesses, who had been sharers in the treasons, (one of them, Porter, a man of bad character, who had already sacrificed five of his comrades to save himself,) were allowed to pass without any attempt, in cross-examination, to blacken them in the eyes of the jury. We find Sir Bartholomew, in a subsequent case, where all the evidence came from accomplices, endeavouring to show that the acquittal of his client would be 'no reflection upon the witnesses;' and in another instance, it being urged against him, that if a particular witness were discredited, it would follow that Porter was perjured also, he discreetly answers, 'Forsworn and perjured are hard words; we only say mistaken.' There is, as far as we have observed, no instance of a defence by counsel under the statute of William, conducted with any show of energy or confidence, or embracing the kind of topics usually insisted upon in modern cases of treason, till we arrive at the trial of Layer, in 1722; and even here the exertions of the advocate (Mr. Hungerford) appear measured and restrained. Nor did he escape rebuke

* W. Sacheverell's case.—1684.

† Rookwood's case.—13 Howell.

from the judge, Sir John Pratt, for having presumed to liken one of the treasonable documents complained of by the attorney-general to a ballad, and he was at length driven to beg pardon for the levity. Those excursions into the elevated regions of politics, which have been usual in modern defences, were as yet unattempted; nay, in Tutchin's case, who was indicted for a seditious libel, in 1704, the defendant's counsel, being reminded by the solicitor-general that he had shunned any explanation of a passage which ascribed to the people a right of appointing those to wear the crown who are fittest, made this avowal:—

'I did it on purpose, because I looked upon it as a matter not proper for you and me to talk of, as advocates, in this place. I must declare, for my own part, that I think the rights of princes and the power of the people too high topics for me to meddle with; let others do as they think best.'

How much would this gentleman, and the barristers of his generation, have been surprised, if any prophetic voice could have rehearsed to them the high-sounding declamation of Mr. Erskine:—

'This accounts for many expressions imputed to the unfortunate prisoners, which I have often uttered myself, and shall continue to utter every day of my life, and call upon the spies of government to record them. I will say anywhere without fear, nay, I will say here, where I stand, that an attempt to interfere, by despotic combination and violence, with any government which a people chuse to give themselves, whether it be good or evil, is an oppression, and subversion of the natural and unalienable rights of man,' &c.—*Hardy's Case.*

Or what would have been the feelings of Sir John Pratt, who was so much scandalized at the irreverent mention of a ballad, if he could have heard the same great orator comparing the elaborate argument of an attorney-general to the childish ditty of 'The House that Jack built'?* And how infinite would have been the confusion of Sir Bartholomew Shower, who shrank from the imputation of countenancing the practices and principles of his client, if he had even dreamt of that strange sally, which, perhaps, no speaker but Mr. Erskine could ever have rendered endurable:—

'I say, by God, that man is a ruffian, who shall, after this, presume to build upon such honest, artless conduct, as an evidence of guilt.'†

It is, indeed, superfluous to show by examples, that the habits and discipline of our courts had in many respects altered considerably, between the Revolution and the reign of George III. But Mr. Erskine's genius and peculiarities could not have been

* Hardy's case. † Trial of Lord George Gordon.

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the ordinary growth of any age; his happy audacity, his matchless powers of insinuation, his graces of manner and language, and the unstudied ease with which, putting aside the advocate, he sometimes appealed to sympathy with the air of a principal, at others assumed the calmly decisive tone of a disinterested arbiter; these qualities, though fostered, perhaps, by the times, were characteristics of the man. In turbulent days, such talents, often employed on the popular side, might raise an apprehension that the court, and not prisoners, as at former periods, would be overborne; but Erskine was not too dangerous at the bar, when Mansfield and Kenyon sat on the bench. It is unquestionably true that, in his admired career, justice was sometimes baffled, faction invigorated, propriety and good taste offended; still his eloquence is a national boast, and the memorials of it, imperfect as they are, must always be esteemed, not only for the excellence of which they preserve some outlines, but as monuments of a brilliant, though an anxious, period in the history of our courts; a time when contests of a fearful magnitude, between the crown and the subject, drew forth on every side extraordinary intellectual powers, when those powers could be exercised with a freedom beyond former example, for the preservation of the accused, and when prisoners enjoyed, almost to the extent of abuse, those benefits so glowingly described by Mr. Erskine himself:—

'Here again he feels the advantage of our free administration of justice: this proposition, on which so much depends, is not to be reasoned upon on parchment, to be delivered privately to magistrates, for private judgment;—no, he has the privilege of appealing aloud, as he now appeals by me, to an enlightened assembly, full of eyes, and ears, and intelligence, where speaking to a jury is, in a manner, speaking to a nation at large, and flying for sanctuary to its universal justice.'—*Hardy's Case.*

Having offered these remarks on the practice and discipline of the courts of criminal justice at various periods of English history, (a subject which deserves to be systematically treated by more competent hands,) we should now advert to some changes of doctrine and of positive law, with respect to those offences of a political kind which have been the most common occasion of state trials; but it becomes necessary that we confine ourselves to the principal class, and touch very briefly even upon that.

The progress of society, events occurring in the courts, and one or two acts of the legislature, have, during the last century, given to the law of treasons a distinctness and consistency which it never before possessed, and probably will not soon lose. The famous statute of Edward III., though deservedly venerated as a glorious and useful monument of ancient wisdom and

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justice, had some of those imperfections to which very brief statutes are too frequently liable. Its provisions, unless enlarged in some degree by construction, must have been unequal to the exigencies of the time in which they were passed, much more to those of a later and more complicated state of society; and legitimate constructions being allowed, it was difficult entirely to exclude licentious ones. If there be great apparent simplicity, there is surely an approach to the opposite quality of refinement, in a law of treason which does not expressly prohibit killing the king, but leaves it to be dealt with as an overt act of compassing his death. The forbiddance of regicide is indeed to be inferred from the expressions of the statute, as the seventh and eighth commandments may be deduced from the tenth: but it is singular that the highest of all crimes should have been rendered penal only by implication; and it was probably this indirect form of prohibition which concealed from general view a great anomaly introduced into our law, when the act 1 Edward VI., c. 12, required two witnesses to support every prosecution for treason; namely, that a man who should slay the king was more protected on his trial, than one committing an ordinary murder. The statutes of William III. and of Queen Anne, giving additional safeguards to the accused in cases of treason, did not remove, and consequently aggravated, this inconsistency; and the act 36 George III. c. 7, (which we shall mention presently,) left it untouched. At length, when Hadfield made his attack on the late king, in the theatre, it did become a subject of remark, that if this person had pistolled a box-keeper, he would have been tried as a common felon; whereas, having attempted the life of George III., he was favoured with a copy of the indictment and lists of the jury and witnesses several days before trial, and was defended by counsel in one of the noblest orations ever heard at the English bar. The fault was then remedied, as far as the king is concerned; but traitors who may assassinate a queen or heir apparent, or (we trust there is no danger in the suggestion) kill a judge or privy councillor in the execution of his office, or commit certain other acts of direct outrage constituting high treason, are still left in possession of all their privileges.

Deposing or imprisoning the king, or in any manner controlling him by the show of immediate violence, were treasons not expressly provided for by the statute, unless effected by actual war: it therefore became necessary to construe these as overt acts of compassing the king's death, and the conclusion, in all such instances, was to be rested on the narrow ground of probable danger to the royal person. In the case of levying war, the deed, and not the contriving of it, was denounced by the statute;

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statute; here, therefore, a remedy was found, by determining that a conspiracy to rebel was, under certain circumstances, an overt act* of compassing the death of the king. The same construction was given to the offence of a subject concerting hostilities against his own country with foreigners who were not so engaged in war with the king, as to be 'enemies' according to the terms of the statute. We are far from asserting, in opposition to the highest authorities, that such interpretations were too violent; but they certainly introduced some subtlety into a law, which, nevertheless, was boasted of for its simplicity and plainness; and it is little to be wondered at, that juries could not always be induced to comprehend them. The difficulties experienced by the officers of the crown in Hardy's case sufficiently bear out this remark: whatever consideration may have led to the verdict given on that trial, no man could very deeply censure the jury for failing to discern in the proceedings laid before them (revolting as they were to any well-disposed mind) a plan against the king's life.

It was, therefore, a very judicious amendment of the law, and ultimately tending, as we think, to the security of the subject, as well as of the crown, when the doctrines on most of these points were embodied in the statute of 1796 (36 Geo. III. c. 7), which, as Lord Ellenborough explains it in Watson's case (32 Howell), declared 'to be substantive treasons those acts which had been, by successive constructions of the statute of Edward, determined to be the strongest and most pregnant overt acts of the several treasons specified in that statute.'

There is one important point on which the law, though not altered, has, we believe, been practically modified in late times by the influence of opinion; we mean the application of the clause which respects 'levying war,' to popular tumults. 'To the eye of humanity,' says Mr. Eden (*Principles of Penal Law*, 1775), 'it will appear doubtful whether certain offences have not occasionally received the hard denomination of rebellion, which might more properly have been punished as trespasses, misdemeanors, and riots.' The doubt, we think, attaches very strongly to two cases often cited in reference to the present subject; that of the apprentices who were executed in Charles II.'s time, for treason, in combining to pull down houses of ill-fame; and that of Dammaree and Purchase, who were convicted, in Queen Anne's reign, of a similar offence, directed against meeting-houses.† The ground on which both decisions have been sup-

* Some authorities treat it as the very offence of compassing, not merely as an act indicative of such a treason. The distinction is unimportant here.

† Howell, vols. v. and xv.

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ported was, that persons uniting to destroy *all* places of a particular description, usurped on the royal authority, by taking upon them to regulate a matter of national concern. It seems to us that this doctrine, however correct in theory, would hardly have been applied to the two instances in question, if the crime in each case had not been exaggerated by the feelings of the day. In 1710 it was scarcely possible to take a dispassionate view of riots, in which the watchword had been 'High Church and Dr. Sacheverell.' The apprentices seem, evidently, to have met with hard measure on a political account. Their expedition against the *lupanaria*, which in some points resembled the march of Thraso and his band against the house of Thais, (both armies carried an apron displayed,) was the periodical crusade of the junior mechanics, to which an hundred allusions may be found in our old dramatists and poets; as, for instance,

'Farewell all you good boys of merry London,
Ne'er shall we more upon Shrove-Tuesday meet,
And pluck down houses of iniquity.'—*Knight of the Burning Pestle.*

The practice was a barbarous one, and might lead, as it did in the case of which we are speaking, to very dangerous riots; but before the time of Charles II. we believe it had never been suspected to be high-treason. After the Rebellion, however, the apprentices of London were a body not graciously looked upon by the government, and there were recollections which would make a tumult in that quarter peculiarly odious and alarming. In this riot, too, irreverent and threatening expressions had been used concerning Whitehall and the king, and 'liberty of conscience'; and the hostility declared against certain houses was considered at the trials a mere pretext, or at least a preface, to further treasons. Still, the ground on which these men were put to death, and the 'High Church' rioters convicted, was the design imputed to them, according to their own outcry, of destroying *all* establishments of a particular kind, and thus, as it was insisted, effecting a national alteration by unwarranted force. Considering this as the sum of the accusation, we cannot but think, that if such cases were to occur at the present day, the same evidence might probably lead to a different result, and a distinction be perceived between the systematic pursuit of innovation, and the mere spirit of mischief and outrage, directed by circumstances into a particular channel, and only thirsting for the gratification of the hour. Such we suppose to have been the sense of the jury who acquitted Watson, in 1817, rejecting, as it seems, that part of the evidence which chiefly tended to show a premeditated treason, and putting a lenient construction on the rest. Yet the riot in that case had, in many respects, as dangerous

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gerous an aspect, at least, as those of the apprentices and of Sacheverell's mob. On the motives with which particular modes of prosecution are selected, it is not for us to pronounce; but instances have been far from unfrequent in late years, wherein offences have been visited as seditious misdemeanors, which in former times would probably have been thought sufficient ground for the charge of treason; and this forbearance may perhaps be taken as the indication of a growing diffidence in the more rigorous construction of the law; a tendency, both within the legal profession and elsewhere, to the charitable and rational doubt expressed by Mr. Eden.

The improved state of society has, we trust, secured this country from any recurrence of those merely factious prosecutions for treason, which were instituted without even a show of sanction from law, for the purpose of destroying political adversaries, or driving them into banishment. First in magnitude of these blemishes on English history stands the proceeding against King Charles, which, as Mr. Phillipps well observes, 'can in no proper sense be called a trial.' As a ceremonious homicide it has admirers, whose opinion we shall not here controvert; but those who honour it with a place among judicial acts, forget that trial is a mockery where there can be no acquittal; and that the king could not have been acquitted by men whose authority to try him rested on the assumption of his guilt. On the impeachment of Strafford, Mr. Phillipps bestows a labour which might appear unnecessary; but as there are still some frigid casuists, to whom the sacrifice of an English nobleman without any legal ground seems defensible on the tyrannic plea of political expediency, a clear and forcible exposition of the injustice and absurdity which marked that memorable prosecution, may not be without its use. The doctrine of constructive and accumulative treason, so successfully upheld on this occasion, and so vehemently condemned in the early days of revived monarchy, was too convenient to be long left in the oblivion to which parliament had consigned it on the reversal of Strafford's attainder; and twenty years had not elapsed from that event, before two ministers had been capitally impeached, on articles more wide, if possible, of any treason recognized by law, than those preferred against the unfortunate lord-lieutenant. Of these and similar precedents all men, except the very Lesmahagos of political theory, are now ashamed; yet their influence on the popular mind has survived in a vague notion, still, or very lately, encouraged by the lower class of demagogues, that ministers are amenable to punishment as traitors, for corruption or mismanagement in their offices; and, indeed, this supposition was too much encouraged in the passionate debates of the house of commons,

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mons, near the close of the American war, when Mr. Fox, who in his calmer moments had more rational thoughts, and distinctly condemned the attainder of Strafford, talked of bringing Lord North to the scaffold for delinquencies which, if they really existed, could have been made high-treason only by the most violent construction or elaborate accumulation.

We have left ourselves little space for considering the 'State Trials' in a point of view to which we adverted in the outset of these remarks; namely, as illustrating the national manners, habits, and opinions. But in this respect alone they form a very curious and valuable compilation, and while in their more important details they elucidate principal events, we obtain from them also many amusing glimpses of the manner in which great occurrences acted upon the surface of society. Thus, in unsettled times, we find toasts furnishing a very ample chapter of crime. The Pretender's health, for example, was a snare to many a jovial companion, after the expulsion of the Stuarts. At the assizes for Sussex, in 1719, a man was convicted of having drunk to James III., saying that he knew no such person as King George. 'I fined him a hundred pounds,' says Mr. Justice Powys in a letter to the lord chancellor, 'and told him that by his paying a hundred pounds to King George, he would certainly know there is such a person.' But before the æra of Jacobitism, the law had frequently condescended to visit sins 'between the cup and the lip.' The pious memory of Stephen Colledge became a seditious toast in the reign of Charles II.; we are not sure whether or not it was the subject of any prosecution. It seems political topers were accustomed to drink 'confusions' as well as healths, and it formed part of the charge against Standsfield, who was tried in Scotland for parricide, that he had seasoned his ale with a confusion to the king (James II.), the pope, antichrist, and the chancellor. In the time of the commonwealth, one Falconer, a broken cavalier, was indicted for perjury, and to render the charge probable, it was testified that he had drunk a health to the devil. The inference, we suppose, was, that he would not afterwards shame his friend, by telling truth.

There cannot be a more curious picture of the jealousy and irritation excited in the early part of George the First's reign, by the rumoured machinations on behalf of James Stuart, than the trial of Mr. Hendley, for preaching a charity-sermon at Chiswhurst, for the benefit of a London school. Atterbury, bishop of the diocese, had given his sanction to the proceeding, upon which the judge expressed a suspicion, that Mr. Hendley had Cardinal Alberoni's leave, as well as the Bishop of Rochester's,

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to carry on worse designs under the specious colour of advancing charity; and the prosecuting counsel suggested that in time charity-schools might raise such sums of money as to enable them to make head against the government. The clergyman, schoolmaster, and trustees were convicted of conspiracy, and slightly fined.

The trials in the time of the commonwealth afford many striking exhibitions of character and manners. There is a romantic grace, for example, in the behaviour of Colonel Morris, who was tried in 1649, for high treason, in holding Pomfret against the parliament. He first demanded a court-martial: this being refused, he defended himself by pleading the royal commission; justified his fidelity to the crown; threatened that a retaliation for his fate would be executed by the Marquis of Ormond; and looked for 'a fair sunshine,' to dispel the present cloud. But when the sheriff proceeded to lay irons on him and his companion Cornet Blackstone, he became passionate in remonstrance: 'Mr. Sheriff, I desire that this manacling may be forborne; if you please to clap a guard of an hundred men upon us, I will pay for it. This is not only a disgrace to me, but in general to all soldiers, which doth more trouble me than the loss of my life.' 'Sir, irons are the safest guards,' was the sheriff's answer. Several curious passages occur in the trial of Christopher Love, the celebrated presbyterian preacher, who was condemned by the high court of justice, in 1651, for conspiring to restore Charles Stuart. The lord president, Keble, opened the case with an exhortation to the prisoner to glorify God by confessing; a discussion followed on the cases of Achan, and of John Lilburne; and the prisoner compared himself to Jeremiah, and the witnesses to Tobiah and Sanballat. Much difficulty was found in extracting evidence from those of his own party and persuasion: one Mr. Jaquel could not be induced to speak till a fine was laid upon him, and then 'he did not swear as the other witnesses did, but only put his hand to his buttons.' Another, who declared himself 'a man of a troubled spirit,' professed that he dared not swear against the prisoner, for he looked upon him 'as a man very precious in God's sight.' 'I think,' said the attorney-general, 'all the Jesuits in all the colleges have not more desperate shifts and evasions from the purpose.' The presbyterian, however, stood firm, though fined five hundred pounds, and committed to prison.

Passing to other times, and a very different subject, we meet with many cases after the Restoration which depict, with great force, the precarious condition of human life in a dissipated capital, where gentlemen wore swords, taverns were fashionable, and

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and the police was imperfect. In the trials of Lord Warwick and Lord Mohun, for the murder of Mr. Coote (1669), we see a party, after a promiscuous scuffle and tilting at the Greyhound tavern in the Strand, setting out in chairs, in the midst of a dark night, for Leicester-fields, where a duel immediately takes place, and a death-wound is given: the chairmen, who have scarcely had time to light their pipes, are called to take up the dying man; one refuses at first, for (as he states) 'seeing him bloody, and not able to help himself, I said I would not spoil my chair;' and the watch, being called, decline coming near, observing that it is not 'their ward.' Lord Mohun's former trial (for this was his second) disclosed circumstances more disgraceful to himself, and to the manners of the time. Captain Hill had made loose addresses to Mrs. Bracegirdle, the actress, (a woman of character,) but supposed himself to be thwarted in his amour by Mountford, the celebrated player. Hill and Mohun one night attempted, in public and by force, to carry off the lady from the midst of her friends: baffled in this gallant enterprise, they placed themselves in the street where Mountford lived, which was in view of Mrs. Bracegirdle's windows, and, with wine and drawn swords, walked up and down, drinking healths, till Mountford came home, when Hill attacked, and ran him through. The police had previously made a faint attempt at preventing mischief, but seem to have been perplexed by hearing that they had to deal with a nobleman, and had retired to a public-house for the purpose of deliberation. Hill fled—Lord Mohun was acquitted. It will be remembered that this famous duellist* died in his vocation: he fell in a duel with the Duke of Hamilton, who was also mortally wounded. Sometimes the picture of private feud is of a less tragic cast, as in the case of the valiant Mr. William Colepepper, who being one Sunday morning set upon by a bully, armed with cane and sword, at the corner of Little Drury Lane, throws the enemy into confusion by hurling his hat and periwig at him, and beats him off, with the complete approbation of the crowd.†

Marriages in these times were often as sudden, and almost as discreditable to a regular society, as after-dinner brawls. Thus it happened, in the instance of Miss Rawlins, a young lady, who, having some little fortune, was carried off under pretence of an arrest, conveyed to a tavern, and there frightened into a marriage with a foreign adventurer, which was solemnized by that convenient personage, the Fleet chaplain, and dissolved, as it ought to

* Was it owing to a sort of professional reputation that Marlborough selected him to carry the only message of that sort which, so far as we remember, the great Captain ever sent?

† Denew's case, 14 Howell.

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have been, by a more respectable functionary at Tyburn. The matrimonial mistake of Beau Feilding, as related on his trial for bigamy, is worthy to have been an incident in Gil Blas.

In reading a series of trials, we are prepared, of course, to meet with many statements offered as evidence, which we cannot fully believe; but it is a peculiar sensation of surprise that comes upon us, when, amidst the sober day-light of a judicial proceeding, we encounter the phantoms of popular superstition. Yet this is not unfrequent. Abundance of magical lore was unfolded at the trial of Anne Turner, the confidante of the Countess of Essex, in 1615: the attorney-general discoursed gravely of one Dr. Forman, who had died suddenly, and desired to be buried deep in the ground, 'or else (saith he) I shall fear you all;' and when the prisoner's enchanted trinkets were produced, and a crack was at the same time heard from the scaffolding, the audience seem to have expected that the doctor would keep his word. On the prosecution of Elizabeth Cellier, in 1679, Gadbury the astrologer talks as familiarly of his profession as a broker would of insurances, and takes credit for having declined, at the time of the king's illness, to inform Mrs. Cellier whether he would die or not. 'I would not tell her,' says the sage, 'because he was my sovereign.' There are one or two striking instances in which witnesses have confirmed, on oath, the old superstition, that the corpse of a murdered person will bleed, if touched by the assassin. Serjeant Maynard's story of an appeal of murder, in which such a fact was attested, has been often cited, and is too well told to have been forgotten by those who ever read it. An incident of this kind also formed part of the melancholy and mysterious circumstances attending the supposed murder of Sir James Standsfield, by his son Philip, near Edinburgh, in 1687. This old gentleman had been conveyed from his chamber in the night by unknown means, and thrown into a neighbouring river, where he died. A worthy divine, whose sleep had been broken by strange noises, imputed the murder to evil spirits—suicide was among the more probable conjectures. But a strong suspicion fell upon the son, a moody and turbulent prodigal, and one of those unblest beings of whom every man has some ill report. The body, which had been hastily buried, was raised and inspected by surgeons, after which the relations and friends of the deceased were called upon to replace him in his coffin; but, no sooner had Philip touched his father's corpse, than a stream of blood rushed to the place where his hand was applied, and the parricide, as all now believed him, let fall the lifeless head, and sprang away, exclaiming in horror, and wiping the drops from his hands and clothes. The fact

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fact was treated, even by the court, as a providential testimony, and of no unfrequent occurrence; nor was it thought material to lay much stress upon the circumstance, that an incision had already been made by the surgeons in that part of the corpse from which the accusing stream had issued. The prisoner was convicted, and hanged.

Several cases of witchcraft are given in the collection of Messrs. Howell, and in some instances present mortifying examples of successful imposture. Perhaps, however, the judges who presided at these trials are sometimes too hastily condemned. The law recognized witchcraft as a crime; the people instituted prosecutions for the offence, grand juries found the bills, and the cases were sustained in court by evidence, sometimes even by confessions, to which, perhaps, there was no material contradiction, but in the judge's own persuasion that the things attested were untrue; and he must have been a more confident unbeliever than the generality, even of educated persons, in the middle of the seventeenth century, who presumed, merely on this ground, to refuse the law its course, in defiance of positive testimony, and the impetuous prejudice of a whole district. North, in the life of his brother Guilford, has forcibly described the difficulty experienced by an incredulous judge, in procuring acquittals on the charge of sorcery. If, says the biographer, he declare against the vulgar opinion, 'the countrymen, the triers, cry, This judge hath no religion, for he doth not believe witches; and so, to show they have some, hang the poor wretches.' The obstinacy of the popular delusion on this subject, and the ascendency which it retained, at a comparatively modern period, even in London and its neighbourhood, are singularly pictured in the case of an impostor tried before Holt in 1702. An idle apprentice of Southwark, named Hathaway, betook himself to vomiting pins, fasting, and falling into fits, and pretended to experience relief in scratching a poor woman, who, on this irresistible presumption, was supposed to have bewitched him, and was, in consequence, so roughly treated by her neighbours, that she found it necessary to leave her residence, and remove into London. Here, however, the evil report still pursued her; she was again attacked by the furious mob, and a sagacious magistrate, instead of taking proper steps to punish the rioters, sent for Hathaway, and caused the farce of scratching to be repeated: of course the experiment was successful. The unfortunate witch was sent to Guildford for trial, a subscription was set on foot to pay the prosecutor's expenses, and bills, in the following words, were put up in several churches:—'A poor man, being afflicted by an evil woman, now coming to her

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her trial, desires the prayers of this congregation.' The 'evil woman' was acquitted, but the persecution still continued, and a respectable clergyman, who had exerted himself successfully in exposing the imposture, was loaded with insults and calumnies. It is observable that, on Hathaway's trial, the supposition of actual witchcraft is by no means treated with scorn and ridicule: the defendant's counsel rather upholds than renounces it, and the chief justice combats it with seriousness, and leaves it to the good sense of the jury. Witnesses were called in defence, to prove that the man had really suffered preternatural ailments, as voiding pins, and fasting several weeks at a time; and a Mrs. Willoughby deposed, (and persisted, on a strict examination by the Court,) that she herself was once bewitched, and flew sheer over the heads of the by-standers!

It is, perhaps, ungracious, after making such abundant use of the compilation by Messrs. Howell, to conclude with a word expressing dissatisfaction. But, as we are told in the volume now before us, that, when the forthcoming index shall have been added, the work is to be looked upon as complete, we must observe that much is wanted in that part of the series which relates to the reign of George the Third. Voluminous as it is, it gives comparatively few cases, and, making all due allowance for obvious difficulties, and for the necessity of strict selection in a vast extent and variety of matter, we must still regret the omission of many trials which deserve, indeed demand, a place in such a collection: some, (though not connected with political affairs,) from the strong public sensation which they once excited, and the interesting nature of the discussions involved in them; as, to give one instance, the case of Donellan: others again, as furnishing authentic narratives of events important in history, or as determining constitutional questions, or as having been the occasion of remarkable changes in the law. Under these last heads may be mentioned the trial of Bellingham, the proceedings of Sir Francis Burdett against the Speaker and Serjeant-at-arms, in 1810 and 1811, and the transactions connected with the appeal of murder in 1817, which produced the unregretted abolition of a process extolled by Chief-justice Holt but a hundred years before, as a 'noble privilege,' and a 'badge of the rights and liberties of Englishmen.'

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ART. VIII.—*The Forester's Guide and Profitable Planter.* By Robert Monteath. (With Plates.) Second edition. Edinburgh, 1824. 8vo. pp. 395.

EDUCATION has been often compared to the planting and training up of vegetable productions, and the parallel holds true in this remarkable particular, amongst others, that numerous systems are recommended and practised in both cases which are totally contradictory of each other, and most of which can, nevertheless, be supported by an appeal to the fruits they have brought forth. It would seem to follow that the oak is more easily taught to grow, and the young idea how to shoot, than is generally allowed by the warm assertors of particular systems, and that Nature will, even in cases of neglect or mismanagement, do a great deal to supply the errors or carelessness whether of the preceptor or the forester. It would be wasting words, to set about proving that in both departments there are certain rules which greatly assist Nature in her operations, and bring the tree, or the youth, to an earlier and higher degree of maturity than either would otherwise have obtained. But we think it equally plain, that the rules which are found most effectual are of a very general character, and, when put into practice, must be modified according to the circumstances of each individual case; from which it results, that an exclusive attachment to the *minutiæ* of particular systems will, in many instances, be found worse than unnecessary.

To apply this maxim to the art of planting, we would remark, that there are certain general principles respecting planting, pruning, thinning, and so forth, without which no plantations will be found eminently successful, even in the most advantageous situations; and which, being carefully followed, in less favourable circumstances, will make up for many deficiencies of soil and climate. But, on the other hand, there are many peculiar modes of treating plantations which, succeeding extremely well in one situation, will in another impede, rather than advance, the progress of the wood. Yet it frequently happens that these very varieties, or peculiarities of practice, are insisted upon, by those who build systems, as the indispensable requisites for success in every case. This leads to empirical doctrines of all sorts, which, perhaps, prevail more among planters, than in any other department of rural practice. Such are, violent and exclusive prepossessions entertained in favour of any particular kind of tree, how valuable soever: such are also the differences eagerly and obstinately maintained respecting particular modes of preparing the ground, and the precise season of putting in the plants. Such, also, are some particular doctrines held concerning pruning.

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Upon all these points we find practical men entertain and express very opposite opinions, with as much pertinacity as if they had been handed down, in direct tradition, from the first of men and of foresters. The feuds arising from these differences of opinion have, as in the case of religion itself, been unfavourable to the progress of the good cause; and one of the most important of national improvements has been, in a great measure, neglected, because men could not make up their minds concerning the very best possible mode of conducting it.

We are far, very far, from supposing ourselves capable of filling up, by a general sketch, a summary of rules which may be useful to the planter, yet we claim some knowledge of the subject, from sixteen years' undeviating attention to the raising young plantations of considerable extent, upon lands which may be, in general, termed waste or unimproved. Indeed, to lay aside for a moment our impersonality, the author of this article having, in the course of that time, seen reason to change his opinion on many important points, and particularly upon those in which the expense of planting is chiefly concerned, takes the freedom to consider Mr. Monteath's useful and interesting treatise with reference to his own experience, and the facts which that experience has suggested.

Every one will own that the subject is of the most momentous interest to this country. It is long since the wisdom and patriotism of the late Lord Melville sounded the alarm on the subject of the decay and destruction of the national forests, announcing the immense increase of the demand for oak timber, the advance of the price of fir timber, the inadequacy of the present forests long to supply the increasing demand, and the apathy with which government omitted to provide for evils which seemed rapidly advancing, although the possibility of doing so appeared plain from his lordship's statement:—

'It is supposed that, exclusive of the royal forests, there are in Great Britain and Ireland, probably, more than eighty millions of acres, of which, perhaps, no part is yet brought to the highest state of cultivation, and that certainly not less than twenty millions are still waste. If, therefore, a comparatively very small part of the land of the kingdom is thought essential to be appropriated to the purpose of securing the continuance of our naval strength and pride, it would surely be a very short-sighted policy which should suggest to this maritime country the expediency of trusting to a commerce for the supply of our dockyards with timber; when, without any real risk to the subsistence of the country, and by a sacrifice comparatively small, we can avoid for ever putting to hazard the supply of an article, on which, confessedly, our strength, our glory, our independence, even our existence as a nation, must

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must now and at all times depend.'—*Lord Melville's Letter to Mr. Percival, on the subject of Naval Timber, published in July*, 1810.

While these facts are granted, it must, at the same time, be admitted, that the time of peace is that in which we can best recruit the resources of the nation, and strengthen her sinews for future wars; and that at present, therefore, the country has few more important subjects of consideration, than those which refer to providing a stock of timber for future emergencies. A patriotic spirit, therefore, might be supposed sufficiently rewarded by preparing for the future conquests of the British navy, and for the ornament of his native land; covering sterile wildernesses with the most magnificent productions of the earth, and exercising, slowly indeed but surely, such a change on the face of nature, as the powers of man cannot achieve in any other manner. Yet we cannot trust to such motives to overcome the inertness of many landholders: to induce them to part for a time with a portion of their yearly income, and be at the outlay of a very moderate sum per acre, we are aware that we must talk to them of pence as well as of patriotism, and indicate a certain return for their advances; since in preaching to them only on the subject of adding to the beauty of the landscape, or the prosperity of the country, we should expose ourselves to the answer of Harpagon to the eulogium of Frosine upon his mistress's perfections: '*Oui; cela n'est pas mal; mais ce compte là n'a rien de réel. Il faut bien que je touche quelque chose.*' We will, therefore, endeavour to convince those who lean to this view of the subject, that the increase of the value of their own rentals and estates is equally concerned in the considerations to which we invite them, as the interest of the country at large.

The subject naturally divides itself into plantations raised chiefly for the purpose of ornament, and those which are intended principally for profit. The division is not, however, an absolute one; nor is it possible, perhaps, to treat of the subject in the one point of view, without frequently touching upon the other. No very large plantation can be formed without beautifying the face of the country (although, indeed, stripes and clumps of Scotch firs or larches may be admitted as deformities); and, on the other hand, the thinnings of merely ornamental plantations afford the proprietor, who raises such, a fair indemnity for the ground which they occupy. But, though this is the case, the two kinds of planting must be considered as different branches of the same art, and we will, accordingly, take leave to consider them distinctly, confining ourselves, for the present, as far as we can, to that in which utility is the principal object.

The most useful style of planting, that which can be executed at

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at the least expense, and which must ultimately return the greatest profit, is that respecting large tracts of waste land, which, by judicious management, may be converted into highly profitable woodland, without taking from agriculture the value of a sheaf of corn, or even greatly interfering with pastoral occupation—so far as that occupation is essentially advantageous. For we suppose it will be admitted, that in any case where a stately and valuable forest can be raised by the restricting a few hundred score of sheep to better and richer pasture than they formerly enjoyed, great advantage will accrue to the landlord, and no loss will be sustained either by the tenant, or the poor animal, who now picking up his grass by piles at a time in a howling wilderness, would then be better supported, and more free from accident of every kind.

The scheme of which we are about to show the easy practicability, if it be only undertaken boldly and upon a large scale, by the persons principally concerned, will be found as advantageous to the poor as the rich; providing for the over-population, as it is called, a hardy and healthful occupation, the object of which is the improvement of their native country, while the manner in which it is conducted is equally favourable to their comforts and to their morals. Neither are the landed proprietor and his dependents the only parties benefited. The cheapness and plenty of wood, as it is essential to our shipping, becomes, in that point of view, indispensable to our mercantile and manufacturing interests. But we feel ourselves, unintentionally, again drawn back to the public and political views, which it is almost impossible to separate from this great national subject: we will, therefore, proceed to enter upon it at once, cautioning our readers, that in repeating the truths which we have collected from others, and which have been corroborated by our own experience, we do not pretend to more merit than that of acting as *flappers*, again to solicit the attention of the public, and in particular of landed gentlemen, to this most important topic.

The hills of Wales—those of Derby, Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland, and part of Yorkshire and Lancashire, together with the more extensive wastes and mountainous regions which compose by far the greater part of Scotland, have, in general, the same character, presenting naked wildernesses of rock and heath, and moor-land, swelling into hills and mountains of greater or less elevation, and intersected by rivers and large lakes, many of them navigable: in short, pointed out by Nature as the site of lofty woods, with which, indeed, her own unassisted efforts had, at an early period, clothed them: for nothing can be more certain than that the sterile districts we have described were, in ancient times, covered with continual forests. History, tradition,

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and the remains of huge old trees and straggling thickets, as well as the subterranean wood found in bogs and mosses, attest the same indubitable fact. It is not to be supposed that these woods grew at very high points of elevation, on the brow of lofty and exposed mountains, and in the very face of prevailing winds: yet it is astonishing, when the declivities and dales of such a region are once occupied by wood, how very soon the trees, availing themselves of every shelter afforded by the depths and sinuosities of the glens and ravines which seam the mountain side, appear to have ascended to points of altitude where a planter would rationally have despaired of success.

These natural woods, however, have long, excepting in a comparatively few instances, wholly ceased to exist. This has been owing to various causes. Extensive forests, occupying a long tract of tolerably level ground, have been gradually destroyed by natural decay, accelerated by the increase of the bogs. The wood which they might have produced was useless to the proprietors; the state of the roads, as well as of the country in general, not permitting so bulky and weighty an article to be carried from the place where it had grown, however valuable it might have proved had it been transported elsewhere. In this situation the trees of the natural forests pined and withered, and were thrown down by the wind, and it often necessarily happened that they fell into, or across, some little stream or rivulet, by the side of which they had flourished and decayed. The stream, being stopped, saturated with standing water the soil around it, and instead of being, as hitherto, the drain of the forest, the stagnation of the rivulet converted into a swamp what its current had formerly rendered dry. The loose bog-earth, and the sour moisture with which it was impregnated, loosened and poisoned the roots of other neighbouring trees, which at the next storm, went to the ground in their turn, and tended still more to impede the current of the water; while the accumulating moss, as the bog-earth is called in Scotland, went on increasing and heaving up, so as to bury the trunks of the trees which it had destroyed. In the counties of Inverness and Ross, instances may be seen, at the present day, where this melancholy process, of the conversion of a forest into a bog, is still going forward.

This, however, was not by any means the only manner in which the northern forests perished, although it may be in some sense accounted their natural mode of death.

From the time of Agricola and Severus, to that of Cromwell, the axes of the invading enemies were repeatedly employed to lay waste the forests, and thereby remove a most important part of the national defence. In this way, doubtless, woods which, standing

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ing on the banks of rapid streams, or upon declivities where the course of the water is not liable to be intercepted, were not subject to the causes of destruction by the increase of the morass, fell by violence, as in the former case they perished by decay.

Nature, however, would, with her usual elasticity, have repaired the losses which were inflicted by the violence of man, and fresh crops of wood would have arisen to supply the place of that which had been felled, had not the carelessness and wantonness of mankind obstructed her efforts. The forest of Ettricke, for example, a tract of country containing two hundred and seventy square miles, was, till Charles I.'s time, reserved as a royal chase, and entirely wooded, except where the elevation of the mountains rendered the growth of trees impossible. In and about the year 1700, great part of this natural wood remained, yet now, excepting the copse woods of Harehead and Elibank, with some trifling remains on the banks of the Yarrow, it has now totally vanished. We have ourselves seen an account of a sale of growing trees upon an estate in this district where the proceeds amounted to no less than six thousand pounds, a very large sum considering that the country was overstocked with wood, the demands for it confined to those of rural economy, and the means of transporting it extremely imperfect. There must have been a fall of large and valuable timber to have produced such a sum under such circumstances. The guardians of the noble proprietor, when they made the sale, seem to have given directions for inclosing the natural wood, with a view to its preservation. Nevertheless, about seventy or eighty years afterwards, there was scarcely in existence, upon the whole property, a twig sufficient to make a walking-stick, so effectually had the intentions of the guardians been baffled, and their instructions neglected. It may be some explanation of this wilful waste, that a stocking of goats (of all other creatures the most destructive to wood) had been put upon the ground after cutting the trees. But, to speak the truth, agriculture, as Mr. Shandy says of the noble science of defence, has its weak points. Those who pursue one branch of the art are apt to become bigotted and prejudiced against every thing which belongs to another, though no less essential, department. The arable cultivator, for example, has a sort of pleasure in rooting up the most valuable grass land, even where the slightest reflection might assure him that it would be more profitable to reserve it for pasture. The store-farmer and shepherd, in the same manner, used formerly to consider every spot occupied by a tree as depriving the flock of a certain quantity of food, and not only nourished malice against the woodland, but practically laboured for its destruction; and to such lamentable prejudices on the part of farmers and even of proprietors is the

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final disappearance of the natural forests of the north chiefly to be attributed. The neglect of inclosure on the side of the landlord; the permitted, if not the authorised, invasions of the farmer; the wilful introduction of sheep and cattle into the ground where old trees formerly stood, have been the slow, but effectual, causes of the denuded state of extensive districts, which, in their time, were tracts of what the popular poetry of the country called by the affectionate epithet of 'the good green wood.' Still, however, the facts of such forests having existed, ought now, in more enlightened times, to give courage to the proprietor, and stimulate him in his efforts to restore the sylvan scenes which ignorance, prejudice, indolence, and barbarism combined to destroy.

This may be done in many different ways, as taste and local circumstances recommend. We will first take a view of the subject generally, as applicable alike to the great chiefs and thanes possessed of what are, in the north, called *countries*,* and to the private gentleman, who has three or four thousand moorland acres, or even a smaller property. We suppose the proprietor, in either case, desirous to convert a suitable part of his estate into woodland, at the least possible expense, and with the greatest chance of profit.

The indispensable requisites which his undertaking demands are, 1st. A steady and experienced forester, with the means of procuring, at a moment's notice, a sufficient number of active and intelligent assistants. This will often require settlements on the estate, the advantage of which we may afterwards touch upon. If the plantations are to be on a great scale, it will be found of great advantage to have the labour of these men entirely devoted to the woods, since they afford various kinds of employment for every month of the year, especially where a great plan is in the progress of being executed, as reason dictates, by certain proportions every year. In such a case, inclosing, planting, pruning, thinning and felling are going on successively in different parts of the estate in one and the same year;—and these are operations in all of which a good woodsman ought to be so expert as to be capable of working at them by turns.

2dly, The planter, in the situation supposed, ought to be possessed of one nursery or more, as near to the ground designed to be planted, as can well be managed. We have no intention to interfere with the trade of the nurseryman in the more level and fertile parts of the country. Where a proprietor means only to plant a few acres, it would be ridiculous to be at the trouble or expense of raising the plants. But where he proposes to plant

* It is customary to say Glengarry's country, Mac Leod's country, and the like, to indicate the estates of the great highland proprietors.

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upon a large scale, it is of the highest consequence that the young plants should stand for two or three seasons in a nursery of his own. Mr. Monteath recommends that such *second-hand nursery*, as he terms it, should be replenished with seedlings of a year or two years old, from the seed-beds of a professional nurseryman, justly observing that the expense and trouble attending the raising the plants from seed,—and he might have added, the risk of miscarriage,—are in this way entirely avoided, while the advantages attained are equal to what they would have been had the plant been raised from the seed by the proprietor himself. On the other hand, (though we have known it practised,) we would not advise that seedlings, any more than plants, should be carried from the neighbourhood of Glasgow to the Hebrides, or to distant parts of the Highlands. There is also this advantage, that by raising the trees from seed, the forester makes sure of getting his plants from the best trees—an article of considerable importance, especially in the fir tribes.

But whether the planter supplies his nursery from his own seed-bed or that of the professional man, the necessity of having a nursery of one sort or other continues the same. The advantages are, first, that the plants are not hastily transferred from the nurseryman's warm and sheltered establishment, to the exposed and unfertile district which they are meant to occupy, but undergo a sort of seasoning in the nursery of the proprietor, and become, in a certain degree, naturalized to climate and soil before they are, as it is technically termed, *planted out*. Secondly, the most mortifying and injurious interruptions, incident to the planter's occupation, are thus greatly lessened. It is well known that nothing can be so conducive to the success of a plant, as its being transferred instantly, or with the loss of the least possible interval of time, from the line which it occupies in the nursery, to its final station in the field. If it is to be sent for to a distant nursery, this becomes impossible. Besides, it frequently happens, when plants have been brought from a distance, that the weather has changed to frost before they arrive at the place of their destination, and there is no remedy but to dig them down into some ditch, and cover the roots with earth, and leave them in that situation for days and weeks, until the season shall again become favourable to the planter. If, on the contrary, the plants are supplied from the proprietor's own nursery in the vicinity, they need only be brought forward in small quantities at a time, and the pernicious and perilous practice of *sheughing*, as we have heard it called, is almost entirely avoided. It is, therefore, in all cases a matter of high advantage, in many of actual necessity, that the proprietor who

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who means to plant on a large scale should have a nursery of his own.

Thus provided with the material of his enterprise, and with the human force necessary to carry it into effect, the planter's next point is to choose the scene of operation. On this subject, reason and common sense at once point out the necessary restrictions. No man of common sense would select, for the purpose of planting, rich holms, fertile meadows, or other ground peculiarly fit for producing corn, or for supporting cattle. Such land, valuable everywhere, is peculiarly so in a country where fertile spots are scarce, and where there is no lack of rough, exposed, and at present unprofiable tracts. The necessary ornament of a mansion-house would alone vindicate such an extraordinary proceeding. Nay, a considerate planter would hesitate to cut up and destroy even a fine sheep-pasture for the purpose of raising wood, while there remained on the estate ground which might be planted at a less sacrifice. The ground ought to be shared betwixt pasture and woodland, with reference to local circumstances, and it is in general by no means difficult to form the plantation so as to be of the highest advantage to the sheep-walk. In making the selection the proprietor will generally receive many a check on this subject from his land-steward or bailiff, to whom any other agricultural operations are generally more desirable than the pursuits of the forester. To confirm the proprietor in resisting this narrow-minded monitor, it is necessary to assure him that the distinction to be drawn betwixt the ground to be planted and that which is to be reserved for sheep, is to be drawn with a bold and not a timid hand. The planter must not, as we have *often* seen vainly attempted, endeavour to exclude from his proposed plantation, all but the very worst of the ground. Whenever such paltry saving has been attempted, the consequences have been very undesirable in all respects. In the first place, the expense of fencing is greatly increased; for in order to form these pinched and restricted plantations, a great many turnings and involutions, and independent fences, must be made, which become totally unnecessary when the woodland is formed on an ample and liberal scale. In the second place, this parsimonious system leads to circumstances contrary to Christian charity, for the eyes of every human being that looks on plantations so formed, feeling hurt as if a handful of sand were flung into them, the sufferers are too apt to vent their resentment in the worst of wishes against the devisers and perpetrators of such enormities. We have seen a brotherhood of beautiful hills, the summits of which, while they remained unplanted, must have formed a fine undulating

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dulating line, now presenting themselves with each a round circle of black fir, like a skimming dish on its head, combined together with long narrow lines of the same complexion, like a chain of ancient fortifications, consisting of round towers flanking a straight curtain, or rather like a range of college caps connected by a broad black riband. Other plantations in the awkward angles, which they have been made to assume, in order that they might not trespass upon some edible portion of grass land, have come to resemble uncle Toby's bowling-green transported to a northern hill side. Here you shall see a solitary mountain with a great black patch stuck on its side, like a plaster of Burgundy-pitch, and there another, where the plantation, instead of gracefully sweeping down to its feet, is broken short off in mid air, like a country wench's gown tucked through her pocket holes in the days when such things as pockets were extant in *rerum naturâ*. In other cases of enormity, the unhappy plantations have been made to assume the form of pincushions, of hatchets, of penny tarts, and of breeches displayed at an old-clothesman's door. These abortions have been the consequence of a resolution to occupy with trees only those parts of the hill where nothing else will grow, and which, therefore, is carved out for their accommodation, with 'up and down and snip and slash,' whatever unnatural and fantastic forms may be thereby assigned to their boundaries.

In all such cases the insulated trees, deprived of the shelter which they experience when planted in masses, have grown thin, and hungrily, affording the unhappy planter neither pleasure to his eye, credit to his judgment, nor profit to his purse. A more liberal projector would have adopted a very different plan. He would have considered, that although trees, the noblest productions of the vegetable realm, are of a nature extremely hardy, and can grow where not even a turnip could be raised, they are yet sensible of, and grateful for, the kindness which they receive. In selecting the portions of waste land which he is about to plant, he would, therefore, extend his limits to what may be called the natural boundaries, carry them down to the glens on one side, sweep them around the foot of the hills on another, conduct them up the ravines on a third, giving them, as much as possible, the character of a natural wood, which can only be attained by keeping their boundaries out of sight, and suggesting to the imagination that idea of extent which always arises when the limits of a wood are not visible. It is true that in this manner some acres of good ground may be lost to the flocks, but the advantages to the woodland are a complete compensation. It is, of course, in sheltered places that the wood first begins to grow, and the young trees,

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trees, arising freely in such more fertile spots on the verge of the plantation, extend protection to the general mass which occupies the poorer ground. These less-favoured plants linger long while left to their own unassisted operations: annoyed at the same time by want of nourishment, and the severity of the blast, they remain, indeed, alive, but make little or no progress; but when they experience shelter from the vicinity of those which occupy a better soil, they seem to profit by their example, and speedily arise under their wings.

The improver ought to be governed by the natural features of the ground in choosing the shape of his plantations, as well as in selecting the species of ground to be planted. A surface of ground, undulating into eminences and hollows, forms to a person who delights in such a task, perhaps the most agreeable subject of consideration on which the mind of the improver can be engaged. He must take care, in this case, to avoid the fatal yet frequent error of adopting the boundaries of his plantations from the surveyor's plan of the estate, not from the ground itself. He must recollect that the former is a flat surface, conveying, after the draughtsman has done his best, but a very imperfect idea of the actual face of the country, and can, therefore, guide him but imperfectly in selecting the ground proper for his purpose.

Having, therefore, made himself personally acquainted with the localities of the estate, he will find no difficulty in adopting a general principle for lining out his worst land. To plant the eminences, and thereby inclose the hollows for cultivation, is what all parties will agree upon; the mere farmer, because, in the general case, the rule will assign to cultivation the best ground, and to woodland that which is most sterile; and also, because a wood placed on an eminence affords, of course, a more complete protection to the neighbouring fields than if it stood upon the same level with them. The forester will give his ready consent, because wood no where luxuriates so freely as on the slope of a hill. The man of taste will be equally desirous that the boundaries of his plantation should follow the lines designed by nature, which are always easy and undulating, or bold, prominent, and elevated, but never either stiff or formal. In this manner, the future woods will advance and recede from the eye, according to and along with the sweep of the hills and banks which support them, thus occupying precisely the place in the landscape where nature's own hand would have planted them. The projector will rejoice the more in this allocation, that in many instances it will enable him to conceal the boundaries of his plantations, an object which, in point of taste, is almost always desirable. In short, the only persons who will suffer by the adoption of this system

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system will be the admirers of mathematical regularity, who deem it essential that the mattock and spade be under the peremptory dominion of the scale and compass; who demand that all inclosures shall be of the same shape and of the same extent; who delight in straight lines and in sharp angles, and desire that their woods and fields be laid out with the same exact correspondence to each other as when they were first delineated upon paper. It is to be conjectured, that when the inefficiency of this principle and its effects are pointed out, few would wish to resort to it, unless it were a humorist like Uncle Toby, or a martinet like Lord Stair, who planted trees after the fashion of battalions formed into line and column, that they might assist them in their descriptions of the battles of Wynendale and Dettingen. It may, however, be a consolation to the admirers of strict uniformity and regularity, if any such there still be, to be assured that their object is, in fact, unattainable: it is as impossible to draw straight lines of wood, that is, lines which shall produce the appearance of mathematical regularity, along the uneven surface of a varied country, as it would be to draw a correct diagram upon a crumpled sheet of paper; or lay a carpet down smoothly on a floor littered with books. The attempt to plant upon such a system will not, therefore, present the regular form and plan expected, but, on the contrary, a number of broken lines, interrupted circles, and salient angles, as much at variance with Euclid as with nature.

We are happy to say, that this artificial mode of planting, the purpose of which seems to be a sort of inscribing on every plantation that it was the work of man, not of nature, is now going fast out of fashion, both with proprietors and farmers. A gentleman of our acquaintance had, some years ago, the purpose of planting a considerable part of a farm of about one hundred and twenty acres, which lay near his residence. It rented at about twenty shillings per acre. The proprietor, rejecting a plan which was offered to him, for laying off the ground into fields resembling parallelograms, divided like a chess-board by thin stripes of plantation, went to work in the way we have mentioned above, scooping out the lowest part of the land for inclosures, and planting the wood round it in masses, which were enlarged or contracted, as the natural lying of the ground seemed to dictate, and producing a series of agreeable effects to the eye, varying in every point of view, and affording new details of the landscape, as the plantations became blended together, or receded from each other. About five or six years after this transformation had been effected, the landlord met his former tenant, a judicious cool-headed countryman, upon the ground, and naturally

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turally said to him, 'I suppose, Mr. R., you will say I have ruined your farm by laying half of it into woodland?' 'I should have expected it, Sir,' answered Mr. R., 'if you had told me beforehand what you were about to do; but I am now of a very different opinion; and as I am looking for land at present, if you incline to take, for the remaining sixty acres, the same rent which I formerly gave for a hundred and twenty, I will give you an offer to that amount. I consider the benefit of the inclosing, and the complete shelter afforded to the fields, as an advantage which fairly counterbalances the loss of one half of the land.' The proprietor then showed Mr. R. the plan which had been suggested to him, of subdividing the whole farm by straight rectilinear stripes, occupying altogether about five-and-twenty or thirty acres. The intelligent and unprejudiced agriculturist owned that, *à priori*, he would have preferred a system which left so much more land for the occupation of the plough, but as frankly owned that the trees could neither have made half the progress, or have afforded half the shelter, which had actually been the case under the present plan, and that he was now convinced that the proprietor had chosen the better part.

Another proof of the same important fact occurs, upon a hill which we, at this moment, see from the windows of the apartment in which we are now writing. It is of considerable height, and the proprietor, about forty years ago or more, attempted to raise a plantation on the very crest or summit of the eminence, retaining the rest of the hill for the purposes of pasturage and agriculture. His operations, attempted on this niggardly scale, failed totally, after two separate attempts, every plant dying in the exposed and ungenial situation. On a third essay, the proprietor altered his measures, and brought the limits of his woodland so far down the hill as to include a few acres of tolerable land. The trees on these better spots soon rose, and, sheltering those which were exposed, the whole upper part of the hill became clothed with a wood, out of which the present proprietor has cut annually several hundred pounds worth of timber, to the advantage, not the prejudice, of that which remains standing to a large value.

The same change has taken place in the sentiments of intelligent store-farmers as in those of agriculturists like Mr. R. Almost every sheep-farm contains large tracts covered with stones and shingle, or otherwise steep, dangerous, and precipitous; of ravines, which in winter prove the grave of many of the flock; and of other rocky and barren spots, affording little pasture, and that only to be obtained at the great peril of the sheep. There are also on most sheep-walks, extensive moors, which, sheltered by plantations on the mountains, would produce a far different species of herbage

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herbage from what flocks or herds are now able to glean off them; and, in general, it is now perfectly understood, that when the trees have made such a progress as to afford shelter in the lambing seasons and during storms, the ground they occupy is far from being grudged them by an intelligent shepherd. It is very likely, indeed, that the tenant who possesses a sheep-farm on a short lease may desire some diminution of rent: for when the landlord entertains a desire to enter into possession of a part of his land during currency of the lease, the circumstance is always considered as a kind of God-send, which it would be neglecting the benefits afforded by providence not to make ample use of. But an intelligent farmer, the length of whose possession must enable him to derive advantage from the shelter and other favourable circumstances which cannot fail to attend the more advanced state of the plantations, will usually be disposed to part, at a very easy rate, with the immediate occupation of such grounds as we have indicated, for the purpose of their being planted. At any rate, we state with confidence that the existence of plantations, even to a very considerable extent, upon a sheep-farm, will, if judiciously disposed, rather increase than diminish the offers for a new lease.

The tract to be occupied by the new plantations being fixed, inclosing is the next indispensable point of preparation. If this is neglected, or not executed in a sufficient manner, the improver may as well renounce his plan; for though we believe, as above stated, that the judicious tenant will approve of and respect the plantations of the landholder, yet we cannot venture to hope that his zeal in their behalf will impel him to take great trouble for their preservation. Even if he were willing to do so, his shepherds cannot be expected to possess such liberal ideas, and will see with great apathy an inroad of the flock where the inclosure presents a practicable breach, which, in the spring especially, may do more damage to the young woodland in a few hours' time than it can recover in several seasons. The plantation, therefore, whatever its extent, must be suitably inclosed. For this purpose, quickset hedges are, undoubtedly, the preferable means; but these cannot be generally resorted to in the execution of extensive plans, such as we point at. In wild, coarse ground, thorns will not succeed without much care; in soils of a worse class, they will not rise at all; and even where the ground is fittest for them, they require more labour and trouble than can be expected in executing a very large plan, unless the funds of the projector be ample in proportion. Hedges of furze and of larch have been recommended, but they are precarious, and will only succeed when much attention is bestowed on them. The most effectual substitute, we regret to say it, is the dry-stone wall.

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wall. The materials of this species of fence, generally speaking, abound in the neighbourhood of such plantations as we now treat of. The wall has this great advantage, that it may be said to be major, and competent to discharge all its duties, even on the day of its birth, and if constructed of flat or square stones of good quality, properly put together, and well erected, will last for many years. It is commonly the readiest and best substitute for a quickset fence; but it must be owned that it is extremely ugly, and, when once it begins to break down, can only be repaired at a considerable expense, which, after a certain time, recurs very frequently, as the best builders of this species of wall cannot so effectually repair the breaches which time makes in it but what they are always making their appearance again at the same places. The unpleasing aspect of these walls may, in some degree, be got rid of by keeping them in hollows: this, indeed, is to be recommended in every case; and upon a large plan, where much ground is at the planter's command, may be very easily managed. Respecting their failure through time, it is to be remembered that it will not take place until the period when breaches may be repaired by wattles made from the plantation itself. We have seen a species of earthen fence used with very considerable success on ground where stones were hard to come at. The earth was dug out of a ditch, which was made to slope outwards, and to present, on the side nearest to the plantation, a straight cut of about a foot and a half; on the verge of that ditch arose the wall itself, composed of sods built up to the height of three feet and a half, so that the whole height was about four feet, and sufficient to be respected by sheep and cattle, except, perhaps, during the time of snow, when no fence can be absolutely trusted to. A single bar of paling placed on the top of this species of *vallum* greatly improves it. It is the cheapest of all fences, as it may be raised at the rate of fifteen-pence a rood by contract. Its duration cannot be exactly calculated; but, where the sods are of a close and kindly texture, we have known it last for nine or ten years without symptoms of decay, and after that age the thinnings of the plantation ought to be used to repair the fence, or, if more convenient, sold, and the price applied to that purpose. A hedge may be raised in the inside of such an earth-fence with considerable ease, as the thorns will grow fast among the loose earth; and if this is resorted to, the hedge will be fit to relieve guard when the rampart or earthen wall becomes ruinous.

A preparation no less necessary than that of inclosing, and now generally attended to, although often far too superficially performed, is the drainage of such parts of the intended plantation as are disposed to be marshy. Water, which, when pure, is the necessary

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necessary nutriment of all vegetables, becomes, when putrid or stagnant, their most decided enemy. There exist no trees, however fond of subaqueous soil, which will thrive if planted in an undrained bog. On the other hand, there is scarcely any ground so swampy, that, provided it affords a level for draining, may not be made to bear trees, if the kinds are well chosen. We have seen the spruce, silver fir, and even the balm of Gilead pine, attain great magnitude in a soil so moist that the trees were originally planted in what are called *lazy beds*. It must be, of course, essential that the drains should be kept open, and scoured from time to time, but it will be found that, as the trees advance, their own demand for nourishment will exhaust a great deal of the superfluous moisture; for, as the fall of a natural forest in a wild country usually creates a morass, so the growth of a wood, when the first obstacles are removed, has a tendency to diminish a bog which has been already formed.

Another requisite nearly connected with the above is the formation of paths for walking, riding, or driving through the future plantations. Where the woods are on a large scale, these paths should be at least eight or nine feet broad. This object is easily combined with draining, as the ditch which carries off the superfluous water will, at the same time, drain the road, if it is conducted alongside of it, which, in most cases, will be found the best line for both. Such roads serve at first to facilitate the collection of materials for fencing; they afterwards afford easy means of inspecting the condition of the wood, and, finally, of removing the felled trees from the woodland. When *that* occasion comes, the making such paths will be found indispensable, and as, if deferred till then, the object cannot be accomplished without a great waste of time, and the paths, after all, can never be so well lined as before the wood is planted, this preliminary season is unquestionably by far the most proper. It is needless to say that the formation and direction of such paths and drives is one of the most agreeable occupations of a proprietor who pretends to taste, and if barely formed with the spade, and drained, they will become, in a year or two, dry green sward, and require no metalling until they are employed in transporting heavy weights. But, whether formed or not, the space for such paths ought always to be left, and, among other advantages, they will be found to act upon the forest like the lungs of the human body, circulating the air into its closest recesses, and thereby greatly increasing the growth of the trees.

We may now be expected to say something of the preparation of the soil, by cropping, fallowing, paring and burning, or otherwise, as is recommended in most books on the subject of planting,

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planting. There can be no doubt that all or any of these modes may be, according to circumstances, used with the utmost advantage, especially so far as concerns the early growth of wood. Every plantation, therefore, which the proprietor desires to see *rush up* with unusual rapidity, ought to be prepared by one of these methods, or, which is best of all, by deep trenching with the spade. But the expense attending this most effectual mode limits it to the park and pleasure-ground, and even the other coarser modes of preparation cannot be thought of, when the object is to plant as extensively and at as little expense as possible. It may be some comfort to know that, as far as we have observed, the difference betwixt the growth of plantations, where the ground has been prepared, or otherwise, supposing the soil alike, and plants put in with equal care, seems to disappear within the first ten or twelve years. It is only in its earlier days that the plant enjoys the benefit of having its roots placed amongst earth which has been rendered loose and penetrable: at a certain period the fibres reach the sub-soil which the spade or plough has not disturbed, and thus the final growth of the tree which has enjoyed this advantage is often not greater than that of its neighbour, upon which no such indulgences were ever bestowed.

The next important object is the choice of the trees with which the proposed woodland is to be stocked, and, supposing the production of tall timber trees to be the ultimate object, we would recommend, for the formation of a large forest, the oak and larch as the trees best to be depended upon.

Our choice of the first will scarce be disputed: it is the natural plant of the island, and grows alike on highland and lowland, luxuriating where the soil is rich, coming to perfection, in many cases, where it is but middling, and affording a very profitable copsewood where it is scanty and indifferent.

Our selection of the larch may seem to some more disputable, but it will only be to such as are disposed to judge from outward show. We cannot, indeed, vindicate this valuable tree in so far as outward beauty is concerned: Wordsworth has condemned its formality at once, and its poverty of aspect. Planted in small patches, the tops of all the trees arising to the same height, and generally sloping in one direction from the prevailing wind, the larch-wood has, we must own, a mean and poor effect: its appearance on the ridge of a hill is also unfavourable, resembling the once fashionable mode of setting up the manes of ponies, called by jockies *hogging*. But where the quantity of ground planted amounts to the character of a forest, the inequalities of the far-extended surface give to the larches a variety of outline which they do

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do not possess when arranged in clumps and patches, and furnish that species of the sublime which all men must recognise in the prevalence of one tint of colouring in a great landscape. All who have seen the Swiss mountains, which are clothed with this tree as high as vegetation will permit, must allow that it can, in fitting situations, add effectually to the grandeur of Alpine scenery. In spring, too, the larch boasts, in an unequalled degree, that early and tender shade of green which is so agreeable to the eye, and suggests to the imagination the first and brightest ideas of reviving nature.

If, however, in spite of all that can be pleaded in its favour, the larch should be, in some degree, excluded from ornamental plantations, still the most prejudiced admirer of the picturesque cannot deny the right of this tree to predominate in those which are formed more for profit than beauty. The good sense of the poet we have quoted, which is equal to his brilliancy of fancy, has, indeed, pointed out this distinction; and in the following passage, while he deprecates what we do not contend for, he admits the value of the larch in such rude scenes as we now treat of:—

'To those,' says Wordsworth, 'who plant for profit, and are thrusting every other tree out of the way to make room for their favourite, the larch, I would utter, first, a regret that they should have selected these lovely vales for their vegetable manufactory, when there is so much barren and irreclaimable land in the neighbouring moors, and in other parts of the island, which might have been had for this purpose at a far cheaper rate. And I will also beg leave to represent to them, that they ought not to be carried away by flattering promises from the speedy growth of this tree; because, in rich soils and sheltered situations, the wood, though it thrives fast, is full of sap, and of little value; and is, likewise, very subject to ravage from the attacks of insects, and from blight. Accordingly, in Scotland, where planting is much better understood, and carried on upon an incomparably larger scale than among us, good soil and sheltered situations are appropriated to the oak, the ash, and other deciduous trees; and the larch is now generally confined to barren and exposed ground. There the plant, which is a hardy one, is of slower growth, much less liable to injury, and the timber of better quality.'*

We willingly shake hands with our Miltonic poet, and enter into the composition which he holds out to the profitable planter.

In this capacity, being that which we now occupy, we have much to say in behalf of this same larch-fir. It unites, in a most singular degree, the two opposite, and, in general, irreconcileable qualities of quickness of growth and firmness of substance.

* Wordsworth's Description of the Country of the Lakes.

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In the first, it excels all trees in the forest, and in the second, equals the oak itself.

The mode of preparing or seasoning larch timber is not yet, perhaps, perfectly understood, more especially as the tree is usually cut in the barking season, when it is full of sap, which renders the large wood apt to warp and crack. To avoid this, some take off the bark the season before the tree is cut, upon which subject Mr. Monteath gives us this practical information:—

'In the summer of 1815 and 1816, I was employed to thin some plantations for James Johnstone, Esq., of Alva, on his estate of Denovan; and also in the same years, for Thomas Spottiswoode, Esq., of Dunnipace. The trees on both estates were of considerable size, and particularly those on the estate of Dunnipace—many of them containing betwixt thirty and forty solid feet of timber. As part of the trees on both estates were to be used by the proprietors for their own purposes, I had, the year before, cut down and barked a considerable number of larch fir trees; which, being barked after being cut down, and exposed to the summer's sun, rent in such a manner as to render them of little or no use. To prevent this, if possible, in future I barked all the larch trees standing, and allowed them to remain in this state till autumn, which effectually prevented them from rending with the sun or drought. A number of the trees on Dunnipace stood in this peeled state for two summers, and were then cut up; and Mr. Spottiswoode caused his carpenter to make from the timber of these trees some bound doors, which made an excellent job, no part of the wood casting or twisting. Since that time I have myself used, and have frequently seen used by others, the timber of larch fir trees, after having stood twelve months with the bark taken off, then cut down, and immediately cut up into battens for flooring, and also made into bound doors and windows for the better sort of houses, with equal success. This is a clear proof that the plan of taking off the bark from the larch fir trees, some time previous to their being cut down, will not only prevent the timber from shrinking and twisting, but has also a tendency to harden the timber, and make it more durable, as it gradually throws out the resinous substance to the surface, and causes it, in a greater or less degree, to circulate through the whole timber; and this in so particular a manner, that the white wood of the tree is found equally as hard, and becomes as durable as the red wood. The consequence has been, that I am now decidedly of opinion that the timber of a larch fir treated in this way, at thirty years of age, will be found equally durable with that of a tree treated in the ordinary way, cut down at the age of fifty years.'—p. 239-241.

Mr. Monteath gives a process for flaying the unfortunate larch, which we dare say has proved successful under his direction. We must, nevertheless, always consider it as an objection that the stems of the barked trees must continue standing, like so many Marsyases or Saint Bartholomews, among their more fortunate neighbours;

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neighbours; but this is an evil which addresses itself to the eye alone. We believe, however, that there are other effectual modes of seasoning this valuable timber, by steeping it repeatedly, for instance, and thus keeping the outside of the tree moist until the heart gets thoroughly dry. We have seen specimens of such wood, employed in panelling by the ingenious and experienced Mr. Atkinson, architect, St. John's Wood, which equalled in smoothness of surface, and exactness of jointing, any other wood we have ever seen applied to similar purposes, not excepting mahogany itself. It may also be remarked that, as larch increases in size, its bark becomes of less value, and when the tree produces great timber, it would be no mighty sacrifice to give up all idea of barking, and cut the wood in winter, like that of other trees, and thus season it in the same manner. While the tree is only of the size of a pole, it should be thrown, after barking, into a ditch, or else covered with branches, to exclude the sunbeams. It will then dry gradually without warping, and, being dried, will be as hard as iron-wood, and eminently fit for any of the numerous purposes to which sticks of that size can be applied. When we add that the larch will thrive almost upon every soil that is moderately dry, except that which lies on free-stone, and that it ascends higher up the sides of the bleakest mountain than the hardiest of the fir-tribe, we have, we conceive, assigned sufficient reasons for the preference we assign it, in selecting trees for an extensive track of ground.

Our next subject of consideration must be, the manner and time of planting the trees, and the distance at which they ought to be placed from each other; and here we beg to express our complete approbation of the old popular proverb, which says—'plant a tree at Martinmas, and command it to grow; plant after Candlemas, and intreat.' If the spring months chance to be moist, the trees then planted will succeed well, but the practice must be regarded as precarious. Here our opinion coincides with general practice, but in respect of the following points, we are not, we believe, so fortunate.

It is common, if not universal, to plant the nurses,—that is to say, the firs, which are designed to be gradually felled for thinning the plantation, at the same period of time with the principal trees meant finally to occupy the ground. The consequence of this is, that the nurses are too young to perform their expected duty. Larches and firs are seldom planted above nine inches or a foot long, and are both troublesome and precarious when of a larger size. Oaks, elms, and almost all hard wood plants, are about twice as long, or from eighteen inches to two feet high, when they are put finally into the ground. The necessary consequence is, that the

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principal trees have no shelter at all until the nurses have outgrown them. In the meantime they suffer all the evils of premature exposure. The organs by which they raise the sap become hardened, their barks mossed and rigid: in short, for the first two years, the hard wood has no shelter at all, and in some climates may be expected to *sit*, as it is called, that is, to become a shrivelled starveling, which lives, indeed, but makes no advance in growth, if, indeed, it does not, as is frequently the case, die down entirely. Accordingly, when a plantation so managed is about three years old, it is the custom of all good foresters to have it revised, and, in the course of the operation, to cut over, within an inch of the ground, all the hard-wood trees which are not found thriving, the number of which is generally as ten to one. The nutriment collected by the roots is thus thrown into new and healthy shoots which arise from the original stem. These, of course, derive from the larch and fir nurses, now grown to two or three feet in height, that shelter which could not be afforded by them to the congenial hard wood, and the plantation goes on prosperously. This process was and is successful, yet it is obvious that both time and labour would be saved could it be dispensed with—since much trouble must be employed both in cutting down the old plants, and afterwards in reducing to a single shrub the little bushes which run from their stem when cut over. To avoid this necessity, it has been our practice, in latter cases, to plant the nurses in the first place, leaving vacant spaces for the principal trees, which we do not put into the earth for three years afterwards. The consequence is, that the principal trees, receiving from the nurses, at the very moment of their being planted out, that shelter which it is their purpose to communicate, do not, in more than one case out of ten, go back, dwindle, or require to be cut down; much expense of repeated revisal is saved, and the desired purpose is attained as soon, and more perfectly, than by the older practice. However, therefore, the natural impatience of the improver may repine at postponing the planting of his principal trees, he may depend upon it that, in all situations not peculiarly favoured in soil and exposure, he will arrive sooner at his ultimate object by following the slower process.

In planting an extensive tract of ground, as in preparing it, much of the nicer preparation by pitting may be abridged. We do not deny that to make the pits in spring, as recommended by Nicol and other authors, must be a considerable advantage, as the earth in which the new plant is to be set is thus exposed to the influence of the atmosphere until the planting season. On the other hand, this would require double labour along the same extensive district, and our plan is grounded on the strictest economy. Besides,

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sides, in the desolate regions, which we would fain see clothed with wood, rain is frequent; and should the pits be left open till November or December, they are often exposed to be filled with water, which, remaining and stagnating there, renders the ground so unfit for the plants, that they certainly lose more by such deterioration than they gain by the exposure of the subsoil to the atmosphere.

Our mode of planting them is as follows. A labourer first takes a turf from the sward or heath, of nine inches or a foot in circumference, and lays it aside, while he digs the pit and works the earth carefully with his spade. His assistant, a woman or a boy, then places the plant in the earth, laying the roots abroad in the natural direction in which they severally diverge from the stem, and taking especial care that none of them are twisted or bruised in the operation, which, if it does not totally destroy it, never fails greatly to retard the growth of the plant. The planter ought to fill in the earth with the same care; and having trod it down in the usual manner, he cuts the turf in two with his spade, and places one-half on each side of the plant, so that the straight edges of the two sections meet together at the stem, while the grassy or heathy side lies nearest the earth. This answers two good purposes; the covering prevents the drought from so readily affecting the young plant, and the reversing the turf prevents it from being affected by the growth of long grass, heath, or weeds in its immediate vicinity. When the time of planting the oaks arrives, we would observe the same method, taking only still greater care of working the earth, of adjusting the roots, and of covering the pit.

And here we may hazard an observation, that, of all accidents detrimental to a plantation, those which arise from the slovenly haste of the workman are most generally prejudicial. Sometimes grounds are planted by contract, which, for obvious reasons, leads to hasty proceedings; but, even where the proprietor's own people are employed, which must be usually the case in undertakings in a distant and wild country, the labourers get impatient, and if not checked and restrained, will be found to perform their task with far more haste than good speed. The experienced woodsman will guard with peculiar care against this great danger; for a tree well planted will be found to grow in the most unfavourable spot, while plants, the roots of which have been compressed, or, perhaps, left partially uncovered, will decay even in the best soil and the most sheltered situation.

We have said, that the forest ought to be planted chiefly with larch and oak, in order to produce an early return, and at the same time to insure a lasting value; but this is not to be judai-

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cally interpreted, and we must take this opportunity to mention several exceptions.

There are points peculiarly exposed in every extensive plantation, which, if covered with a screen, are found most useful in defending the young woods from the prevailing wind. On such exposed elevations, we would recommend that the Scots fir be liberally intermixed with the larches. It grows more slowly, doubtless, and is an inferior tree to the larch in every respect; but, retaining its leaves during the winter, and possessing at the same time a wonderful power of resisting the storm, it forms, in such places as we have described, a much more effectual shelter than can be afforded by the larch alone. It will be easily conceived, that such a change of colouring in the forest should not be introduced, as forming defined figures, or preserving precise outlines; but that the different kinds of trees should be intermingled, so as to shade off into the general mass. If this is attended to, the plantation will seem to have been formed by Nature's own cunning hand.

Ere we leave the subject, we may remind the young planter, that the species of fir, which in an evil hour was called *Scotch*, as now generally found in nurseries, is very inferior, in every respect, to the real highland fir, which may be found in the North of Scotland in immense natural forests, equally distinguished for their romantic beauty and national importance. This last is a noble tree, growing with huge contorted arms, not altogether unlike the oak, and forming therein a strong contrast to the formality of the common fir. The wood, which is of a red colour, is equal to that brought from Norway; and, when a plant, it may be known from the spurious or common fir by the tufts of leaves being shorter and thicker, and by the colour being considerably darker. The appearance of the highland fir, when planted in its appropriate situation amongst rock and crags, is dignified and even magnificent; the dusky red of its massive trunk, and dark hue of its leaves, forming a happy accompaniment to scenes of this description. Such firs, therefore, as are ultimately designed to remain as principal trees, ought to be of this kind, though it may probably cost the planter some trouble to procure the seed from the highlands. The ordinary fir is an inferior variety, brought from Canada not more than half a century ago. Being very prolific, the nursery-gardeners found it easy to raise it in immense quantities; and thus, though a mean-looking tree, and producing wood of little comparative value, it has superseded the natural plant of the country, and is called, *par excellence*, the Scotch fir. Under that name it has been used generally as a nurse, and so

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far must be acknowledged useful, that it submits to almost any degree of hard usage, as, indeed, it seldom meets with any which can be termed even tolerable. There is a great difference betwixt the wood, even of this baser species, raised slowly and in exposed situations, and that of the same tree produced upon richer soil—the last being much inferior in every respect, because more rapid in growth.

The planter of a large region will also meet with many portions of ground too wet either for the oak or larch, although the former can endure a very considerable degree of moisture. This he will stock, of course, with the alder, the willow, the poplar, and other trees which prefer a subaqueous soil. But we would particularly recommend the spruce-fir, an inhabitant of such marshes. This tree is almost sure to disappoint the planter upon dry and stony ground. Even planted in good soil, it is apt to decay when about twenty or thirty years old, especially the variety called, from the strong odour of its leaves, the Balm of Gilead. But in wet grounds, even where very moorish, the spruce grows to a gigantic size, and the wood is excellent. The silver fir will also endure a great deal of moisture, is one of the hardiest, as well as most stately, children of the forest, and deserves to be cultivated upon a larger scale than that which is usually practised. The woods of Blair Adam, near Kinross, the seat of the Right Honourable William Adam, afford decided proof, that the spruce and silver fir can be raised to the most magnificent trees, in a moist soil, where the substratum appears to be moss.

Before quitting this part of the subject, we may observe that, without prejudice to the general maxims of economy laid down, a proprietor, of ordinary feeling and taste, will find, in an extensive tract of waste lands, numerous recesses where the climate is mild, and the exposure favourable, an occasional intervention, in short, of

'Sheltered places, bosoms, nooks, and bays,'

which may be either left for pasture and cultivation, or filled with other varieties of forest trees than those which we have advised for the woodland in general. In discovering these hidden oases of the desert, the improver will be naturally induced to turn them to account, and vary the character of his sylvan dominions, according to the facilities which these *accidents* of vale and glade not only admit of, but invite. This employment cannot fail to be one of the most interesting which a rural life holds out to its admirers. He may deepen the shade of the dim glen by tenanting it with yew, and he may increase the cheerfulness of the sunny glade by sprinkling it with the lighter and gayer children of the forest. But here we must avoid the temptation, which all writers on plantations, our friends

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friends Pontey and Mr. Monteath not excepted, are disposed to yield to, where there is such an opportunity for fine description. We remember Lord Byron's reproof to Moore:—'Come, hang it, Tom, don't be poetical.' So we sheathe our eloquence, and resume the humble, unadorned tone of rural admonition.

We may, however, just hint to planters, as unpoetical as ourselves, that in achieving such a task as we have proposed to them, nature will, in spite of them, realize, in many places, the wishes breathed by improvers of a different description. In the sort of ground which we have described, it happens invariably that particular places are found where the natural wood, in spite of all the causes which combine to destroy it, has used effective efforts to preserve its existence in the various forms of scattered and stunted trees, tangled and briary copse-wood, and small shoots of underwood, which, kept down by the continual browsing of the cattle, affords only twigs, the existence of which is scarcely manifest among the grass. In all these cases, the remains of natural wood arising rapidly, when protected by inclosures against the intrusion of cattle, volunteer their services to the planter. These are often so important, that, by properly trimming the old wood, the introduction of new plants may, in many cases, be altogether dispensed with. In others, the small twigs, invisible when the ground was planted, come up afterwards as underwood, and serve for the purpose of harbouring game or forming thickets. Nay, in some, this natural growth will be found 'something between a hindrance and a help,' encumbering, and sometimes altogether overpowering and superseding the artificial planting. The trees which thus voluntarily present themselves, as the natural tenants of the soil, are oak, hazel, mountain-ash, thorns of different kinds, hackberry (called bird-cherry), holly, &c., in the dry places; and in those which incline to be moist, the alder and willow. The forester may look with almost an absolute certainty for the arrival of these volunteer supplies, if he plants a space of two or three hundred acres. They serve to beautify the operations of art, by adding the wild colouring and drapery of nature. According to the old school of planting, it was the business of the forester to destroy, upon such occasions, the natural productions of the soil, in order to protect the much more worthless plants with which he had himself stocked it. Thus, we know a large plantation, in which a natural oak copse was twice rooted out, in order to protect one of base Canadian firs; yet when the woods afterwards began to be managed with more taste and knowledge, the oaks still remained strong enough, despite these two attempts at extirpation, to supersede the intruders; and they constitute at this time the principal part of the existing wood.

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We are now come to the distance to be observed betwixt the plants, on putting them into the ground. This is a subject on which different opinions are maintained; opinions which, however, we think have been unnecessarily placed in opposition to each other:—the mode of planting closely, or putting in the trees at a greater distance, being each preferable or inferior to the other in relation to the situation of the plantation, and the purposes for which it is destined.

And considering this most important point, with relation to the number of the principal trees designed to remain as the ultimate stock on the land, we must confess our opinion, that the number of hard-wood trees planted is generally much greater than is necessary. A common rule allots the space of six or seven feet betwixt each principal plant. This seems far too large an allowance, and adds greatly to the expense of planting, without producing any correspondent return. If planted so near each other, a great number of the hard-wood trees must be taken out as weedings, before they attain any marketable value; and, as they shoot up again after they are cut down, they are apt to interfere with the growth of the trees which it is the object of the planter finally to cherish, unless the roots themselves are got rid of by the expensive operation of grubbing. If the hard-timber trees are planted at ten or twelve feet distance from each other, there will be room enough left for them to attain a foot in diameter before it is necessary to remove any of them. When planted at a smaller distance than the above, many must certainly be removed ere they have attained any value, while the operation, at the same time, gives to the proprietor the painful feeling attached to destroying a fine plant in its very bloom of promise. But this, like many other maxims concerning planting, is liable to be controlled by circumstances. In forming a plantation near a residence, it may be of great importance to place the hard-wood plants at six or eight feet distance, especially if the soil or exposure be indifferent. This gives the planter, at the distance of ten or twelve years, a choice in selecting the particular trees which will best suit the situation, and the power at the same time of rendering the wood a complete screen, by cutting down the others for under-wood, the introduction of which beauty and utility alike recommend. If there are still thriving young trees, which it is necessary to remove, they are, in such a case, useful to the proprietor: he may plant them out as ornamental trees either upon his lawn; or, as we have ourselves practised, these outcasts of the plantation may be scattered about in the neighbouring pastures. If they are planted with a little care among such patches of furze as usually occur in sheep-ground, with some attention to shelter and soil,

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soil, it is really wonderful how few of them fail, certainly not above one out of ten, even where no great attention is bestowed on the process, except by cleansing such sheltered spots for receiving the trees. Those that dwindle must be cut, even after standing a year; they will generally send up fine shoots upon the season following. Here, however, we are again straying from our immediate task; for profit and pleasure are so intimately united in this delightful pursuit, that it is frequently difficult to distinguish where their paths separate. Upon the whole, however, it may be considered as unnecessary extravagance in a plantation of great extent, and calculated chiefly for profit, to place the principal or hardwood trees nearer than twelve feet. Should one be found to fail, its place may be easily supplied by leaving a larch as a principal tree in its room, an exchange which ultimately leaves little ground for regret.

The quantity of nurses (which, according to our mode of planting, will be chiefly larches, intermingled with Scotch firs where exposure requires it) should seem also a relative question, to be decided by circumstances. If there is a favourable prospect for the sale of the weedings of the plantation at an early period, there can be no doubt of the truth of the old maxim—'Plant thick, and thin early.' In this case the larches may be set within three and a half feet of each other generally over the plantation, leaving them somewhat more distant upon the places peculiarly sheltered, and placing them something closer upon exposed ridges, and in rows formed to interrupt the course of the prevailing winds.

If the planting thrives, the larches will, in the fifth or sixth year, require a thinning, the produce of which, in an inhabited country, will certainly be equal to the expense. The bark, for example, will produce from four to five pounds a ton, or otherwise, in proportion to the value of oak bark, amounting usually to one half the value of that commodity. The peeled sticks, from an inch and a half to three inches diameter, find a ready demand. The smallest are sawed into stakes for supporting the nets with which sheep are secured when eating turnips off the ground, and immense numbers are wanted for this purpose on the verge of hilly districts. They fetch generally about a shilling per dozen. The larger larches make paling of various descriptions, gates for inclosures, &c., &c. For all these purposes, the larch is admirably calculated, by its quality of toughness and durability. The profits derived from these first thinnings can receive small addition from the produce of the Scots fir, which will, at this period, be worth little else than what it will bring for firewood at the nearest village. But we must repeat, that even this first and least productive course of thinning will do more than clear

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clear the expense bestowed, in situations where the country can be considered as peopled.

There are, however, extensive Highland wastes, which, of all other ground, we would most desire to see planted, where the improver must expect no such return. The distance of markets, the want of demand, deny that profit in the larch wildernesses of the North, which is derived from those more favourably situated, and where every stick, almost every twig, may be brought advantageously to sale. If, therefore, the plantations be as closely filled up in the former case as in the latter, one of two things must happen—either that the thinnings are made at considerable expense over a waste tract of wood-land, without any reimbursement from the proceeds; or else the plantation remains unthinned, to the unspeakable prejudice of the wood, since no trees can thrive unless on the condition of removing a part, to give an additional portion, both of soil and air, to those which remain. This painful dilemma may be avoided by preserving such a distance betwixt the plants, when originally put into the ground, as will make thinning unnecessary, until the plants shall have attained a more considerable value. It has been found by experience, that larches in particular will grow very well, and even in situations of an unpromising character, if placed at the distance of ten or twelve feet from each other, which may therefore be suffered to remain for ten or twelve years without any thinning. The trees thus taken out will be from six inches to a foot in diameter; and, if no other demand occurs, a great quantity of them may be employed in forming internal inclosures in the wood itself, if, as in a large tract of forest ground and in a high country is often highly advisable, it is judged proper to restore a part of the land to the purpose of pasture. This has been a mode of improvement long practised by the Duke of Athol, in the north of Perthshire, where, to his infinite honour, he has covered whole regions of barren mountains with thriving wood, and occupied, with herds of black cattle, extensive pastures, which formerly lay utterly waste and unproductive.

A singular and invaluable quality of the larch fir, first remarked, or at least first acted on, by the patriotic nobleman whom we have named, has given the means of altogether appeasing the fears of those well-meaning persons, who apprehended that the great extent of modern plantations might, in time, render timber too abundant in the country to bring any remunerating price, while at the same time it would draw a great proportion of land from the occupation of flocks or herds. The larch plantations are experimentally found, by the annual casting of their leaves, to lend material aid to the encouragement of the fine and more nutritive grasses;

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grasses; while, at the same time, they cause the destruction of the heath and other coarser productions of vegetation. The cause of this is obvious. The finer grasses—white clover, in particular—exist in abundance in the bleakest and most dreary moors, although they cannot in such disadvantageous soil become visible to the eye, until encouraged by some species of manure. If any one doubts this, he may be satisfied of the truth, by cutting up a turf in the most barren heath in his vicinity, and leaving it with the heathy side undermost in the place where it was cut. Or he may spread a spade-full of lime upon a square yard of the same soil. In either case, the spot so treated will appear the next season covered with white clover. Or the same fact may be discovered by observing the roads which traverse extensive heaths, the sides of which are always greensward, although of the same soil, and subject to the same atmosphere, with the rest of the moor. The blowing of the triturated dust, impregnated with horse-dung, has in this case produced the same effect which the application of lime or the turning the turf, in the former experiments, is calculated to attain. The clover, whether as a seed or plant our dull organs cannot discover, being thus proved to exist in the worst soils, and to flourish on the slightest encouragement, there is no difficulty in understanding how the larch trees, constantly shedding their leaves on the spot where they are planted, should gradually encourage the clover to supersede the heath, and, by doing so, convert into tolerable pasture-land that from which no animal excepting a moor-cock could derive any species of sustenance. We understand the fact to be, that, by the influence of this annual top-dressing, hundreds, nay, thousands of acres have been rendered worth from five to ten shillings an acre, instead of from sixpence to, at the utmost, two shillings. Whoever knows anything of the comparative value of heath and greensward pasture, will agree that the advantages of converting the one into the other are very moderately stated at the above ratio, and this wonderful transformation is made without the slightest assistance from human art, save that of putting in the larch plants.

If it is judged advisable to profit to the uttermost by this ameliorating quality of the larch tree, the expense of the original plantation will be very considerably diminished, as it will be, in that case, unnecessary to plant any oaks in it, and the whole expense of setting it with larches alone, cannot, in such parts of the country as we are acquainted with, approach to twenty shillings an acre. To this must be added ten years' rent of the field, which we may suppose, on an average, a shilling per acre, making on the whole an outlay of thirty shillings per acre. The cost of inclosing, and the loss of interest, are to be

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be added to this sum. No other expenses have been incurred during these ten years; for the distance at which the trees are originally planted has rendered thinning unnecessary, until that space has expired. In the spring of the eleventh year, then, if the bark is considered as an object, a general revising of the plantation takes place, when, probably, one third part of the larches may be removed. It must be under very disadvantageous circumstances indeed, that four hundred larches do not, in bark and timber, repay all the expenses of fencing by any cheap method, together with the compound interest on the rent and the expenses of thinning. The acre, therefore, which has cost but thirty shillings for the larch woods, may at ten years old be occupied as pasture, without much danger to the trees, which cattle and sheep are not known to crop. For this sum the proprietor receives back his acre of land, with a crop of eight hundred larch trees twelve years old, which, valued but at three-pence a-piece, are worth ten pounds, but which may be more reasonably estimated at a much greater sum, and which, without costing the owner a farthing, but, on the contrary, increasing his income by thinnings from time to time, will come, in process of time, to be worth hundreds, nay, thousands, of pounds. At the same time, the larches have been, in a manner, paying rent for the ground they occupy, by the amelioration of the grass, which is uniformly so great as to treble and quadruple what the land was worth at the first time of planting. To all this large profit is to be added the comfort which the cattle experience in a well-sheltered pasture, where they have at once shade in summer, warmth in winter, and protection in the storm.

Yet great and important as are the advantages attending the Athol mode of planting, we would not willingly see it supersede the culture of the oak, the staple commodity of this island; nor do we believe it is permitted to do so in the country of the noble duke himself. But it is evident, that the greatest possible advantage is to be derived from combining the two different systems, and intermixing plantations to be kept entirely for wood, and consisting chiefly of oak and larch, with others which, consisting only of larch trees, are to be occupied as pasture after the tenth or twelfth year. The beauty, as well as the productive quality, of the region to be planted, will be increased by blending the systems together, and uniting them at the same time with that of copse plantations, on which we are next about to make some remarks.

The mode of cultivating the sylva cædua, or copse-wood destined to the axe, has been greatly improved by a discovery of our author, or at least a practice which he has been the first to recommend—

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recommend—the propagating the oak, namely, by layering from the double shoot of young saplings. We will here permit this practical and sound-headed forester to speak for himself:—

'The method of layering from the sprig of a plant is well known to all nurserymen; but we must carry the matter a little farther when we go to the forest. The method of layering in forests, which is agreed on by all those who have tried it, is of the very first and greatest advantage in filling up blanks in a natural or coppice wood: and with this we may commence. When the young shoots in a natural wood have finished their second year's growth, say in the month of November or December the second year, (and here, by the way, it may be proper to observe, that, when layering is required, the stools of natural wood should not be thinned out the first year, as is directed in the section on rearing of natural or coppice woods,) every shoot should be allowed to grow till the layering is performed, the second year's growth being finished as aforesaid. If the stools have been healthy, these will have made a push of from six to nine feet high. If there is a blank to fill up on every side of the stool, take four of the best shoots, and layer them down in different directions in the following manner: take the stem or shoot from the stool; give it a slash with a knife in the under side, very near the stool or root, to make it bend; often the shoot at this age will bend without using the knife; give it also a slash with your knife about one inch above the eye next the top of the shoot. Should there be but one small shoot near the top, and that chance to be next the ground, not to twist the leader or layer, give the shoot a twist round the body of the layer, and bring it upwards. Make a rut in the ground about six inches long, and of sufficient width to receive the body of the layer. Pin the layer firmly down in the slit below the surface of the earth. This may be easily and readily done with a small pin of wood, about six inches long, with a hook upon its upper end, to keep down the body of the layer: which pins can easily be got from the branches of trees in the wood. Having pinned it firmly down below the surface of the ground, cover over the layer with the turf from the rut; or a little fresh earth may be put in, and press it firmly down, holding up the end of the young shoot from the body of the layer, pressing the ground about the root of it the same as putting in a plant by pitting, &c., leaving also the top of the shoot or stem thus layered down out of the ground. Thus the layering is performed, and in one year, if the root, or stool from which the layer is taken, be healthy, the top shoot, and the shoot to form the tree, say the small shoot or eye from the top, will make a push of at least two, and I have even known them grow four, feet in one season. Nor is there the smallest chance of their misgiving. The top shoot having made a push again in two years of very possibly from eight to nine feet, it can be again layered down, and led out other eight or nine feet; thus in four years completely planting up and covering the ground on all sides from sixteen to eighteen feet, (and supposing you have stools or roots on the ground

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ground at a distance of from thirty to forty feet,) in five years, you can completely plant up the whole ground without the expense of a single plant. Nor is there the least risk of their misgiving in one single case, if properly done; and here also you have a plantation of plants, or we may now rather call them trees, of from four to fourteen feet high, which, by putting in plants, you could not have had for twelve years, besides the expense of much filling up.'—*Monteath*, p. 47-50.

In another part of the same work he gives directions for forming a new copse-wood where no old plants exist, and his manner is well worthy the attention of the experimental planter. He proposes that only twenty-seven plants shall be placed in an English acre. Each of these being cut over yearly for five or six years, will, he reckons, produce, in the sixth, plants fit for layering; and having gone twice through that process, they will, in the course of eight years, fill up the ground with shoots at the distance of eight feet from each other, being the distance necessary in a copse-plantation. Screens and nurses of larch we would think highly conducive to the perfection of these operations.

Whether formed by planting or by layering, the cultivation of copse-wood is a matter of the highest importance, and seldom fails to be the most certain produce of a highland gentleman's estate, where the woods are properly treated and regularly cut. The oak coppice will flourish on the very face of the most broken ground, however incumbered with rocks, and where it is impossible to conceive how the roots can obtain any nourishment, except from the rain which oozes among the clefts and crevices of the rock. And as to exposure, Mr. Monteath informs us that the copse-woods in Scotland, and particularly in Argyleshire, on the very tops of hills from five hundred to one thousand feet above the level of the sea, are equally healthy, produce equally good bark, and are nearly equally productive with those in the vales, although they are exposed to every wind that blows.

In order to give some idea of the profit attending these copse-woods, the following calculation was made for a nobleman who had lately succeeded to a very extensive tract of mountainous country. It was supposed that, being willing regularly to dedicate a sum which the amount of his income made a moderate one, to this species of improvement, there should be selected each year in the most convenient places, and those where shelter was most likely to benefit the pasture, a hundred acres of waste and unprofitable ground, to be planted or layered as copse-wood. The amount of rent thus sacrificed, for reasons already given, would be very trifling indeed. The expense of planting and inclosing, presuming it to be carried on with liberality and even profusion, could

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could not, in any reasonable view, exceed four hundred pounds. To meet the labour and expense of revision, the proprietor would have the value of thinnings, which, supposing the nurses to be larch, would be found much more than adequate to the purpose of reimbursing them. A similar space of land was supposed to be regularly planted on every year for twenty years, or two or three more, as the general progress of the plantations might render necessary. The hundred acres first planted would then be ready for a fall, the produce of which would afford at least four tons of bark to an acre, and taking the price at ten pounds a ton, which is certainly not extravagant, would bring in four thousand pounds in return for four hundred expended twenty years before. The subsequent copses being cut in regular rotation, in the order in which they were planted, the noble proprietor would be found to have added four thousand pounds yearly to his estate, in the space of two or three and twenty years; and it is unnecessary to add that the private gentleman who can but afford to plant the tenth part of the extent, must, if the site of his wood is well chosen, derive proportional advantage. It cannot be denied, however, that the larger the size of the plantations, the more likely they are to be thriving and productive.

The copse-wood cannot pretend to the dignity of the forest, yet it possesses many advantages. The standing wood must be one day felled, and then it is centuries ere it can arise again in its pristine majesty; nay, as fellers are seldom planters, it too often happens that, once fallen, the mature forest falls for ever; the proprietor feels a sort of false shame in supplying with pigmy shrubs the giants which he has destroyed, and the term when the damage can be repaired is so far beyond the ken of man, that the attempt is relinquished in despair. The copse-wood, on the contrary, enjoys a species of immortality, purchased, indeed, like that of Nourjahad in the oriental tale, by intervals of abeyance. Its lease of existence may be said to be purchased by fine and renewal, a portion of it being cut in succession every twenty years. The eye is no doubt wounded for the time by the fall of the portion annually destined for the market, but the blank may be masked by leaving occasional standards, and nature hastens to repair it. In the course of three years, the copse which has been felled generally again assumes its tufted appearance, and in two or three years more, is as flourishing and beautiful as ever.

But the sylva cædua possesses more solid advantages. In the first place, there are doubtless many situations in mountainous districts admirably calculated to grow wood, but where it would be injudicious to raise full-grown timber, on account of the difficulty, nay, impossibility, of bringing it into the market. Bark, on

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on the contrary, a light substance and easily transported, can be brought from the most remote and inaccessible recesses of the forest, without the expense of conveyance greatly diminishing the profit of the planter. The peeled timber is also an object in those districts where fuel is scarce, besides the demand for charcoal in others, and the consumption of the larger pieces in country work. In many places there is a demand for the oak boughs and twigs, to make what is called the pyro-ligneous acid, now so generally used instead of vinegar.

Besides their certain return of annual profit, copse-woods, when formed on entailed estates, have the great advantage of affording to every heir of entail in possession, his fair share of this species of property, while, at the same time, it is almost impossible for him to get more. Large woods of standing trees are planted by prudence and foresight, and maintained and preserved by the respect of successive proprietors, in order, perhaps, ultimately to supply the necessities of some extravagant or dissipated possessor, the shame and ruin of the line. But in the case of copse-wood, such an 'unthrifty heir of LINNE' can only receive the produce of what regularly falls to be cut during his time; nor can the amount be increased, or the time of payment accelerated, either by the rapacity or necessity of the proprietor. This is a subject well worth the consideration of those who are anxious about the preservation of their landed estate in their own family.

Thus it will be observed, that each of these several modes of planting has its own peculiar advantages, and far from being bigoted to any one of them, to the total exclusion of others, the proprietor ought, before commencing his operations, to consider maturely, whether his purpose should be to raise a standing wood, to improve his pasturage by the use of larches exclusively, or to crop the land by means of copse-wood, under regular and systematical management. Where plantations of a moderate extent are concerned, the question must be determined by local circumstances, but a large plan affords means of embracing the whole, and can hardly be accounted perfect without exhibiting specimens of the dark majesty of the forest, the gentler beauties of the copse, and the succession of verdant pastures, intermixed with stately and valuable larch trees, which the Athol system is so well qualified to introduce. By one or other, or all of these methods, the utmost capabilities of the soil will be brought forth, and the greatest change induced in the face of nature which it is possible for human reason to devise, or human power to execute.

We should not have accomplished the task which we proposed, did we not mention, though superficially, the two grand operations of pruning and thinning, without which every one now allows

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allows there can be no rapidly growing plantations, or clean, valuable wood. They are both subjects much better understood than they were twenty years ago, when it was common, for example, to prune off all the under branches of a plant, without considering that this severe operation was destroying the means with which nature provides the plant for drawing up the sap, and thus depriving it of the means of increasing in size; while, with similar incongruity, the upper branches were left to form a thick round head, subject to the action of every storm that blows. Since the publication of Mr. Pontey's treatise, every one worthy to possess a pruning knife is aware that the top of the young plant must be thinned for the encouragement of the leading shoot, and the side boughs only removed in cases where they are apt to rival the stem, or rob it of too much nourishment; and in other cases made so to balance each other, that the tree when swayed by the wind, may, like a well-trimmed vessel, as speedily as possible recover its equilibrium. We have not, indeed, found that the system of very severe pruning and removing very many of the side branches has, under our observation, added so much to the thickness and weight of the stem as it appears to have done under Mr. Pontey's management in better climates; but the general principle which he lays down is indisputable, and has produced much advantage. Neither is it necessary now to renew the caution, that the pruning work should be entirely performed by the hand-knife, or by the chisel and mallet, and, consequently, during the infancy of the plant. The woodsman can scarce commit a greater blunder than by postponing this most necessary operation until it becomes indispensable to employ the axe, when ten men will not perform the work of one at the earlier period, and when the wounds which might have been inflicted without injury in the infancy of the plant, are sure permanently to disfigure and deteriorate the young tree.

But it may not be so unnecessary to remind the young planter, that the safe and proper time for pruning hard wood is the summer months, when the sap, having ascended, is stationary in the tree, and before it begins again to descend. It is true, all authors agree that to prune a tree while the sap is in motion, either upwards or downwards, is the ready way to cause it to bleed to death. But there are authors and practical foresters, who continue to hold the heretical opinion that winter is as safe, or even a safer period for pruning, than summer. Niccol, for example, in his 'Useful Planter's Kalendar,' falls into this error, and enjoins pruning during the winter months. Yet his experience might have convinced him of its inexpedience. During summer, there always exudes, upon the face of the wound, a thin, gummy fluid, which in a few days seals it up, and skins it over. We have never observed

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observed that the plant has any tendency to renew the branches removed at this season. But where the same cut is inflicted in winter, the plant is apt to suffer from the action of the frost upon the raw wound; and, moreover, when the spring months arrive, the forester will observe numerous new shoots pushed out from the scar of that which has been removed, and is thus apprised that his task is but imperfectly performed. As to the necessity of pruning, in general, it is proved by a single glance at the short stems and overgrown heads of the greater part of the oaks found in natural woods, compared with the close upright trunks of those which have felt, in infancy, a judicious application of the pruning-knife. The part of the tree, in the former case, which can be sawn out as useful timber, is not, perhaps, above three feet in length, while the stem of the latter has been trained upwards to the height of fourteen. It is in vain to contradict these facts by an appeal to nature. Nature is equally favourable to all her productions. It is the same to her whether the oak produces timber or boughs, and whether the field produces grain or tares. Human skill and art avail themselves of the operations of nature, by encouraging and directing them towards such results as are most useful to mankind. When we see nature raise a field of wheat, we may expect her to produce a whole forest of clean, straight, profitable timber—till then we must be content to employ plough and harrow in the one case—hatchet and pruning-knife in the other.

The mode of thinning is greatly altered and improved of late years. The sordid and narrow-minded system, which postponed the operation until the thinnings should be of some value, is now, we hope, exploded. To treat a plantation in one way or other, with reference to the value to be derived from the thinning, would be as if a carpenter should cut out his wood, not with relation to the ultimate use which he was to make of it, but to the chips which the operation was to produce. These, indeed, are not to be thrown away, if they can be profitably disposed of; but it would be wild to permit them to be considered as a principal object. In modern times, we rarely see those melancholy wrecks of woods which had once been promising, but where the nurses have been allowed to remain until they choked and swallowed the more valuable crop, which they had been intended to shelter; and where the former existence of oaks, elms, and ashes is only proved by a few starting bushes, which, being near the verge of the plantation, have, by straggling and contorting their boughs, contrived to get as much of the atmosphere as is sufficient to keep them alive, whilst the interior of the wood presents only a dull and hopeless succession of spindle-shanked Scotch firs, which, like a horde of savages, after having invaded and ruined a civilized and wealthy province,

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are finally employed in destroying each other. Timely thinning, commenced in the fifth season after planting, and repeated from time to time as occasion requires, effectually prevents this loss of hopes, plants, and labour.

We would just beg leave to remark, that it is an indifferent, though too frequent mode of thinning, which prescribes the removal of a certain number of plants, a sixth part, or as the case may be, indifferently over the whole plantation. On the contrary, we would be disposed to thin freely the bottoms, hollows, and sheltered places, so that the nurses should be entirely removed, in the first instance, from those places where their presence is least necessary, while they are permitted to retain their station longer on the verges of the wood, or on those exposed heights where, like division hedges in large gardens, they have been originally planted with a view of shelter to the lower ground. In process of time, however, these verges and heights must be gradually thinned out; for warmth and shelter cannot make amends to trees, any more than to mankind, for the want of vital air. It requires the attentive watchfulness of the forester to discover where, or in what proportion, the air is to be introduced into an exposed plantation upon the windward side. If the screen is too speedily opened, the trees, suddenly exposed to cold and stormy winds, become disordered in the sap-vessels, hide-bound, and mossed, and, finally, dwindle into unsightly shrubs, or, perhaps, die entirely. If the air be not admitted at all, or in due quantities, they are equally sure to wither and decay for want of breath. This dilemma arises from not observing the address, so to call it, with which trees adapt themselves to an exposed or more sheltered situation. On the outside of the plantation, in hedgerows, or where they stand single or in small groups, trees have great heads, short stems, thick and rugged barks, all of which are accommodated to their peculiar situation; the short stems giving them most resistance against the storm, the great branches best balancing the tree when swayed by the gale, and the thick, rugged bark protecting the sap-vessels against the inclemency of the weather. For the contrary reasons, trees of the same species, placed within the shelter of a grove, rise with clear stems, covered with thin and smooth bark, having lofty, but small, heads, and all the attributes of a plant accustomed to a milder climate. But if the shelter be allowed to become too close, the tree, like a valetudinary in an over-heated room, becomes injured by the very means adopted for its preservation. On the other hand, if the physician wished to allow such a patient a fresher atmosphere, he would certainly allow him time to put on warmer clothing. To pay the same respect to the trees in the interior of our plantation, the

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the outside trees must be thinned, and they must be thinned gradually. Some managers of woods contrive to combine both errors, by neglecting the necessary thinning for years, and finally setting about it with a hasty and unsparing hand. Time and experience alone can teach the forester to observe a medium course in this important operation; but as to thinning, in general, it may be received as a maxim, that he who spares the axe hates the wood.

The duty, indeed, requires in its own nature some share of stoical resolution, nor is it to be approached without a feeling of reluctance. The lonely, secluded, sheltered appearance of your plantation is violated by the intrusion of your hatchet-men; you look with regret on the hopeful tall plants, whose doom you are about to seal, and feel yourself in the same moment unable and unwilling to select which of the darling family, a family of your own planting and rearing, are to perish for the benefit of the survivors. Neither is it very consolatory to look upon the altered scene after the havock has taken place. It is but four years since, where no employment was so grateful as that of watching and protecting the growth of the trees that are now lying prostrate on the ground; your old secret path, encumbered by boughs and branches, seems rudely laid bare to the sun. Many of the trees which remain, in spite of the woodman's utmost care, have suffered by the fall of their companions, and

> 'the broken boughs
> Droop with their withered leaves, ungracious sign
> Of devastation.'

The scene is not improved by the mangled appearance of larches and firs, which, destined to the axe on the next occasion, have, in the mean time, been deprived of side branches, like the more notorious criminals, who are mutilated of their limbs before they are executed. In a word, the whole scene seems one of violation, and in its consequences resembles the ravage of the nut-gatherer, as described by Wordsworth:—

> 'Then up I rose
> And dragg'd to earth both branch and bough with crush
> And merciless ravage; and the shady nook
> Of hazels, and the green and mossy bower
> Deformed and sullied, patiently gave up
> Their quiet being. . . . . .
> I felt a sense of pain, when I beheld
> The silent trees and the intruding sky.'

—But a visit to the plantation in the ensuing June will more than recompense the pain which is natural to the performance of this act of duty. All then is again grown fair and green and shady; the future groves affording appearance of improvement, which

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rarely fails to surprise the spectator, and your firmness in the preceding season is compensated by the certain indications that large progress has been made in the accomplishment of your patriotic as well as profitable object.

Mr. Monteath's work is, in many important respects, of consequence to the planter. It is written in the simple, homely manner of one, whose hand is better accustomed to the knife than to the pen, and, without any particular formal order, touches more or less upon most of the forester's operations. He has devised an useful machine for measuring the quantity of wood in standing trees—he has thrown out hints for the preservation and the cure of the dry rot in timber, and upon diseases in growing trees; he has treated of the mode of valuing and selling bark, and several other subjects; and as he speaks generally from practical knowledge, we may, using a phrase of Chaucer, in somewhat a different sense, fairly dismiss him with the compliment paid to the Squire's Yeoman, in the Canterbury Tales:—

'Of wood-craft can he well all the usage.'

We may be blamed in these desultory remarks for not having said something upon the subject of planting woods from the acorn, instead of the nursery. We have heard this recommended by great authority, which, moreover, vindicated the practice of leaving nature to work her own work in her own manner, when, it was asserted, the strongest and best trees would work forwards, fight with the others, and save us the trouble of pruning and thinning, by weeding out the inferior plants. We have planted acorns on this system, and the first show of young oaklings which appeared, rose almost like 'a bonny *braird* of wheat.' But notwithstanding this fine promise, the plantation came to nothing. If the young plants fought with each other, they must have fought what cockers call a Welsh main, for only tens were left out of hundreds and thousands. The mice had probably their share in bringing about this catastrophe; the hares a still greater one; but the indifferent success of the experiment, in which five or six hogsheads of acorns were lost, induced us to renounce the experiment as being at least precarious in its results. In the plantations of a friend, a vast number of Spanish chestnuts were sown chiefly with a view to underwood, and they made such progress, at first, as induced us to apply for some seed of the same kind from Portugal. Our correspondent fell into the small mistake of supposing the chestnuts were wanted for the table, and with that view had them all carefully peeled. This was a great disappointment, at first, but we comforted ourselves in finding the promise of the chestnuts did not exceed in performance that of our own acorns. We, therefore, hold, that the sowing seeds in a wild country is a very doubtful

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doubtful measure, and that the only way to insure a thriving plantation, is to stock it from a well-managed nursery, at no great distance from the spot where your trees are to arise.

Mr. Monteath suggests a principle of planting, which might certainly be rendered very advantageous to tenants, by admitting them into a share of the benefit to be derived from planting upon the land occupied by him. Of the great advantages which arise from this to the farmer, he gives the following striking example, which may be equally quoted as an example of the profits of planting in general.

'The farm of Crosscaple, parish of Dunblane, and barony of Kinbuck, Perthshire, was taken by Mr. J. Dawson for two nineteen, say thirty-eight years, and entered to in 1777, or 1778, at the annual rent of 26*l.* sterling. There was a clause in the lease, that Mr. Dawson, the tenant, should, if he had a mind, plant all the wet ground that he did not think proper to plough, with trees of any kind; and the tenant should be at liberty to use what of that wood he required, during the currency of his lease, for all the husbandry purposes on the said farm, as well as for all the houses he required, or saw meet to erect on said farm. At the end, or expiration of said lease, all the standing timber was to be valued by two persons, mutually chosen by landlord and tenant. And it was expressly stipulated, that if the two valuators chosen did not agree, they were to choose a third person, and his opinion betwixt the arbiters was to be binding on both parties; and to their valuation the landlord was to pay the tenant in ready money. In February, 1817, the year after the lease expired, Mr. M'Arthur, forester in Drummond Castle, was chosen by and on the part of James Dawson, then the tenant, (and now living in Dunblane,) as his valuator; and I was appointed by the trustees for behoof of the heir of Kippenross, then a minor. We met on the ground, and each for himself valued the wood. After comparing our valuations, there was a difference of about 25*l.* sterling. We then named Mr. William Stirling, architect, Dunblane, who divided the difference; and all parties having agreed, fixed the value of the wood on said farm at 1029*l.* sterling; which sum was promptly paid by the trustees of the estate to the tenants. The whole rent of the farm, paid annually for thirty-eight years, amounted to 988*l.* sterling. The value paid by the proprietor for the wood was 1029*l.*, being 41*l.* more than all the rents of the farm during the whole lease; besides, after the first ten years, the tenant had a sufficiency of timber for all house and husbandry purposes during the remainder of his lease. Let it be here observed, that, in valuing the said wood, we proceeded on the data of its being all cut down at the time, and brought to market, which was twenty per cent. lower than the like timber was selling for a few years before that time. The tenant being left to the freedom of his own will, as to the kind of trees to plant, he very injudiciously planted mostly Scotch firs; whereas, had he planted oak and ash, the soil and situation being well

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well adapted for these kinds, he would have had nearly three times that sum to receive.'—*Introduction*, p. xlii.-xliv.

Notwithstanding the favourable results upon the farm of Crosscaple, we must confess our opinion, that in most cases the entire property and management of the wood had better be left with the proprietor. To the tenant it will always be a secondary object, and often one which is altogether neglected. We know an instance in a highland farm, of which a lease of three lives was granted many years ago. The lease contained such a clause as our author recommends, not permitting merely, but binding the tenant to plant a certain number of acres during the currency of the lease, of which he was to have the use during the term, and an indemnification at the expiry of his lease for the value of the trees that should be left. One would have thought that during the successive possession of three tenants, some one of them would have endeavoured to derive advantage from this clause in their favour; but the event was, that at the end of the lease the out-going tenant was obliged to plant the requisite number of acres in order to fulfil his bargain, and thus left the proprietor a newly-planted and infant wood, for which the tenant had recently paid the expense of inclosing and planting, instead of a thriving and full-grown plantation, for which he would have had to receive several thousand pounds.

In this case the wood was not planted at all: but though the farmer is a little more industrious, it is still less likely to thrive under his management, and attended to by his ordinary farm servants, than in the hands of an expert forester and his assistants. Indeed it has always seemed to us not the least important branch of this great national subject, that the increase and the proper management of our forests cannot but be attended with the most beneficial effect on the population of the country. Where there lies stretched a wide tract of land, affording scanty food for unsheltered flocks, the country will soon, under a judicious system, show the scene most delightful to the eye—an intermixture of pastoral and sylvan scenery, where Ceres, without usurping the land, finds also spots fit for cultivation. For even the plough has its office in this species of improvement. In numerous places we are surprised to see the marks of the furrows upon plains, upon bleak hill sides, and in wild moor land. We are not to suppose that, in the infancy of agriculture, our ancestors were able to raise crops of corn where we see only heath and fern. But in former times, and while the hills retained their natural clothing of wood, such spots were sheltered by the adjacent trees, and were thus rendered capable of producing crops. There can be no doubt that, the protection being restored, the power of production

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duction would again return, and that in the neighbourhood of the little hamlets required for the occupation of the foresters, the means of his simple subsistence would be again produced. The effects of human industry would, as usual, overbalance every disadvantageous consideration, and man would raise food for himself and his domestic animals in the region where his daily labour gained his daily bread.

There would thus arise in the wild desert a hardy and moral population, living by the axe and mattock, pursuing their useful occupation in a mode equally favourable to health and to morality. The woods, requiring in succession planting, pruning, thinning, felling, and barking, would furnish to such labourers a constant course of employment. They would be naturally attached to the soil on which they dwelt, and the proprietor who afforded them the means of life would be very undeserving if he had not his share of that attachment. In a word, the melancholy maxim of the poet would be confuted, and the race of bold peasantry whom want and devastation had driven from these vast wilds would be restored to their native country. This circumstance alone deserves the most profound attention from every class of proprietors; whether the philosophical economist, who looks with anxiety for the mode of occupying and supporting an excess of population, or the juvenile sportsman, who seeks the mode of multiplying his game, and increasing the number of his *gardes de chasse*. The woods which he plants will serve the first purpose, and, kindly treated, his band of foresters will assist in protecting them.

We may be thought to have laboured too long to prove propositions which no one can reasonably dispute; yet so incalculably important is the object—so comparatively indifferent is the attention of proprietors, that it becomes a duty to the country to omit no opportunity of recurring to the subject.

The only decent pretext which we hear alleged for resisting a call which is sounded from every quarter, is the selfish excuse, that the profits of plantations make a tardy and distant return. To a person who argues in this manner it is in vain to speak of the future welfare of the country, or of the immediate benefit to the poorer inhabitants, or of the honour justly attached to the memory of an extensive improver, since he must be insensible even to the benefit which his own family must derive from the improvement recommended; we can, notwithstanding, meet him on his own ground, and affirm that the advantage to the proprietor who has planted a hundred acres begins at the very commencement of the undertaking, and may be realized whenever it is the pleasure of the proprietor that such realization shall take place. If, for example,

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example, he chooses to sell a plantation at five years old, or at an earlier period, there is little doubt that it will be accounted worth the sum which the plantation cost him in addition to the value of the land, and also the interest upon the expense so laid out. After this period the value increases in a compound *ratio;* and at any period when the planter chooses to sell his property, he must and will derive an advantage from his plantations, corresponding to their state of advancement. It is true that the landed proprietor's own interest will teach him not to be too eager in realizing the profits of his plantations, because every year that he retains them adds rapidly to their value. But still the value exists as much as that of the plate in his strong-box, and can be converted as easily into money, should he be disposed to sell the plantations which he has formed.

All this is demonstrable even to the prejudices of avarice itself in its blindest mood; but the indifference to this great rural improvement arises, we have reason to believe, not so much out of the actual lucre of gain as the fatal *vis inertiæ*—that indolence which induces the lords of the soil to be satisfied with what they can obtain from it by immediate rent, rather than encounter the expense and trouble of attempting the modes of amelioration which require immediate expense—and, what is, perhaps, more grudged by the first-born of Egypt—a little future attention. To such we can only say that improvement by plantation is at once the easiest, the cheapest, and the least precarious mode of increasing the immediate value, as well as the future income, of their estates, and that therefore it is we exhort them to take to heart the exhortation of the dying Scotch laird to his son:—'Be aye sticking in a tree, Jock—it will be growing whilst you are sleeping.'

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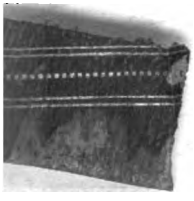

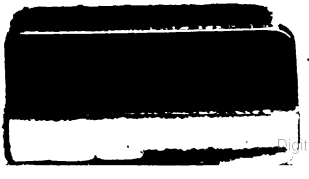

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